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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1853.

ART. I.—*The Frontier Lands of the Christian and Turk : comprising Travels in the Regions of the Lower Danube, in 1850–51.* By a British Resident of Twenty Years in the East. 2 Vols. 8vo. London : Bentley. 1853.

It is not, perhaps, a matter of abstract necessity that every form of civilization should, in its turn, pass through the phases of stagnation, decay, and decomposition. We can imagine the possibility of some favoured race so lending itself to the purposes of Providence, as to keep up with the march of humanity, and undergo its successive transformations without violence. Hitherto, however, no such goodly sight has presented itself in real history. One form of civilization after another has risen, thriven for a season, failed in appropriating some essential element of conservation or development, and disappeared, to make way for others ; so that human progress can be characterized as a long conflict, marked at intervals by “ nations dying with their gods.”

The lessons to be drawn from this chequered history were long comparatively disregarded ; but the world is growing older and more thoughtful, and the present generation, among Christian nations at least, is more disposed than any of the preceding to look back upon the road over which mankind has toiled, treasuring up its remembrances, rendering long-forgotten scenes and persons once more familiar, and discovering and deciphering the records of extinct civilization. We have learned to interpret great changes with reference to their moral causes, and no longer look upon conquests as exclusively results of physical force or military skill. All earnest thinkers, even those who are themselves little influenced by any religious principle, have come to see that the religion which is at the foundation of any given people's social life and political institutions, is the secret of that

people's strength or of its weakness. It is for this reason that we can prepare to behold the last moments of the once mighty Ottoman Empire with more intelligent interest than other generations can have felt upon witnessing similar spectacles.

The evils which are hurrying Turkey to dissolution are not such as, taken in themselves severally, or even all together, would be incurable, were there not at the bottom the radical principle from which they have originated, and which obliges us to pronounce those symptoms fatal, that would otherwise only be dangerous. In the European half of the Empire, for instance, the Moslems have to maintain in subjection a population three or four times more numerous than themselves. In other countries this danger and disadvantage could be remedied, by making friends and equals of the subject people, as has been done in Ireland under similar circumstances, and with races in about the same proportion; but this is impossible here. Unless the Turk renounce the fundamental maxims of the creed that sent him forth on the world with a scimitar in his right hand, the Christian must be treated as an inferior, who can only be allowed to exist by sufferance. There can be no amalgamation between the conqueror and the subject; the Koran has put an impassable barrier between them; they are, and must remain, aliens to each other. Nay, such is the utter and irremediable exclusiveness of Islamism, that true believers cannot enter into the same civil organization with Christians; they cannot be authorities in the same village; so that, wherever the Turks did not exterminate the Christians, they were obliged to leave these last a sort of subordinate municipal order of their own, the Commune choosing its own Judges, and distributing among its members their several portions of the burdens imposed upon the whole. This system has, in a high degree, contributed to maintain the distinct nationality of the *Rayahs*, as the Christians are called; it has facilitated the independence of those who have shaken off the yoke, and will do so on a larger scale. Thus the emancipation of the Greek, and of the wild borderer of the Danube, was partially prepared by the very extreme of disdain and aversion with which they were regarded.

The oppressions of the administration, the corruption of public functionaries, the neglect of the vast mineral and agricultural resources of the country, the squalid poverty of the people, the uncertain tenure of property, the financial embarrassments, menacing national bankruptcy,—these are evils with which, in other countries, enlightened energy could grapple; but here, they are the result of the theocratic character which has made the Turkish people what they are, and is the base of all their institutions. For the Mahometan, despotism is the law of the universe: his God is a despot, stern and terrible, almighty *Will* without any bowels of tenderness or compassion, who seeks not for children, but for subjects, and has intrusted a military hierarchy

with the apostleship of the sword. Hence, every attempt to introduce an element of liberty into Turkish institutions is found to clash with the very spirit of their civilization. The arbitrary power of the meanest Aga in his sphere is representative of that which the Sultan wields in his; and to limit either is to violate divine order. The Turk cannot cultivate the arts of peace with the same settled purpose that others do; for his mission is one of war and conquest; he is like a military colonist, encamped, rather than established, in Europe. Or if, yielding to circumstances and to the instinct of the real calling of man, he do turn artisan, agriculturalist, miner, he cannot condescend to borrow the profane science of the infidels; for his own superiority is, in his mind, one great evidence of the truth of his religion. He cannot so much as entertain the idea of human progress; for Mahomet did but attempt to restore the abstract monotheism, which he conceived had been the starting-point of the Jewish faith twenty-six centuries before; so that the world began its history over again, without anything new to learn or to do. Strange connexion between the general tendencies of a national character and the most minute details! The haughty gravity with which the Turk retains the costume of his predecessors, and smiles at our frivolous changes of fashion, is just one of the harmless exhibitions of an incurable, inflexible conservatism.

Turkey has to guard against the encroachments of one of the first military powers in the world, mistress of her frontiers, and bent upon her conquest with an ardent ambition, that has been bequeathed from generation to generation. But, sustained as she is by the political interests of the rest of Europe, Turkey need not fear even Russia, if she could be sure of her own population. This she is not, and cannot be: the interests and affections of just that half of the empire which is most exposed to danger, go with the enemy; and, while the Græco-Sclavonians are increasing in numbers, in wealth, and in intelligence, the Moslem population is being gradually diminished, partly by the misery produced through the operation of causes above mentioned, partly by immorality and polygamy. But this latter element of decay cannot be corrected any more than the others:—it is consecrated by the Koran.

Bitter experience has, indeed, taught the higher ranks to feel their inferiority, and that their national existence depends upon assimilation to European civilization. Of course, if this conviction carried them far enough, it would become a means of social and political regeneration; but no people can either do without a religious system, or avoid undergoing the influences of this religious system, so long as it is looked upon as true. Nothing short of embracing Christianity could thoroughly emancipate the Turks from the consequences of their past training; and of this there is not, apparently, the slightest immediate prospect. Hence, the consciousness of inferiority in the arts of both peace

and war only leads those who feel it to despondency, or to an apathetic acquiescence in the decrees of inexorable fate. The follower of the Prophet, unable to conquer, and yet unwilling to renounce his mission as a delusion, still grasps his broken sword, instead of turning it into a ploughshare. The fever has been followed by collapse; and the faith that once made him the terror of the world, is his weakness now. Under these circumstances, the attempts that have been made at improvement in various ways, at administrative and financial reform in particular, have proved to be but half measures, condemned to inevitable failure; new pieces sewn upon the old garment, making the rent worse, and demonstrating the impossibility of patching up a worn-out order of things with fragments borrowed from a society that had been created by a principle essentially different. The same experiment of superficial *Europeanization* was made in Turkey Proper and in Egypt; and it has failed, even in the latter, though Mehemet Ali had to contend with no ambitious Christian neighbours, and with no indigenous Christian population of any importance, there being but a hundred thousand Copts remaining in the Valley of the Nile.

The disbanding of the Janissaries by Mahmoud II. in 1823, was a necessary preliminary to reform; but if the thought of this measure was suggested by a certain amount of enlightened policy, its execution could not be effected otherwise than by an awful massacre, genuine, native Turkish; and those fierce bands can never be replaced. Before the present menaced rupture with Russia, the regular army nominally consisted of 150,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with 10,000 artillery; but well-informed authorities reckoned the effective infantry force at only 78,000 men, and the cavalry at 17,000, costing even then more than one-third of the revenue. The warlike preparations made with so much noise during the last few months seem to have chiefly consisted in the calling to arms half-disciplined and fanatical Redifs from all parts of Asia Minor; but no *authentic* information about the numbers and character of the troops encamped at Schumla and Rustulk has reached this country, while the Russian army on both sides of the Pruth is known to be 120,000 strong, with 300 pieces of artillery.

In 1837, it was forbidden by an edict to give a Christian the opprobrious epithet, *giaour*, "dog." Here is, certainly, a symptom of increasing respect for human nature out of the pale of Islamism; but it cannot reconcile the *Rayah* to Turkish legislation; for, though no longer called a dog, he is still treated like one. His testimony is of no validity before the Turkish tribunals; so that he is in the same position, in this respect, as the slaves in part of the United States, exposed, without legal defence or redress, to the thousand insults and exactions of his masters. The empty compliment only teaches the Christians that they are beginning to be formidable; while the continuance of their

practical outlawry is an excuse for the several European Governments to insist upon an exceptional jurisdiction within the Empire, in order to protect their own subjects. The simple exhibition of an English, French, or Austrian passport is enough to screen from Turkish justice the stranger who has committed the most audacious violations of the laws of the country,—an abuse of which our Maltese and Ionian islanders are not slow to avail themselves. So that the privilege of tyrannizing over the best part of the indigenuous population is retained, at the cost of the most humiliating subserviency to foreigners. Nay, further still, it justifies the interferences of Russia and Austria, and their claim to be the officially recognised protectors of even the native subjects of the Porte,—a political cicisbeism intolerable to any Government, and which is rapidly preparing the dismemberment of the Empire. The kidnapping of Colonel Kossta at Smyrna is a recent instance of the arrogance with which the agents of the great European powers act as masters in the Turkish territory.

The greatest step made towards a better order of things was the famous edict promulgated Nov. 3rd, 1839, shortly after the accession of Abdul-Medjid, and generally known by the name *Hatti-sherif of Gulhane*. The reforms the Sultan proposed effecting were especially these three:—*First*, to assure security for the life, honour, and property of all Ottoman subjects; *Secondly*, to provide a regular mode of distributing and levying taxes, and the total abolition of the iniquitous system of farming them to the highest bidder; *Thirdly*, to organize a regular conscription, and limit the time of military service. When this manifesto appeared, breathing the most generous and philanthropic spirit, all Western Europe applauded. The innate materialism, which makes men so readily content with slight superficial reform in their own case, led them to hail the promise of a new era for Turkey, as if a great nation were about to change its ways, without any living spiritual principle of regeneration. How little those expectations were answered, is notorious. It is true, indeed, that Pachas had no longer legally the exorbitant prerogative of life and death, could not publicly inflict capital punishment without an express order from Constantinople, and were forbidden in any case to inflict it privately; yet, prisoners continued to die in their cells whenever it was the Pacha's pleasure. It is true, that a Judge, or *Cadi*, could only order a certain number of stripes to be inflicted at a time; but he might with impunity renew the punishment at as short intervals as he pleased. It is true, that Mussulmen could be punished for insulting, pillaging, or ill-treating Christians; but then, some other Mussulman must be found to come forward and give evidence. In short, neither functionaries nor people could be brought to act in the spirit of the edict.

Under the old system, when the Pachas wielded the most terrible and irresponsible power, they generally, at least,

protected their provinces from all spoliation, except their own. Moreover, every man had a right to carry arms, and use them, if necessary, in his own defence; but when Turkey undertook to copy European institutions, and intrust the security of individuals to the public force only, she just succeeded in making Governors powerless against the turbulent, without depriving them of the means of oppressing the industrious. She disarmed the inhabitants of the towns and the peaceable agriculturalists; while whole tribes, such as the ferocious Kurds, and nests of banditti in every corner of the Empire, retained their arms, and pillaged whom they pleased. Of course, in those provinces where the Christians are in the minority, as in Bosnia and in all Asia Minor, they suffered more cruelly than any of the rest of the population; but the evil was felt throughout the Empire. The Porte is just enough of a regular Government to hinder its subjects from protecting themselves, while it is itself unable to protect them effectually, for two reasons,—because the authorities are often in secret intelligence with the brigands, and because, even when disposed to do their duty, they have not always the means. An intelligent and trustworthy traveller, Tchihatchef, who spent many years in Asia Minor, says that in 1847 the Governor of the province of Bozok had but eighty-two irregular soldiers under his orders; while seven or eight thousand armed Kurds exacted contributions from the inhabitants, and turned vast herds of sheep and camels into their crops,—an outrage which is repeated yearly.

No Gladstone can be found to settle the Turkish budget; for production must precede taxation; and security of property is the first condition of production in any shape, agricultural or manufacturing. Now, a Government whose very existence was avowedly an embodying of the supremacy of physical force, and which still retains the theory,—a Theocracy whose proselytism is that of the sabre,—cannot but deal arbitrarily with the persons and properties of its subjects; and the inferior functionaries cannot but imitate the authority which has appointed them; and the ruder and bolder part of the people cannot but put the same principle in practice, and turn brigands on their own account. All promises to the contrary notwithstanding, the taxes continue to be farmed out to speculators, most frequently Pachas themselves, or to others high in office; and these again let them out at a premium to inferior agents, who extort as much as they can. Hence a great part of the taxes levied never finds its way into the public treasury, except it be now and then from the summary confiscation of the goods of some dignitary, more rapacious or less dexterous than his fellows; and the Government is not enriched, while the people are impoverished. It is surely no wonder that the vast natural resources of the Ottoman Empire should remain unemployed, its people sunk in ignorance, apathy, and discouragement, its rich provinces not even connected together by roads. It is pretended, with a little exaggeration, doubtless, that there is no more effec-

tual way of impeding intercourse between two places, than the setting Turkish engineers to make a road between them; so barbarous are their attempts at paving, by heaping stones together in a row; but, happily, they seldom undertake the task. The amount of the public revenue is kept secret; but, from such *data* as can be ascertained, it is conjectured to be about six hundred millions of piastres, that is, less than six millions sterling, which was enough for the expenses of the rude primitive sort of Government that existed thirty years ago, but not for the system which has been since on trial; so that expenditure has gone on increasing in a most frightful proportion, for a time of peace; and, during these last years, the excess is supposed to amount annually to half as much as the entire income. It is evident that the expenses to which the Porte has been recently driven, in order to maintain a respectable helligerent attitude, are as great a drain upon its financial resources, as positive war would be to those of any other State. The Sultan's melting down the plate he had inherited from his mother, and his being allowed without a protest to appropriate the funds of the mosques, are symptoms of distress as well as zeal; and every month that the arts of Russian diplomatists can prolong this ruinous state of armed negotiation, is almost as great an injury as would be inflicted in a moderately successful campaign. The Turk is like a wounded champion, on whom his adversary need waste no blows; for he will bleed to death, if only obliged to stand up, and wield his arms.

The final proof of the impossibility of engrafting Christian institutions upon Moslem civilization is, that the Porte itself, this last winter, came to the resolution of giving up the attempt. The most practicable and forcible part of the Hatti-sherif of Gulhane was annulled by the restoration of their old despotic authority to the Pachas and local Governors. To what extent it was intended to return to primitive barbarous traditions, remains a secret; for, since the mission of Prince Menschikoff, the Porte has assured the representatives of the European powers of its desire to treat the Christians with all justice and humanity; but it evidently did propose to seek for safety in a revival of the national spirit. Hence the refusal, at a great pecuniary loss, to accept the loan which had been negotiated with English and French capitalists; and hence the renewal of the oft-foiled attempt to conquer the Montenegrins in their mountain fastnesses. This was, indeed, a line of conduct that could only be dictated by despair. The old system was slowly carrying the empire to ruin, as the preamble of the Hatti-sherif rightly says: for the previous hundred and fifty years (dating from about the Treaty of Carlowitz probably) weakness and poverty had been gradually taking the place of power and prosperity. The new system accelerated the process of decay; a return to the old would certainly precipitate it. If the old garment was endangered by the sewing on of a new piece, the rent would only be made immediate and irreparable

by violently tearing it off. Sad alternative, between a system proved impracticable by the experience of twenty years, and a return to a system proved ruinous by the experience of centuries! Partial reform only made the necessity for total reform more urgent; but total reform would be the negation of the religious principle of Mahometanism. Never was the supreme importance of moral causes more strikingly illustrated in human history, than by the weakness, the oscillations, and the final helplessness of this great empire. Its Mahometan population has no longer fanaticism enough to save it, but just enough to put it in peril. They can never again render the standard of the Prophet formidable to Christian armies; but they can goad and exasperate the Christians that are in their power, and at once provoke and authorize, more and more, the interested interference of Austria and Russia. It is notorious that the Rayahs of Bosnia and of Hertzegovina have suffered great cruelties and wrongs, of late, from the revived brutality of their neighbours; and it is reported that, just a fortnight before last Easter, the Turkish Government discovered a plot to exterminate the Greeks and Franks at Constantinople. The conspirators were Mollahs come for the purpose from different provinces, and the pupils of the schools of theology belonging to the mosque of the Sultan Mahmoud. The schools have been shut up, and those desperadoes sent home; but what security is there that the explosion thus happily prevented may not, sooner or later, break out irresistibly in the capital or elsewhere? Diplomats generally think all the world as calculating and unimpassioned as themselves. They could not, for instance, for long years bring themselves to understand the deathless enthusiasm, with which awakened Greece *would*, in spite of all remonstrances, fight for her freedom; as little—or rather, much less—can they fathom the fire-depths of religious feeling, whether in a state of healthy or morbid excitement. So, when they have given the Porte a little good advice, they think the evil day has been warded off; but they may be startled from their slumber one day, by news of such scenes taking place on the sunny shores of the Bosphorus, or in the luxuriant valleys of Asia Minor, as must, in spite of diplomacy, seal the doom of the Turkish Empire immediately and for ever.

The objection naturally presents itself,—How can we attribute the decline and approaching fall of the Ottomans to their religion, when they were once themselves so powerful, and when the Arabs, before them, not only carried their victorious arms from the Himalayas to Gibraltar, but made science flourish at Cordova and Bagdad, traded at once with the north of Europe and with India and China, invented algebra, and built the Alhambra? The answer is ready. Experience has shown that civilizations, the vital principle of which is defective, may yet accomplish a great deal, and carry races onward to a certain degree of development. That degree once attained, if the race can be kept stationary, or nearly so,—if there be nothing to solicit

further progress,—then both religion and people can survive, in a sort of fossil state, for thousands of years, as has been the case in the extreme East. In western Asia and Europe, however, the trumpet-call to advance has never ceased resounding; and the various successive forms of religion and society, when unable any longer to answer that imperious call, must needs make room for others; as plants growing on a soil too light are green at first, and blossom with fair promise, but wither up when nature summons them to produce seed; or as human beings of feeble constitution can increase in bulk and vigour during childhood, but pine and die when they reach the critical period of adult development. Christianity alone has shown itself, twice over, capable of surviving the shipwreck of old societies, and of creating new ones; capable of responding to every call upon its resources, and of guiding mankind through every stage of their long pilgrimage. When the Arabs, inspired by the mighty conception of the unity of God, set out to conquer the world, the intense excitement naturally called all their faculties into exercise. They soon borrowed whatever science India could bestow. Armenian literature and translations made them acquainted with the treasures of ancient Greece. In the spheres of mathematics and physics they themselves made respectable additions to the sum of human knowledge, or of the instruments of acquiring knowledge; and they had their short day of intellectual pre-eminence; but they could not retain it. Their civilization, like that of Egypt, and Babylon, and Persia, and Greece, and Rome in succession, had no deep-lying, indestructible, saving principle to communicate to the world; and it gave way, not because of external violence merely, but essentially from internal insufficiency. It was necessary, in order to complete the great circle of experiments in human history, that abstract monotheism should be put upon its trial somewhere; and it could not have a more favourable trial, than at a time when the western half of the Christian society was broken to pieces, and the eastern half was in a state of inanition. But the trial is over now: we know what fruits an abstract monotheism is capable of producing; it may even be added,—we know how long it takes to work itself out. There were eight centuries from the beginning of Mahomet's preaching to the expulsion of the Moors from Spain; and there have been nearly eight centuries from the first appearance of the Seljuk Turks, in 1092, until the present time, when their descendants are precisely in the state that the Moors were in, on the eve of their expulsion. In the centre of Africa, on the contrary, Mahometan civilization, such as it is, is on the advance, gradually assimilating fresh tribes to itself, and journeying south, because it has only to compete with Fetichism.

Part of European Turkey was subdued, and Adrianople made its capital, for nearly a hundred years before that memorable 1453, when Mahomet II. planted the crescent on the tower of Constantinople; and, during this long period, the Greek Empire

existed by a kind of sufferance, until it became the convenience of the conqueror to strike the decisive blow. By an emphatic retribution, the Turkish State is now in precisely similar circumstances; dying by inches, propped up by the pillows of diplomacy, until some relaxation in the vigilance of the European powers, or some project of dismemberment accepted by them, or the impatience of his own Christian population, or the revived fanaticism of the Moslems, give the signal of his fall. Another great conquering Empire is about to descend heavily into the metropolis of nations; the tenants of the grave may be summoned from beneath to meet her: the mighty dead—Pharaohs, Persian, Greek, and Roman—rise from their sepulchral chambers, and hail the last of the Ottomans: “Art thou also become weak as we are? Art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols. The worm is become thy couch, and the earth-worm thy coverlet.” Our descendants will speak of the time when the Turks were in the south-east of Europe, as we do of the time when the Moors were in the south-west; but the parallel is so far inexact, that future travellers will not find in Constantinople those monuments of Mahometan art and grandeur which we admire in Spain.

Assuming the fall or the metamorphose of the Turkish Empire to be but a question of time, it is naturally asked, What is to come after it? Unfortunately, we know, from the example of Spain, that the cross may succeed the crescent, without any perceptible moral benefit to humanity. One Mahometan expulsion on a grand scale cost Europe much blood and many cruelties, and was followed by no commensurate results: what will be the manner and the issue of the second? Without attempting any positive answer to this momentous question, let us, at least, try to form as correct an idea as possible of the numbers, religious and moral state, political tendencies and relations of the Christian populations which, on the European side of the Bosphorus at least, are preparing to supplant their masters. We shall first take the provinces separately, and then review the whole. It must be premised that, upon the important head of population, calculations are very uncertain in a country in which registers and a regular census are unknown. They now exist, indeed, in the Principalities of the Danube, but not in the provinces under the immediate sway of the Porte. We can only try to approximate to the truth by comparing authorities. The first volume of Wigger’s *Kirchliche Statistik* exhibits, perhaps, the most exact view of the relative strength of the different religious communities; but their absolute strength appears to be somewhat understated.

Let us begin with Moldavia and Wallachia. They are inhabited by the mixed race called *Roumans*, consisting of the old Dacian stock, latinized by numerous Roman colonies, and mingled, at a later period, with Bulgarians and other Slavonic emigrants. They speak a dialect derived from Latin; and their

religion is that of the Greek Church. Turkish Moldavia has 1,430,000 inhabitants; Wallachia, 2,420,000: a multitude of Gypsies are included in the census. Those provinces opening in rich broad plains to the north-east have been successively over-run by all the barbarians who have come from the steppes of Asia, and have been the constant theatre of their wars with the nations of the west and south, as they were more recently the battle-field of the Turks and Russians. Their native Princes were alternately allies and vassals of the Hungarians, the Poles, and the Turks. At the peace of Adrianople, in 1829, they were at last constituted distinct states, tributary to the Porte, and protected by the Czar, it being moreover agreed that, for the future, no Mahometans should be allowed to settle north of the Danube. The tribute amounts to three millions of piastres, not quite £30,000. The *Hospodars* were to be chosen, at first, for seven years, (but it has been since determined, for life,) by an electoral college of Boyards of two classes, of Bishops, and Deputies of districts. The National Assembly consists, also, of Bishops, Boyards, and Deputies; but it cannot meddle with external organic change. The Clergy, more especially the superior Clergy, are the docile instruments of Russia; and the Russian Consuls at Bucharest and Jassy are practically Lords-lieutenant, disposing of all favours, and, by mingled corruption and intimidation, holding in their hands the reins of government.

A considerable part of Moldavia, all that lay on the left bank of the Pruth, had been ceded to Russia in 1812. There are, also, more than two millions of Roumans living under the sceptre of Austria, in Transylvania; so that they present the melancholy spectacle of a people divided between three masters, and retained in barbarism by a very corrupt form of Christianity, and by ages of misgovernment. All the refinements of modern civilization exist among the Nobles and wealthier class; while the Priests are extremely ignorant and immoral, the people cowardly, indolent, and, in every sense, degraded. Yet trade is increasing; Galacz has been called the Alexandria of the Danube; a feeling of nationality is beginning to develop itself, and to spread across the political and conventional boundaries that separate the members of the same race; Transylvanian and Wallachian peasants learn to chant the same old national ballads, and new patriotic songs. The news of the French Revolution of 1848 fell upon the Turkish Roumans, upon the inhabitants of Bucharest and Jassy in particular, like a spark upon a train of gunpowder, showing that a desire of social progress and a dislike to Russia had been growing upon them. They did not immediately attempt to depose their respective Hospodars, but insisted upon a total change in the management of affairs, and proclaimed the enfranchisement of serfs, that first necessary step towards a more advanced civilization. This was in the course of that eventful year. Russia lost no time in occupying the Principalities with an overwhelming

force. Stout old Riza Pacha would have insisted upon their being evacuated, and, if needs be, fought it out: but the Porte felt itself unsustained by the other powers of Europe. Even England, its most natural ally under the circumstances, was in a fit of absence or short-sighted indifference; so Riza Pacha was dismissed from the ministry, the liberal movement in the Principalities crushed, and the parish Priests ordered to pray for the Emperor Nicholas. This first occupation ceased after a few months; but, by the convention of Balta-Liman, the sword was kept suspended over those provinces, if they should prove refractory. Thus Russia availed herself of the distracted state of Europe in the years 1818 and 1849, to crush a suffering people, and retard their political and social progress; but she reigns by force, not sympathy; and her rough courtship can hardly win the affections of the Roumans. The present occupation bears a character of insult to the Porte, rather than of hostility to the inhabitants of the provinces themselves; and the first act of the Divan of Moldavia, upon its assembling at Jassy on the 27th of June, was to vote an address of devotion to the Czar. It is to be hoped this is a mere compliment. We do not profess to fathom the Emperor Nicholas's intentions: he may evacuate the provinces more readily and earlier than we dare expect; but, in any case, this crossing and recrossing of the Pruth is a bad habit and a temptation: neither the Russians nor the Roumans should be allowed to accustom themselves to it. We cannot forget that the change of protection into appropriation is a long established rule of Muscovite policy. The Crimea was declared independent of the Porte in 1774, and Catherine II. took possession of it in 1783.

Between the Balkan and the Danube are spread the fertile plains of Bulgaria. It is said the original stock of the Bulgarians came from the banks of the Volga, and it was supposed they were most nearly related to the Finnish race and to the Magyars; but it is to be inferred from their language that they are principally of Slavonic origin, their dialect remaining, however, very distinct from the Illyrio-Servian dialects spoken on their west. They were once the terror of the degenerate Greek Empire, but were subdued by the Turks in 1396, and are now distinguished by a character of mildness, if not servility. They may be roughly computed at four millions, of whom about 300,000 have become Mussulmen. The rest are Greek Christians, very low, indeed, in the scale of civilization, sunk in ignorance and filth. The higher Clergy, imprudently chosen by the Turks in the monasteries of Mount Athos and its dependencies, are the complaisant servants of the Russian court; yet the laity refused to take arms for Russia in the war of 1828, feeling instinctively that it would be but a change of masters. The Bulgarians are accused, by their neighbours, of having lost even the desire of liberty, during their long servitude; yet there was a stir among the Heidukes at the beginning of the Greek insurrection;

and Marc Botzaris, the hero of Missolonghi, was one of them. Again, in 1841, an outrage offered to a young woman produced an insurrection in the Balkan, which was not quelled without trouble and bloodshed. The influence of Greece is now very strongly felt in this province; and its importance increases with the increase of navigation in the Danube and the Black Sea.

Travelling westward along the northern frontier of the Empire, we come to Servia. This is a natural fortress,—one large valley surrounded by the highest mountains in European Turkey. Its 900,000 inhabitants belong to the Greek Church, except about 12,000 Mussulmen. They speak one of the most harmonious of the Slavonic dialects, are a spirited and chivalrous people, remarkable for their strong domestic affections and their love of liberty, more moral than any of their co-religionists, more active than any except the Greeks. Servia had independent Princes for many ages; it then got involved in the long and bloody strife between Turkey and Hungary. The fatal battle lost in the plain of Corsovo, in 1389, is the great disaster in the annals of this people, and is as present to their remembrances as if it took place but yesterday; as is also the death of their good Prince Cazasus, and that of the victor Amurath too, killed upon the field of battle by a wounded and dying Servian. This has been the ever-recurring theme of popular song and lament, down to a very recent tragedy by Milutinowicz. After repeatedly changing masters, the Servians remained subjects of the Porte in 1739. Early in the present century, goaded by the exactions of the Janissaries, they took up arms, defended themselves with great valour under the famous Czerni George, and co-operated with the Russians in the campaigns of 1809–1812. The treaty of Bucharest secured them an amnesty. The last war which broke out between Russia and Turkey was the signal for a more successful struggle; and in 1830 their partial independence was recognised by the Porte. The Servians have neither Nobles nor serfs; they are all free, and are generally owners of the fields they cultivate. This is the only country in which circumstances have permitted the establishment of that patriarchal democracy, which liberal Slavonians declare to be the ideal towards which tend the aspirations of their race, and the only form of democracy suited to propagate itself among them. All families are equal; but the head of the family only enjoys electoral rights. From the national representatives, chosen by this peculiar kind of suffrage, the Prince selects a ministry and a sort of privy council, in which all laws submitted to the Assembly are first discussed, the Assembly itself having the right of accepting or rejecting them, but not that of taking the initiative, or introducing laws without the approbation of the council. The Prince himself is elected for life. The Slavonic mind is given to hero-worship; it has great reverence for, and confidence in, superior energy and capacities; and writers of that race who

wish for the development of native free institutions, rather than the importation of foreign ones, are accustomed to represent this system as happily combining the equality of all with practical government by the great and good, the self-respect of the free-man with the Slavonian's mystic reverence for his natural superiors.

The Porte has only reserved to itself the citadel of Belgrade, (the garrison of which it may, if necessary, increase to 9,000 men,) and a tribute to be levied by native officers. The Servians are connected with Austria by old historical associations, and by the fact that a considerable Servian population lives under the Austrian sceptre, in Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. They should, apparently, be still more connected with Russia by the ties of a common religion, a common origin, a kindred language, and the services they have received from that colossal power; but there exists a counterbalancing principle of antagonism, in the democratic tendencies of a hardy and energetic people. Even the clergy are not devoted to Russia as they are elsewhere, perhaps because they are recruited exclusively in their own province, and do not come from monasteries where the Russian influence predominates. The high dignitaries of the church receive, indeed, rich presents from the Czar, but maintain a footing of reserve. The tyranny of Russia over Poland has produced upon the minds of the Servians a feeling that the protection of their autocrat cousin is more to be dreaded than the superannuated despotism of the Porte. They even deposed their Prince Milosch in 1842, because he was too much in the Russian interest, and put his son Michael in his place. This revolution was effected with the approbation of Riza Pacha, then Vizier. Russia would gladly have interfered; but the other great powers of Europe had then the leisure and the will to attend to her schemes of aggrandizement, and she did not dare to do so. It should be added, that the Servians have established schools, printing-presses, hospitals, post-offices, and a penitentiary; and that the roads are as safe as in the most civilized countries. Belgrade boasts of newspapers and an academy. Indeed, no branch of the wide-spread Slavonic family has entered, with more enthusiasm than the Servians, into the idea of creating a new national literary unity, and, at the same time, treasuring up all fragments of old national ballads and traditions. Gaj has done much to popularize this idea among the Austrian Illyrians; and he has been ably seconded by the Slovak poet Kollar, by Palacki, the historian of Bohemia, and by Schafarik, the ethnographer and archæologist.

The accounts of the bearing of the Servians in the present crisis are somewhat contradictory. It is said that the Prince of Serbia offers the Sultan 15,000 men to garrison Belgrade, and 30,000 to defend the frontier; but that the Sultan's insisting upon the landsturm's being called out has created disaffection.

Bosnia, with its dependencies, forms the north-west corner of

the Turkish Empire, and its principal rampart against Austria. It is a wild and mountainous country. The inhabitants, who always carry arms, and are proverbially ferocious, make incessant incursions upon the Austrian territories. Two-thirds of them have embraced Islamism; but they remain monogamists, keep up sundry traditional Christian usages, are jealous of the Turks, and continue to speak their native Slavonic dialect. The power of the Pacha, who lives at Bosna-Serai, was very limited until of late, the Bosnians having been practically governed by thirty-six hereditary and native Chiefs. This feudal system has been crushed, but not extinguished, by Omer Pacha; but the cruelly-oppressed minority of the people who remained Christians have not been gainers by the change. Last year the depredations of the Bosnian Mussulmen upon Austrian subjects, and their outrages upon their own Christian countrymen, were so intolerable as to provoke the mission of Count Leiningen, and the extraordinary powers of protection and intervention which the Porte has been obliged to concede. Bosnia Proper contains 800,000 inhabitants, Herzegovina 301,000, Turkish Croatia about 400,000. The historical associations of those provinces are, in a great measure, Austrian. After many vicissitudes, they were ceded to Turkey in 1739. Even in 1789 and 1790 they were partially re-conquered, but given up again. The Bosnian is remarkable for his attachment to his native soil, which he can never be induced to leave; so that the retreat of the Turkish power would not here, at least, be followed by emigration, and the Moslem population, remaining isolated and dispirited, would offer a favourable field for Protestant missions.

Immediately to the south, between Bosnia and the Adriatic, in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of Montenegro, a small Slavonic people have maintained their own independence, and kept open an asylum for insurgents against Turkey, from time immemorial. Each village chooses its own Chief; but the whole form a kind of republic, governed by a Vladika, or Prince-Bishop. The Montenegrins formerly used to look to Venice as their natural ally and protectress: their veneration was afterwards transferred to Russia. The Vladika used to be chosen among the Monks of the Convent of Cetigna; but this dignity has become hereditary in the family of Peter I., who had in his day braved Napoleon, and died at a great age in 1840. Peter II. established many useful reforms, and made himself comparatively independent of Russia, though the reigning Prince Daniel did not the less go to St. Petersburg to receive investiture from the Russian Holy Synod. They number a little more than 100,000 souls; their dialect is closely related to the Servian; and their late successful defence against an army of 40,000 regular soldiers shows they have not degenerated from the savage valour of their ancestors.

Albania is peopled by 1,600,000 Arnauts, as they are called by the Turks,—Schypetars, as they call themselves; descendants

of the old Illyrians, mixed with Greeks and various races. They are a fierce, energetic people, and, when they emigrate, industrious. Their levies are the best soldiers in the Turkish army. Remaining Christians until the death of their hero, Scanderbeg, in 1467, a considerable number of them embraced Mahometanism, and have acquired a sad reputation for pride, cruelty, and perfidy. The Christian Arnauts are generally of the Greek Church; but in Upper Albania the district between the Black Drino and the sea is Roman Catholic; and its inhabitants, in some respects superior to their neighbours, are ever ready to defend their religion and liberties. This district contains the little town of Croya, which was Scanderbeg's residence. The feudal anarchy, which long reigned in Albania, and of which the Rayahs especially were victims, was put a stop to by the destruction of the Begs in 1830, and sundry administrative reforms were introduced. Even the Islamite Albanian is uneasy under the Turkish yoke. There were disturbances in 1835, and the insurgents wanted to be united with the new kingdom of Greece; but diplomatists would not hear of it. At present the Albanians of the south continue to have a decided leaning towards Greece.

There are about three millions and a half of inhabitants in the remaining provinces of European Turkey,—Thessaly, Macedonia, and Romelia, including 600,000 for the city of Constantinople. We use the old names, because Turkish political circumscriptiions are altogether conventional, and will eventually disappear. Of these, about a million and a half are Mussulmen; perhaps nearly as many, Greeks in descent and language, as well as in religion. There are whole districts occupied by stray Slavonians and Roumans, a great many Jews, Armenians, &c. On the whole, we may reckon, for Turkey in Europe, 11,000,000 of Greeks, 3,650,000 Mussulmen, 300,000 Roman Catholics, 250,000 Jews, 150,000 Gypsy Heathen, chiefly in the Principalities of the Danube, and 100,000 Armenians.

In an ethnological point of view, the Christian inhabitants of Turkey in Europe may be divided into three classes:—that in which the old Græco-Roman element predominates, south of the Balkan and the Argentaro; the mixed Roman and Dacian race north of the Danube; and, between those two, a Slavonic belt, extending from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, but divided, by peculiarities of language and national character, into the Illyrio-Servians on the west and the Bulgarians on the east. As to the Moslems, according to Berghaus, (*Länder und Völkerkunde*,) only one-fifth, or 700,000, are genuine Osmanli Turks. There are 230,000 Tartars: the remainder consist of converts from among the subject races; for whole districts in despair sometimes went over to Islamism at once, and multitudes of individuals reduced to slavery made the decisive confession, "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is the Prophet of God," in order to have their chains taken off. The real Turk is a far nobler character

than his proselytes,—grave, hospitable, courageous, and, when not carried away by his prejudices, intelligent.

In a geographical point of view, Turkey in Europe may be divided into the basin of the Danube, the Adriatic, and the *Ægean*, with the Sea of Marmora. The first, extending from Turkish Croatia to Wallachia inclusively, contains nearly ten millions, of whom about one million are Mussulmen. Half the inhabitants have already obtained a partial independence; and the other half would soon follow, but for the fierceness of the Bosnian Mussulmen, and the apathy of the Bulgarian Christians. The basin of the Adriatic contains two millions, the strength of the Christians and Mahometans being equally balanced, and both parties disaffected; the basin of the *Ægean*, as already mentioned, three millions and a half, with a slight preponderance of Christians.

The statistics of Turkey in Asia may be given more summarily, but, alas! are far more uncertain. It is supposed there are about a million and a half of Osmanlis, chiefly in Anatolia and Caramania, where they are even found engaged in agricultural pursuits. Four millions of Mahometans of various subject races, including descendants of Greeks, and probably of indigenous populations, who have changed religion and language and costume, several times over, during the invasions, conquests, and devastations of twenty-six centuries. Two millions of Arabs. One million of savage Kurds. One hundred thousand more peaceable wandering Turcomans. Three hundred thousand members of different Heathenish and Mahometan sects, of which the Druses are the most remarkable and the most powerful. Three hundred thousand Jews. Two millions of Greeks, who retain their religion and language: they are chiefly scattered round the coasts. One million seven hundred thousand Armenians. Two hundred thousand Jacobites,—remains of the old Monophysite heretics in Mesopotamia and Syria. Two hundred thousand Nestorians, half of them concentrated in the Mountains of Kurdistan: they represent the opposite speculative extreme from the Jacobites, while living in the same districts and under the same oppression. Four hundred thousand Roman Catholics, chiefly the Maronites of Mount Lebanon. The Arabic is one of the most prevalent living languages in this Babel. The Kurds speak Persian. On adding up the numbers, we find 8,600,000 Mahometans, 4,500,000 Christians, and 600,000 Neutrals; so that the Christians form but a third of the population of this half of the Empire, and are even more divided amongst each other than in the European provinces.

It is more easy to discover the chief agencies that are at work, for good or evil, among these motley populations of nominal, but degenerate, Christians, than to ascertain the numerical strength of the various rival sects, or to compare it with that of their taskmasters. In the first place, there is the materially impos-

verishing and morally degrading influence of Turkish despotism. We have not before us a people to be divided into governors and governed, but into oppressors and oppressed. If it be a common proverb in the East, that the grass does not grow where the Osmanli sets his foot, it is equally true that no virtues can flourish under such a sway. The Turk himself exhibits the manly frankness, the integrity, the dignified bearing, that are generally characteristic of dominant races; while the Rayah has become cringing and faithless, as is the wont of subject races. This is especially the case where the former are most numerous, have been settled longest, and have found the Christians already in a state of demoralization. The apathy of the Mahometans, and the native enterprise of the Greeks and Armenians, have thrown most of the commerce of the Empire into the hands of the latter, together with the Jews and some Albanians; but, except in particular instances, the Mahometans are better educated—taking the word “educated” in its vulgar, restricted sense—than the Christians; and far more Turks, in proportion to their numbers, can read and write.

Undoubtedly, the oldest, direst, and most inveterate obstacle to the social and moral progress of Eastern Christians is the material, unevangelical character of their Christianity. But for this, Islamism would never have existed; for, when the Arabs of the seventh century, wearied with idolatry, were in search of a religion, it is evident to the intelligent student of history, that they would have embraced Christianity, instead of inventing a monotheism of their own, if the abject superstitions of the Eastern Church had not disgusted them. It was this which made the degenerate successors of Constantine succumb before the Ottoman arms; and it is the same deep-lying, persistent principle of weakness, which hinders the emancipated Greek from taking that place among freemen, to which his capacities would entitle him, and to which the immortal remembrance of his forefathers should teach him to aspire. From the seventh to the fifteenth century, dismayed Emperors and Generals, Patriarchs and Bishops, recognised in the conquests of the crescent, and in the disasters of the Empire, the judgments of God upon a corrupt court and people; but they could not, or did not, recognise the close and direct causal connexion between their religious degeneracy and their reverses. The providential direction of human history does not exhibit itself in a series of judgments inflicted arbitrarily and miraculously, without any intrinsic connexion between them and the moral state which has called them down. On the contrary, with nations as with individuals, the moral cause which has made retributive inflictions necessary, becomes also, most frequently, their natural cause. When Christianity is transformed into mere arid speculations or mechanical practices, withdrawing from the heart to the head or to the finger-ends; when its worship

of the living and holy God, in the spirit of restored filial relationship to Him, is replaced by a mere instinctive dread, multiplying mediators until it has practically become a downright polytheism ; when the real and effectual intercession of its only Priest is forgotten in the worthless mummeries of an ignorant, interested, and sensual priesthood ; such a Christianity as this can never resist the immorality of all sorts, and the selfish materialism that spreads like a canker, in societies the refinements and luxuries of whose civilization are beyond their moral attainments. It has lost the conception of the dignity and responsibilities of the human calling : it cannot create the incorruptible statesman, the self-denying patriot, the devoted warrior : it can neither sustain the old worm-eaten fabric nor create a new one, but must pay the penalty of the separation between its traditions and the real moral life of man.

The whole of Christendom, from the third to the sixth century inclusive, exhibits the same progressive deterioration, and from the same causes. The slowness of the Church to appropriate, or her failing to retain, the mystery of grace,—God in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself,—threw her back upon Jewish and legal views : the consequent absence of spiritual life hindered the realization of the Christian principle of the priesthood, and favoured the establishment of a graduated and imposing hierarchy. The incorporation of whole nations, sometimes by violence, and sometimes by the mere attraction of a higher civilization, filled the Church with multitudes, to whose pagan ideas and practices she assimilated herself, for want of moral powers to raise them to her primitive level, until external Christianity became a baptized idolatry. Thus the enemies that had been conquered in the open field stole into the camp from behind, and established themselves there, disguised as friends. Nature-worship and hero-worship, sacrifice and lustration, mechanical justification, sacerdotal tyranny and imposture,—all revived in the corrupted form of a faith in sacramental graces and in the intercession of saints. From the beginning of the seventh century onwards, the hierarchy of the Western Church, allowed by political circumstances to follow its instinctive aspirations, began to recognise in the Bishop of Rome the head of a great religious monarchy, the keystone of the sacerdotal arch, the organ and the representative of their unity and their power. If the Eastern Church was not equally consistent in following out the great apostasy, we must not suppose that it was from any moral superiority. The presence of the Greek Emperors, and the powers they continued to exercise in the eastern half of the Empire, were the only causes which prevented the Patriarch of Constantinople from becoming a rival Pope ; just as national pride, jealousy of the west, local traditions, and difference of language, were the chief causes which hindered the Greek Clergy from rallying round the banner of spiritual independence erected at Rome. But both Clergy and people were sunk below the

standard of New-Testament faith and practice, as deeply as the Latin Church itself, if not deeper still ; and the religious society was altogether identified with the political. From the days of Gregory the Great to Martin Luther, more eminent men appeared in the Western Church than in the Eastern, more symptoms of religious interest and real appropriation of the life of Christ by individuals, and a higher development of Christian civilization.

The Church of Rome has consummated her apostasy, and sealed her doom, by rejecting the call for reformation, and by persecuting and slaying those that would have saved her ; and the Greek Church seems, at first sight, comparatively guiltless in this respect. She has had no such day of visitation as her sister ; there is no such cry of righteous blood arising from the ground against her ; nor has she so formally, deliberately, and irrevocably rejected the truth. But there is another aspect of the matter : the Reformation took place within the pale of the Latin Church, just because there was most religious life there. It was the development of elements that already existed, struggling and protesting, within that Church ; for there were Reformers before the Reform. So that the very fact that rendered the blindness and perversity of Rome possible,—the fact that the great religious conflict took place and still continues in the territory of the Western Church,—proves that the centre of the religious life of humanity was there. It was for the same reason, that the Prophet could not perish out of Jerusalem of old : the centre of the Theocracy had a fatal prerogative of crime, just because it *was* Jerusalem.

In some respects, as has been already stated, the Greek Church has not, so formally and officially as the Church of Rome, propounded error, because she has not been driven to it by the antagonism of truth. In such cases the germ of the error is then in an undeveloped state, a practice rather than a theory ; in other cases, circumstances force it into utterance. Then, the doctrine of transubstantiation was not formally acknowledged and defined in the Greek confessions of faith until 1672 ; yet it had prevailed in principle from the days of Chrysostom. There is no such express Pelagianism, as in the articles of the Council of Trent ; yet the doctrines of man's ruined and lost condition, of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, and of justification by faith, are as little felt or understood, and as practically set aside, as they can be in the Vatican or at Maynooth. They have no statues or images of the Saints ; but they carry picture-worship further than the most superstitious Roman Catholics : St. Nicholas in limestone would be a scandal ; but St. Nicholas in oil is a hearer and an answerer of prayer. Pretended miracles are a matter of daily occurrence, says Hartley ; and it is so easy to be canonized, that beggars ask for alms with the pious ejaculation : " May your father be sainted ! " Marriage is only forbidden

to Monks and Prelates, not to the common parish Priests, which is an immense advantage over Romanism; so that auricular confession is not productive of so great enormities as in the latter system; but it is not the less a substitution of man's absolution for God's, a means of deceiving souls and of lowering the moral standard of the whole population; for sin against God and man can be conjured away by whispering it into the Priest's ear, and undergoing some little inconvenience called "penance." The Greek Church came into contact with the spirit of the Reformation early in the seventeenth century, in the person of the celebrated Patriarch, Cyril Lucas, and, in 1638, he fell a victim to his pious efforts. Only twenty-five years ago, it was the boast of the Greek Clergy that they had never interdicted the diffusion of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; but they do so now, because a few of their people have begun to read them. The liturgies are in the old Greek and the old Slavonic; and ideas of magical virtue are attached to the repetition of the mere sound, though not understood by the people. No high intellectual or moral qualifications are required for admission to the priesthood; but the slightest physical imperfection would be an insuperable difficulty, and the candidate for holy orders who has the misfortune to lose a *tooth* must give up his pretensions to the sacred office! Perjury is common; and people who swear falsely on the name of Christ without scruple, will not do so on the name of some more respected saint. There are two fast-days in the week, numerous special fasts, and four Lents, so that more than half the days of the year are fast-days; and this religion of arbitrary external performances is set so high above the external laws of right and wrong, that many a poor superstitious wretch will shed a fellow-creature's blood without remorse, but be horror-struck at the thought of violating a fast. Finally, the great feature of the Eastern as well as the Western apostasy, is the excessive adoration of the blessed Virgin. The yearnings of the heart after a human mediator all-powerful in heaven are turned away from Him who wept at the grave of Lazarus, and asked His disciples' sympathies in the Garden of Gethsemane. The little child's first prayer is this: "On thee I repose all my hope. Mother of God, save me!" The adult is taught to say, "Amidst all the sorrows of life, to whom can I flee for refuge but to thee, O holy Virgin?" And again: "May we love thee with all our heart and soul and mind and strength, and never swerve from thy commandments!" And, when the last scene is over, and the body is committed to the grave, the officiating Priest cries aloud, "By thee, O holy Virgin, we are raised from earth to heaven, having thrown off the corruption of death." We are speaking of the Greek religion here, chiefly with reference to its influence upon the temporal condition of those who profess it; but enough has been said to show that, even in this respect, nothing can be expected from it. There is no principle of national regeneration

hid within it ; there can be no amalgamation between it and the increasing intelligence of the nation. Knowledge can only make the Greek an infidel, and it is rapidly doing so already among the best-instructed classes. The absence of some of the evils with which we find fault in Romanism, instead of being a symptom of superiority, is merely the consequence of the Greek Church's representing a phase of Christian history, anterior to that represented by Rome. There have been three great periods in the history of the Church, which may be called, respectively, the imperial, the feudal, and the modern. The transitions between those periods were each of them marked by a great schism ; and the Greek Church has remained a fossilized specimen of the imperial phase, as is the Roman of the feudal.

The minor sections of the Eastern Church, to which belong more than two millions of the Christians of Turkey in Asia, separated from the main body at an early period, on the ground of differences in speculative Christology. The most important of them is the Armenian Church, which, together with the Copts and the Abyssinians, represents the old Monophysite heresy. Differing from the Greeks, as to the distinction of the human and divine natures of the Redeemer, the Armenians agree with them in defining the procession of the Holy Ghost to be from the Father only, in opposition to the Western formula, "from the Father and the Son." The last General Council in which the Bishops of this community took a part, was that of Ephesus, A.D. 431. They do not recognise the authority of that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 ; but the schism was not consummated for a century later, and their religious separation from the Greeks was facilitated by a political separation, their country having been wrested by the Persians from the Emperor of Constantinople. They now form only a third of the population in their native highlands,—a theatre of perpetual wars from the earliest period to the present hour ; but they are scattered, almost like Jews, throughout the neighbouring and even distant countries, and have obtained, like them, a large share of the commerce of the East. Their liturgy is in the old Armenian tongue. Their religious chief, called the *Catholikos*, enjoys the exclusive and very lucrative privilege of making and vending holy oil. His seat is at Echmiazin, which was under the sceptre of Persia until 1828, but now belongs to Russia. The Monks and Prelates may not marry ; the common Priests are allowed to do so, but, monogamists, after the fashion of the Vicar of Wakefield, must remain widowers, if their wives should die before them,—a restriction which also exists among the Greeks, and, indeed, among all the communities of the East, and is said to render their reverences the best and most careful husbands that can be imagined. The nine orders of the Armenian Clergy are intended to represent the same number of degrees which, it appears, exist in the heavenly hierarchy ; but this does not hinder them from being

immoral, drunken, avaricious, and excessively despotic. They are almost universally incapable of preaching, but perform ceremonies, and are unrivalled in the duties of cursing and excommunicating. The women are kept in oriental seclusion and ignorance. About two-thirds of the days in the year are fast-days for the Clergy, and about half for the laity. Their piety consists in the worship of images and relics, pilgrimages, &c., &c. They are very careful of the distinction between clean and unclean animals; and among their objections to Rome are included, —that she uses several wafers in the Communion, instead of fragments of “one bread,” and that the Latin Priests do not wear beards.

The Nestorians are the feeble remains of a once numerous and wide-spread community, which was persecuted by the Greeks, and tolerated for political reasons by the Persians, and which preached the Christian faith in India and in China. To maintain inviolate the distinction between the divine and human natures of the Redeemer, they practically establish a distinction of persons, depriving the Incarnation of its deep meaning and reality. The present centre of Nestorianism is among the descendants of the primitive Chaldean population in the mountains of Kurdistan. The Syrian Christians of Malabar are another small fragment. There are also scattered groups in Asiatic Turkey, Persia, and Tartary. Their liturgy is in old Syriac. Their chief Patriarch, always called Mar Elias, lives at Elkosh, near Mosul; a sort of rival Patriarch, Mar Simon, is established at Urumiah, in Persia. The patriarchal and episcopal dignities are hereditary in certain families. The Nestorians do not admit any traditions to share the authority of the Scriptures as a rule of faith, hold but three sacraments,—baptism, the Eucharist, and ordination,—allow their Priests to marry, have neither pictures nor images, and use a cross only instead of a crucifix. On the whole, they are simple, in both the good and bad senses of the word, and possess a somewhat less degraded form of Christianity than their neighbours, upon whom they exercise little influence, for good or evil.

The Jacobites are Monophysites, but are distinguished from other Churches of that tendency, by carrying farther than any of them the identification of the human and the divine in the Redeemer's person. Moreover, they have always existed as scattered groups, united by the religious tie only; while the others were national churches which protested against the Council of Chalcedon. The liturgy in use is old Syriac. These religionists are more mystical, and in their penances more austere, than any other Christians of the East. Dispersed throughout Mesopotamia, Syria, and the regions south of Caucasus, they were organized by Jacob Baradaeus, who laboured among them from A.D. 541 to 578, and whom their legends confound with the Apostle James.

Those sects have, in common with each other, and with the

Greek Church, a hierarchy less monarchical than that of Rome, and a practical religious materialism, or faith in the magical efficacy of sacraments, more mystical, or less doctrinally developed, than in the West. They have, in common with one another, and with both Greeks and Latins, the use of liturgies in languages no longer understood by the people; and a general absence of conscious relation to the Saviour, that is to say, of vital spiritual religion. They would, perhaps, be even less hopeful than the present Greek community, were they not, from their position of utter political helplessness, more open to the labours of Protestant Missionaries.

Next to Turkish despotism, and to their own effete religion, the great danger and difficulty of the Christian populations of the East is to be found in the interested protection and the ambitious purposes of Russia. The strong attraction exercised upon the Russians by the richer and brighter south, is co-eval with the very origin of their national existence. Four times during the space of 190 years, from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the eleventh, their fleets descended the Borysthenes to attempt to plunder the treasures of Constantinople. They conquered the Bulgarians by land, too, and marched to Adrianople in the year 970, as they were afterwards to do in 1829. Such was the impression left by these barbarians upon the imperial city, that when, after the last of those naval expeditions, the well-known prediction that the Russians should in the last days become masters of Constantinople, was found one morning inscribed upon an old equestrian statue of Bellerophon, it was believed to be the work of a supernatural agent, and spread terror among all ranks. Strange vicissitudes of history! The Russian armies bid fair to accomplish, as deliverers and co-religionists, the prophecy that concerned their ancestors as Pagans and adversaries. Step by step the modern Russian Colossus has been gaining on the receding crescent. The Ukraine was the first prize; then the Crimea in 1774; then Bessarabia, with the boundary of the Pruth, in 1812. The Treaty of Adrianople left her upon the Danube, mistress of its mouths, at the same time that Persia was obliged to cede an equally important military frontier south of Caucasus. The protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia gives Russia a more real sovereignty over those provinces than has been left to the Porte; and the concessions so imperiously demanded in the late mission of Prince Menschikoff would have made the Czar virtual lord and master of the Christian population in European Turkey. There can be no doubt of the ultimate object pursued with such perseverance and vigilance through battle and intrigue. Catherine II. caused to be written upon a finger-post at Kherson, "ROAD TO CONSTANTINOPLE;" and, as a commentary upon this significant inscription, she had a medal struck, on which was represented a flash of light-

ning striking the mosque of St. Sophia. At Tilsit Alexander and Napoleon secretly discussed a project of dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; and they were only hindered from agreeing, by the Czar's insisting upon having both shores of the Bosphorus. The Grand Duke Constantine was so named to express the hope that he might, during his life, achieve the great object of hereditary ambition. The expulsion of the Turks is felt to be the national calling, as much as that of the Moors was the calling of Castile and Arragon. Assuredly, had Russia real liberty to offer to those so long oppressed and down-trodden races, with most of whom she is allied by blood, and with all by religion, no abstract considerations about the balance of power in Europe should hinder the friends of humanity from wishing well to her purposes; but we know the grasp of the autocrat would only consign those fair provinces to a new form of servitude. If he had them in his power, it were over with liberty in every shape, commercial, political, religious; and that for long generations; it were but a change from a bad master with a weak arm, to a somewhat better master with an iron arm. So that the very affinities which would justify Russian intervention, if it were for good, make it all the more dangerous and deplorable now that it is for evil. Let us suppose the provinces of European Turkey transferred to Austrian rule, they would only add to the motley character of its populations, differing as they do already in origin, in language, and in religion. They would rather precipitate its dismemberment, than augment its power. Transfer them to Russia, on the contrary, and there would seem reason to fear their becoming so assimilated to its huge Græco-Sclavonic mass, as vastly to increase its power, and to seal their own long separation from Western Europe. Let us, again, suppose the purposes of Russia thwarted by the firmness of France and England, and those provinces erected into one or more independent states, under the common protection of the great powers, still no official independence, no parchments and red tape, could prevent subserviency to Russian policy, and imitation of Russian intolerance, if the sympathies of the new people were really Muscovite. Happily, there are antagonist principles at work, the nature of which we shall try to describe, and their strength, as far as it can be ascertained.

After the destruction of the Greek Empire, the Sultans confirmed the Patriarch of Constantinople in many of his privileges and immunities, giving him rank with a Pacha of three tails, and allowing the office to be filled by the election of the Holy Synod. This conclave of the Oriental Church consists, it should be said, of the Archbishops of Romelia: its members must never be more than twelve, nor less than six. Turkish liberality, however, did not scruple removing the Patriarch and other dignitaries at pleasure, and using him and them as its own officers, by whom to maintain a sort of control over the religious organism

of the Rayahs. Such a state of things necessarily weakened the connexion between the parent, but enslaved, Church of Greece, and her independent daughter in the Sarmatian forests; and, in 1589, the Czar Feodor Ivanovitch obtained from the Patriarch of Constantinople the recognition of the separate jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow, thus securing the independence of the Russian Church, without the perils and inconveniences of schism. In 1702, Peter the Great took the more decisive step of proclaiming himself head of the national Church. The union of supreme religious and civil authority in one person was not only, as the most simple and natural sort of Theocracy, suited to the imperfect culture of the Russian people; it was also, in a great measure, prepared by the traditions of the Greek Church itself; for Patriarchs had been learning the lesson of subordination, while Popes had been practising that of supremacy. However, that same tendency to confound the religious and national characters, which made the Czar's usurpation possible within his own territories, has rendered it of less importance with respect to other populations of the same confession. The Greek has not that urgent anxiety for the union of all his co-religionists under one Chief, which set the Pope at the head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The three millions of Austrian Greeks look up to the Patriarch of Carlowitz as their only religious head on earth. The great majority of the Russians acknowledge the Czar in the same character. We say "majority;" for five millions of *Starowers*, or "old believers," dissent stoutly from the doctrine of imperial supremacy, and call Peter the Great, "Antichrist." The Archbishopric of Athens has lately been raised to supreme independent jurisdiction over emancipated Greece, with a Holy Synod of its own; and the thirteen millions of the Greek Church still under Turkish rule, bow to the spiritual sceptre of the "œcumenical Patriarch," without accusing their brethren of schism, but also without feeling as impressed or attracted as might have been expected by the pretensions of an imperial Patriarch. It is only in Russia itself, and among the lower orders, that the person of the Czar is viewed with such religious veneration as the champion of the cause of God and of the orthodox Church. Hence he has been driven to struggle for religious influence among the Greeks of Turkey, not so much in his theocratic character, as by intrigues of detail, from matters of the internal administration of some petty convent, to the nomination of the Patriarch, or the use of his patronage. Those intrigues provoked the Hatti-sherif of 1836, which reserved to the Sultan the right of confirming or revoking all nominations to episcopal sees, made by the Patriarch or the Holy Synod. At the same time, to make amends for this stretch of authority, it was promised that no acting Bishop should be deposed by the Turkish Ministers arbitrarily, or without prior advice of the Holy Synod. The practical purpose of Prince

Menschikoff's famous mission would seem to be the transferring from the Sultan to the Czar the authority the latter had begun to exercise over the ecclesiastical organization of his Christian subjects. At least, this is the interpretation which we are inclined to put upon that innocent diplomatic phrase, "the guaranteeing the immunities of the Greek Church." It is true Count Nesselrode manages to give his master's demands a most unpretending air; he would almost have us believe the key of the church of Bethlehem to be the only palpable matter in dispute; no prerogatives, he affirms, have been asked but such as Russia already possessed by treaty or prescription. Then why ask for prerogatives possessed already? why put all Europe in commotion for a new paper security of what had been already promised or practised? The note required in Prince Menschikoff's *ultimatum* either contains something new, or it is superfluous. But it is idle to pretend that demands so peremptorily put forth, and sustained by such an imposing force, were intended to convey nothing new to the minds of the Russian people, and of the Christian populations of Turkey, or to offer no new basis for future diplomatic operations. It is said that the more intelligent of the Turco-Greek Clergy and laity see through the selfish purpose of this insidious protection, and have protested against it.

The acquisition of the trans-Caucasian provinces in 1828, making Russia mistress of Echmiazin, the seat of the Armenian *Catholikos*, afforded the ever-watchful court of St. Petersburg a hopeful opportunity of religio-political speculation. In the first place, the Armenians who inhabited territories yet remaining under the Persian Government were encouraged to emigrate by thousands, and put themselves under the protection of Russia. In the next place, the Czar ordered that the *Catholikos* should no longer be chosen by the Priests and Notables of the immediate district only, but that all Armenian Priests and Notables, in whatever country they resided, should be allowed to take a share in the election. As there are, at most, but four hundred thousand Armenians in the Russian territories, and there are eighteen hundred thousand in the Ottoman Empire, this was a delicate way of paying court to the largest Turco-Christian sect after the Greeks, and of bringing them into connexion with the Russian Government. Several candidates are named for this dignity, among whom the Emperor condescends to make a final choice. The *Catholikos* has a right to send a deputation to the coronation of the Czar, and to be himself attended by an Armenian guard of honour whenever it may be his pleasure to visit St. Petersburg. To meet this new engine of Muscovite policy, the Porte has proclaimed the Armenian Metropolitan of Constantinople independent of the *Catholikos*, allows him to be elected by the Clergy of the capital, and tries, it is said with success, to detach the adherents of this sect from their old centre at Echmiazin.

After religion, it is by the affinities of blood and language that Russia might be expected to exercise an immense influence upon the Christian inhabitants of Turkey; but then, the populations nearest her, and already suffering from her protection, are not Slavonic, but Rouman, and to an old jealousy of races they join a profound antipathy to her policy and institutions. Moreover, even the Slavonians are any thing but enthusiastic in the cause of Russia. The tale of the woes and wrongs of Poland has been borne to their wilds, and has taught them, that the being of a kindred race is not enough to make men happy under a relentless despotism. The idea of one mighty Empire, composed of all the Slavonic tribes, and playing such a part in the world's history as Rome did once, or the Germanic races have done since,—such an idea has seduced the imagination of a few men of letters, called Panslavists; but, out of Russia, they are almost all to be found among the Austrian, not the Turkish, Slavonians; and of the latter, the Servians—whose revived national feeling and cultivation of national literature might dispose them to Panslavism—are just of that hardy self-governing stamp which is essentially opposed to Czarism. We may even add that while the policy of Russia, as to weakening and humbling the Porte, has been unvarying, her policy towards the subjects of the Porte has been vacillating, according as the desire to win their sympathies, or the fear of setting the bad example of successful revolt, has predominated. Russia gloats over every acquisition made by the sword; but a province won by the co-operation of its own inhabitants she cannot view with the same unmixed satisfaction. There is a dangerous principle involved in the latter case; for slaves who have contributed to their change of masters may, some time or other, be tempted to think that they have a right to their own persons. When, in 1821, Alexander Hypsilanti summoned oppressed and widowed Greece to shake the ashes from her brow and the fetters from her limbs, it was natural that Austria should tremble for her own provinces, since she keeps them in precarious subjection, by playing them off one against the other; but Russia had not the excuse of the same necessity of self-preservation, and yet she allowed her despotic instincts to stifle the voice of generosity, and natural sympathy, and sound policy, and broke with her own previous conduct. Poor Hypsilanti set up his standard in the Principalities of the Danube, confiding in the countenance and support of the Emperor Alexander; but, disowned by the Czar and deserted by most of his followers, his little army was cut to pieces. He fled to the Austrian territory: they did not give him up to the Turks to be impaled, as they had done the patriot poet Rhigas, but they threw him into prison, where he died of grief. Two years afterwards, Alexander acquiesced in the shameful determination of the Congress of Verona not to receive the Greek Envoy. He was at that time altogether under the illiberal influence of Met-

ternich. It was not until the fierce resolution of the Greeks made it evident that there was no mean term between their extermination and their emancipation, that Russia at last, in concert with England and France, interfered on their behalf; and then, as if to show she was incapable of tendering aid without some selfish purpose, she profited by the humiliation of the Porte to make war on her own account.

The last, which we shall mention, of the disastrous influences at work in the East, is the proselytism of the Church of Rome, worthy rival of that of Russia, and unchecked by scruples of any sort. The schism of the Eastern and Western Churches was practically effected that Christmas-day, A.D. 800, when Pope Leo III. set the crown on the head of Charlemagne. There was then no theological controversy between the two great sections of Christendom; and the Council of Constantinople, in 869, is recognised by the Roman Church. However, the quarrels of ambitious Popes and Patriarchs aggravated the growing national aversion, and theological reasons were invented to sanction it. The consummation of the schism may be dated from the 16th of July, A.D. 1054, when the Pope's Legates deposited upon the altar of the Church of St. Sophia a formal excommunication, filled with the most direful anathemas against the Patriarch and all his followers and abettors in heresy. During the four centuries that followed, there were many struggles between the rival hierarchies for the possession of the countries that seemed undecided between them. Bulgaria, for instance, in an hour of discontent, sent an embassy to lay itself at the feet of Pope Innocent III.; and the famous Calo-John received from the Vatican a royal title, a Latin Archbishop, a holy banner, and the licence of coining money: but the insolence of the Latin conquerors of Constantinople, in 1204, soon dissolved an alliance which had no root in the dispositions of the Bulgarian people. There were also frequent negotiations between the Emperors of the East and the Roman Pontiffs, partial attempts at reconciliation, more or less hollow truces. More than one of the Palæologi made secret, or even public, acts of submission, in hope of obtaining success against foreign or domestic enemies, and for a time barbarously persecuted those of their subjects, who were more bigoted or less scrupulous than themselves. The last, and apparently the least insincere, of those attempts, was the so-called union of the Greek and Latin Churches, concluded at Florence, A.D. 1438. The Emperor John Palæologus II., with the Patriarch and a chosen train of Bishops and Dignitaries, attended the Council held by Eugenius IV., and, after nine months of labour and discussion, settled upon a form of consent which could be subscribed by both parties, and in which, with some modifications of form, to save the dignity and spare the self-love of the Greeks, the disputed question of the procession of the Holy Ghost was so

determined as to express substantially the doctrine of the Latin Church. The act of union was solemnly read in the Greek and Latin tongues, and accompanied with the celebration of high mass in the cathedral of Florence; the Creed was chanted; a Romish Cardinal and the Archbishop of Nice, representatives of their respective communions, embraced each other in the name and in the presence of their brethren. But all this fair show was only wrung from the Greek Ecclesiastics by the violence of their prince. They had no sooner landed on the Byzantine shore, than they hastened to deprecate the murmurs of the people by bewailing their apostasy; and John Palæologus was almost alone in remaining faithful to the union, during the few years that he prolonged his reign and his hopes of safety from the Latin arms. Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiow, the representative of Russia at the Council of Florence, seems to have seriously attempted to realize the union in his own country; but he was condemned by a national Council, and shut up in a monastery, after escaping with difficulty from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people.

The Reformation changed the attitude of the Latin Church. It was now the turn of the Pope to flatter the Eastern Christians, and thus try to find compensation for the losses sustained in Central and Northern Europe. The Church of Rome became all grace and pliancy, and seems for the first time to have entertained the idea of winning back the schismatics individually, in cases where the masses remained immovable. She also allowed such Greeks as chose to attach themselves by masses to her communion, to retain the marriage of their Priests, the communion in both kinds, and the use of the Liturgy in Greek. The helplessness of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as far as political power was concerned, was of immense advantage to a rival who could, in many cases, promise protection, immunities, and civil privileges to his adherents, and who used every art to increase their number. Thus whole populations, especially on the frontier, and those shut in among districts already belonging to the Latin rite, began to look away from St. Sophia to the Vatican. The comparatively missionary spirit of the Church of Rome, moreover, and her advocacy of religious or ecclesiastical principles for their own sake, distinct from national or political interests, contrasted favourably with the absence of all missionary feeling and effort on the part of her rival. Among the Greek Churches, as among Protestant Churches until lately, the religious character is, so to speak, overlaid by the national, a yearly excommunication of all heretics being the only notice the Patriarch of Constantinople takes of such persons as have the misfortune not to belong to the only safe and orthodox Church. From those various causes, the number of "united Greeks" became so great as to suggest the possibility of the independent or schismatic Greek Church, as Romanists call it, becoming one day absorbed. The development of the power and the national spirit

of Russia has put a stop to this movement. Many of the united Greeks of Little Russia, whose submission to Rome dated from A.D. 1596, returned to the bosom of the national Church in the reign of Catherine II.; and not less than two millions of Rusniacs and Lithuanians, comprising almost the whole body of united Greeks that remained within the Russian territory, sought reconciliation with their "orthodox" master at the Synod of Polozk, in February, 1839. Austria is now the chief home of the united Greeks, who amount to about three millions and a half, especially Rusniacs and Transylvanians. There are about 80,000 in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and they are scattered in small numbers over the Levant. But they make no further progress; and though the Pope lately wrote a letter with his own paternal hand to thank the Emperor of Austria for interfering in behalf of the Christians in Turkey, it is likely he woos in vain.

The Romish conquest next in importance is that of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, a population of between two and three hundred thousand souls. They are remains of the Monothelite heretics, once powerful in Syria, and condemned at a Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680. They were brought into intercourse with the West by the Crusades; and the union was consummated in 1445. The Clergy choose the Patriarch, who receives investiture from the pontifical Legate residing at the convent of Astoura; and since 1584 there has been a Maronite college at Rome. These people retain the use of the old Syriac liturgy, and the communion in both kinds: their Priests are allowed to marry once, and then a virgin. They are the best-educated Christians of the Levant, often serving as secretaries to the Turks and Druses. They are proverbially cunning and knavish, are very zealous adherents of the Papacy, and enjoy the peculiar protection of France.

There are also other small bodies of Eastern Christians, retaining their own forms, and yet reconciled with Rome. The united Armenians in the city of Constantinople are twenty thousand strong; and there are about three times as many more, scattered through Turkey, Russia, and Austria. There are Armenian purses to help forward the work of proselytism at Constantinople and Vienna, and in the convent established in the Island of St. Lazarus at Venice. There are also a few thousand of united Jacobites and Nestorians. But we are much mistaken, or Rome sets little value on this semi-conformity, except as a transition to complete conformity. Her energies seem, at the present time, essentially directed to the latter object. The Roman Catholics, properly so called, are, as we have seen, most numerous in Albania. Those of Greece were only 22,300 souls in 1841; yet they were favoured with an Archbishop, 3 Bishops, 7 convents, 43 churches, 83 chapels, and 2 seminaries; a formidable ecclesiastical staff indeed, for so small a community.

The busiest emissaries of the Papacy in the Levant are the Congregation called *Lazarists*. They have establishments at Alexandria, Beyruth, Astoura, Damascus, Santorin, Naxia, Smyrna; but the most important station is Constantinople. They have in the capital a college with eighty students, a large girls' school containing generally 160 boarders and 60 orphans educated gratuitously, primary schools for 1,300 children, an asylum for foundling infants, a hospital, an institute of charity which distributes money and food among the poor, and a printing-press especially devoted to books for children. The persons engaged in these different missionary occupations at *this one station* were, in 1850, fourteen Lazarists, seventeen Brothers of the Christian Schools, and forty-four Sisters of Charity. Assuredly Rome is not idle.

Let us now turn to the brighter side of the subject, though, alas! the elements of present or future good, existing among the Christian populations of Turkey, seem scant and feeble in comparison with the evil. In the first place, there is the revival of national feeling and generous aspirations. We believe in a secret affinity between every legitimate and noble enthusiasm, and that faith which is the highest life of man, at least so far as this,—that a people capable of the lofty heroism shown by the modern Greeks is not so far from the kingdom of heaven as one engrossed in the pursuits of mere well-being, without anything else to raise it above a sensual and selfish mediocrity. Patriotism in this degree is a lower sort of religion,—religion run wild, mistaking its object, and transformed into the worship of one's country. Doubtless, it is more capable of wresting a country from its oppressors, than of founding permanent institutions and a progressing civilization; and the troubled, unprosperous state of Greece is proof enough that an important element of national life is wanting. Yet, with such feelings as these, a people is capable of beginning its career anew. Greece has not yet embraced the real principle of individual, social, and national regeneration; but it is no longer the worn-out Greece of the Palæologi, and it is the type of the national feelings resuscitated all through Turkey in Europe.

In the next place, the ever-increasing intercourse of nations is calculated to spread among those awakening races the knowledge of what is being done elsewhere, the first axioms of political and religious liberty, and some ideas of the form Christianity assumes in Protestant countries. Perhaps there is not at present in operation any agency more prejudicial to despotism, all over Europe, than the simple bringing of people together, and the allowing them to compare notes, by modern facilities of transport. Our own commercial intercourse with Turkey is considerable and increasing; but, unfortunately, the people who have most to communicate to others, are just the people who have the least

power of transmitting their acquisitions. The Englishman is reserved and taciturn; there is something peculiar and insular in his way of doing and conceiving things; he cannot sufficiently put himself in the place of foreigners to win their sympathies, and, even when he has excited admiration, he does not readily elicit imitation. Those very characteristics of our civilization, which have given it a mighty power of resistance to foreign influences, render it less capable of aggression. In this respect the French enjoy an immense advantage over us. Such is the power of insinuation and attraction possessed by that eminently sociable people, that it would seem as if ideas must pass into France, and be elaborated there, in order to their being communicated to the rest of Europe. The idea is popularized there, humanized, so to speak, stripped of its peculiar national envelope, and made fit for universal currency. This is one of the reasons why President Jefferson used to say that every educated man in the world had two countries,—his own and France; and Bunsen gives his opinion, in the preface to the German edition of his *Hippolytus*, that, but for the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, France would have occupied the first rank among modern nations. In the Levant, as well as everywhere else, French ideas are more easily assimilated than English ones; that is to say, the human side of modern civilization, without the divine salt that can alone hinder its corrupting. Our literature is absolutely unknown, while that of France circulates freely. Thus, in the Principalities of the Danube, the Boyard and the Rouman of independent fortune read Voltaire, and criticize the last immoral *feuilleton*, as commonly as they drink champagne; and the great object of their ambition is, to spend a winter with their family in Paris, which they do by hundreds. However, notwithstanding our lack of sociableness, and of the talent of making ourselves popular, English influence is doing something; our power and national character are respected; every season adds a new link to a chain of commercial and material interests, connecting us with those populations; and the British steamers of the Levant and the Black Sea scatter abroad in the air other elements than the smoke of their chimneys.

A last item, and one which ought to be the most important, is the direct agency of evangelical Missions. There was a moment of great hope for liberated Greece, when the late Mr. Hartley wrote his "Missionary Researches." Protestant teachers were received with confidence, and Bibles circulated by thousands. That hope was disappointed; and the Mission became a wreck, so soon as the Greek Priests found out what Protestants and what the Bible really meant. Unfortunately, the people heartily concur in the opposition of the Priests. That confusion of the religious and the national characters, to which we have already alluded as a feature of all the Eastern Churches, leads the high-spirited Greek to resent every attempt at foreign proselytism, as

an outrage upon his nationality; so that the Constitution of 1843, which gave the people more control over the Government, was the signal for increased hostility and violence towards Protestant Missionaries. The American Missionaries have persevered for years, though their persons were ill-treated. Twice the veteran Dr. King had to withdraw from Athens; but he is now at his post again, and cheered by prospects of success. The Greeks still under Turkish rule are more accessible; but little has been done amongst them.

The minor Christian sects present a more encouraging prospect. The labours of the Americans among the Nestorians have already been productive of much good, and promise more. Their chief centre of activity is among the Nestorians of the plain at Ourmiah, within the Persian frontier. The great religious movement among the Armenians, however,—the formation and rapid spread of an evangelical Armenian Church,—is the most cheering symptom in the moral state of the East.

The first Protestant Armenian community was organized at Constantinople in 1846. They underwent the most atrocious persecutions from the priesthood of the Church they had abandoned, until the instances of the British Ambassadors procured them the protection of the Turkish Government, and withdrew them from under the sort of political authority which the Turks allow the Armenian Priests to exercise over their co-religionists. Converts to Protestantism are now treated with marked favour and respect by the Turks; and the Firman signed by Reschid Pacha on the 15th of November, 1847, not only guarantees complete toleration and security to the Protestant Armenians, but to all Rayahs whatever, who become Protestants. There were at that time but a thousand converts who had formally declared themselves; but the influence of even that little number, who had braved all manner of obloquy and suffering, was very great indeed. The American Missions in Syria and among the Jacobites of Mesopotamia are also promising. By the last Report of the American Board of Foreign Missions, it appears that there are 46 Missionaries labouring among the degenerate Christian Churches in Asiatic and European Turkey; and, reckoning the female aids and native Missionaries, there are in all 177 persons employed by the Board. Funds for 12 more were voted last spring, and will be applied as soon as men willing and capable for the work are forthcoming. Seven regularly constituted Churches had been formed at Constantinople, Erzeroum, Trebisonde, Nicomedia, Broussa, Aintab, and Adalazar. There were little groups of pious Armenians in all the principal towns of Asia Minor; and wherever the Missionary penetrated, he found friends waiting to receive him, and already furnished with tracts and Bibles. As has been previously stated, the Armenians are scattered, like the Jews, over the East, and therefore eminently fitted to be a people of Missionaries. No

population of the same numerical strength, if animated by the spirit of the Gospel, could be more useful in its propagation ; and the unexpected breath from heaven that has blown upon those dry bones, seems an earnest of divine assistance on a greater scale than a few years ago we should have dared to hope. There are fewest Armenians among the Christian populations north of the Bosphorus, whom we should be most anxious to evangelize, and who will apparently be earliest emancipated ; but whenever that day comes, in which Turkish power shall be so far humbled, or Mahometan fanaticism so far spent, as to allow the Moslem to change his religion without martyrdom, the position occupied by the Armenians may then prove of immense importance. Even as matters stand, were a dismemberment of Turkey to take place at present, there are Protestants enow in the Empire to justify the Protestant powers in insisting upon complete religious liberty, in the new order of things, just as the existence of a few Roman Catholics in Greece was motive sufficient to have religious liberty and equality stipulated for them, in the Protocol of London, February 24th, 1830.

It is deeply interesting to see the sons of England returning from a new world to carry the life that now is, and that which is to come, back to the very cradle of humanity,—to those sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, from whence issued the earliest pilgrim-fathers, ancestors of all races of men. But the work is not supported by England at all, nor by America adequately. Moreover, nothing has been done for the basin of the Danube, with its nine millions of nominal Christians. Who amongst us so much as thinks of Bulgaria? Yet, from the eighth to the sixteenth century, that country, and the valleys of the Hæmus especially, was the asylum of the Paulicians,—a sect which in some respects anticipated the Reformation, and had to do with the origin of the French Albigenses, so cruelly exterminated in the thirteenth century. The degree of Christian truth held by the Paulicians was spoiled by their half-savage manners, and by the Manichean doctrines, which, perhaps, more than any external persecution, contributed to their decay and extinction in the East. Still, that name “Bulgarian,” which, from the Balkan to the Pyrenees, was used to stigmatize the rebel against dominant sacerdotal systems, ought to arouse the sympathies of every evangelical Protestant. There seems, indeed, to prevail among us and our transatlantic brethren a strange ignorance or apathy, wherever the Slavonic race is concerned. Let it just be remembered, that Europe is ethnologically divided into three great groups of peoples, nearly equal in number. There are 88 millions of Celto-Romans, among whom Catholicism predominates ; 82 millions of Germanic race, or civilization, among whom Protestantism predominates ; 79 millions of Slavonians, among whom the Greek religion predominates. Now, will it not seem strange to a future age, that the world has reached the year 1853 without

British or American Christians doing anything whatever to enlighten this third of the population of Europe, distinguished by a marked national religiousness, and destined to act a far more important part in the world's future history than it has hitherto done? Truly, the 53 millions of Russian Slavonians, and the 17 millions of Austrian, are out of our reach ; but there are two millions between Prussian Poland, part of Silesia, Prussian and Saxon Lusatia ; and there are nearly seven millions under Turkish rule. Moreover, there exist at the present time facilities for evangelizing the latter, which may soon cease ; for the Turk respects Protestantism, and will protect the Protestant Missionary ; while, if those provinces should fall to the lot of Russia, there may be an end, for a long season, to all thoughts of gaining a footing within them for evangelical religion ; and even independence, in their present state of development, would present very unfavourable conditions, as the example of Greece shows. It is a mistake to suppose there are no Slavonic Protestants ; we may count some thousands in Carinthia, 130,000 Lusatians, about 140,000 Bohemians, or Moravians, 440,000 Poles, and 800,000 Austrian Slovaks,—in all, a million and a half,—sunk, indeed, in rationalism and indifference ; yet men might, perhaps, be found among them, able and willing to preach the Gospel to their fellows in Turkey. Difference of language, at least, would not be the great obstacle ; for, such is the affinity between the Slavonic dialects, that, according to Count Krasinski, the fishermen of Archangel can understand those of the Adriatic. But, so far from searching out men qualified to carry the good tidings to these neglected multitudes, we have not even given help or countenance to those who have presented themselves unsought. We have left Czerski and his fellow-labourers in Prussian Poland to struggle with all sorts of privations ; while their humble congregations are impoverished by the exactions of the Prussian authorities, because they persist in maintaining a position of ecclesiastical independence. The kingdoms of the world belong to our Lord and His Christ, and the great empire of all the Russias among the number : then, when and whence shall it learn allegiance? Liberal Slavonians sometimes rest their hopes of the future emancipation of Russia upon the reaction to be effected by foreign and minor kindred tribes, when free institutions shall have been developed among them. Such a hope is suggestive. Shall the South once more accomplish the spiritual conquest of the North? Shall Russia learn Christianity more perfectly, from those same regions from which she received it centuries ago? The answer to the question depends, apparently, upon the supineness or the activity of British Christians, during that period, of very uncertain length, in which the integrity of the Ottoman Empire leaves free access to its Slavonian subjects.

It is remarkable, that the interests of the remains of some of the oldest races in the civilized world should be so intimately

connected with the prospects of the Slavonians, whose time is yet to come, and who have only been known in history as barbarians until lately. Thus the past and the future are wedded. Many of the noblest remembrances of mankind, and some of its hopes, meet in those regions which served of old as the bridge between Asia and Europe, the highway of the earliest civilization, as well as of the conqueror and devastator, early and late. From the siege of Troy to the massacres of Scio, those regions have witnessed more cruelties and horrors than any other part of the world,—wars of extermination, stifling and oppressive peace, in which race after race has disappeared, and its place knoweth it no more. When shall the nations meet for mutual good, and not for conflict? When shall the happiest countries of the earth be those in which the most various tribes are brought into contact with each other? When shall Asia Minor help to carry back to the East a higher civilization than that which travelled to Europe over its highlands, and along its coasts, three thousand years ago? When shall Christendom meet the Moslem with better weapons than the sword of the Crusader, or the bayonet of the Russian Grenadier? Civilization has hitherto been slowly changing its seat, travelling north-westward like the sun of a long summer's day; but, if the entire earth is to be covered with the knowledge of the Lord, the sacred fire must be kindled again upon yon ruined altar, upon yon blackened and deserted hearth. There was a time when the Hebrew Prophet stood on the Mount of Judah, looking intently to the distant West; and as he listened, he heard the noise of hymns from afar, voices from the Pagan Europe, glorifying the name of Jehovah in the isles of the Ægean, and from the uttermost part of the continent beyond. (Isaiah xxiv. 14–16). It is now ours to take up our stand in turn, look to the East, and listen.

The journalist and the reviewer like to wind up considerations like the present with some confident assurances of the turn affairs are soon to take,—some proof that their penetrating glance can reach behind the scenes; but we cannot pretend to any such perspicacity. By the time these pages shall have met the reader's eye, he will know far more of the immediate prospects of the Ottoman Empire than we can foresee while we write. The duties of the present crisis can be determined more clearly than its issues. We do assuredly anticipate the decline of the Mahometan power, and the final extinction of the Mahometan faith; but the times and the manner are the secret of Providence: the withered oak-leaf may be blown away by a sudden gust, or remain upon the tree until returning spring has provided its successor. Hitherto, every superannuated civilization has had a violent end, as sundry savages put their aged relatives to death: it remains to be seen whether our world has learned humanity enough to let the decrepit Turk die in his bed. That depends, in a great measure, upon himself. If he can but bring

himself to make a friend and an equal of the Rayah, and to admit of the exercise of Christian proselytism upon Mahometans, he will, indeed, have virtually renounced his faith, and the principle that has made him what he is; but he will also have changed his decay into a transformation. Meantime, let us hail with pleasure everything that brings the populations of the East into contact with British intelligence, or even with British capital; and let us trust to the wisdom and vigilance of our Government for opposing everything that from without would accelerate the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and for facilitating every thing that from within would promote a saving revolution, especially the emancipation of the Christians, and their progress in intelligent self-government. May our strife with Russia remain a moral one, and God defend the right!

- ART. II.—1. *The Life of Wesley; and Rise and Progress of Methodism*. By ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL.D. Third Edition, with Notes by the late SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, Esq., and Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley, by the late ALEXANDER KNOX, Esq. Edited by the REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, M.A., Curate of Cockermouth. Two Vols. 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1846.
2. *Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Founder of the Methodist Societies*. To which is added, *Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley*. By RICHARD WATSON. London: Mason.
3. *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*. In which are included, *The Life of his Brother, the Rev. Charles Wesley, A.M., Student of Christ-Church, Oxford, and Memoirs of their Family; comprehending an Account of the great Revival of Religion in which they were the first and chief Instruments*. By the REV. HENRY MOORE, only surviving Trustee of Mr. Wesley's MSS. London; 1824.
4. *Wesley, and Methodism*. By ISAAC TAYLOR. London: Longman and Co. 1851.
5. *An Apology for Wesley, and Methodism, in Reply to the Misrepresentations of Isaac Taylor and the North British Review*. By the REV. R. M. MACBRAIR, M.A. Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1852.
6. *Wesley the Worthy, and Wesley the Catholic*. By REV. O. T. DOBBIN, LL.D., Trinity College, Dublin. With Introduction by REV. W. ARTHUR, M.A. London: Ward and Co.

At the opening of the eighteenth century, the religious state of England was lower perhaps than ever previously or since. Many periods of church-history have been ruder, but none more

barren and unlovely. Of the general manners of an earlier epoch,—namely, the Restoration,—Mr. Macaulay has drawn a faithful and unfavourable picture. With features of the picturesque that make it a suitable era for the choice of a novelist, it bears strong marks of moral and social degradation. But the period of the Restoration had some religious advantages denied to the two next succeeding generations. The profligate reaction of the restored King's reign affected chiefly the Court and the Cavaliers, who gladly escaped from the compulsory austerities of the Commonwealth; while the body of the people were still sincerely, if also somewhat gloomily, disposed to piety. Moreover, the age of great Preachers was not wholly gone by; for such the despised Puritans emphatically were,—faithful, earnest, and devout, even more than eloquent or learned; “mighty in Scripture,” and furnishing themselves diligently out of that inexhaustible armoury and treasury. The effects of this able and zealous ministry—exercised for the most part on the lower and middle classes of society—were still largely felt among the people. The polished but unpointed sermons of the episcopal Clergy could not so rivet the attention or transfix the heart; assent to the evangelical doctrines of the Prayer-Book was a matter of course, rather than of positive conviction and belief; and the sermon, which should have urged them upon the mind and conscience, was commonly more cold and formal than the reading of the Liturgy itself, but neither so scriptural nor so personal in its character. The Puritan and Nonconformist, on the other hand, preached from a full heart as well as from a furnished head, and reasoned, like Paul, “of righteousness, and temperance, and judgment to come.” But, when the eighteenth century had commenced, a general lull of religious feeling appears to have come upon all the Churches in the land, Dissenting as well as national. If another Echard had chosen to write, at this time, “of the Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy,” they must have been pronounced moral rather than physical, furnishing less matter for the humorous satirist, but prompting a severer note of warning and rebuke. A few eminent examples of the opposite condition occur to us as exceptions to this very general rule,—burning and shining lights, made more conspicuous by the surrounding darkness, and faintly indicating the wide out-lying danger. The faithful few are loud in their lamentations over the degenerate Church. How the flocks of the national folds were fed and guarded, may be partly surmised from the character of their Pastors; and the character of their Pastors may be fairly gathered from the lips of their Bishops. “Our Ember weeks,” says Bishop Burnet, “are the burden and grief of my life. The much greater part of those who come to be ordained are ignorant, to a degree not to be apprehended by those who are not obliged to know it. The easiest part of knowledge is that to which they are greatest strangers; I mean,

the plainest part of the Scriptures, which they say, in excuse for their ignorance, that their tutors in the Universities never mention the reading of to them; so that they can give no account, or at least a very imperfect one, of the contents even of the Gospels. Those who have read some few books, yet never seem to have read the Scriptures. Many cannot give a tolerable account even of the Catechism itself, how short and plain soever. They cry, and think it a sad disgrace, to be denied orders, though the ignorance of some is such, that, in a well-regulated state of things, they would appear not knowing enough to be admitted to the holy sacrament.* Now, if these were conscientiously rejected by the good Bishop, those only one shade better were certainly admitted to orders, and charged with a cure of souls. And, if such was the spiritual darkness of those who ministered the word of truth to the people, how should these latter, forming the great bulk and body of the Church, be themselves "light in the Lord?" As in the Establishment, so also in the Dissenting Churches: with them, too, piety and usefulness had come to be the remarkable exception. Some had lapsed into the Socinian heresy; others were fallen into a state of torpor. If the candlestick was not yet removed out of its place, it cast a reproachful light over congregations of professors who had lost their first love, and were "neither hot nor cold" in the service and worship of God. The decay of practical religion is sorely lamented by the devout few, who distinguish the Nonconformist party of that day. In general, it is somewhat unfair—especially for the purpose of comparison and depreciation—to draw our estimate of the piety of a Church from the humbling admissions of its best and holiest members; for the standard of such men is unusually high, and their sense of error and shortcoming unusually acute. With them, the tender conscience seems charged with all the conduct of the Church; and with jealous eyes, as over their own souls, they closely mark and grievously deplore its sins, whether of action or defect. But, at the period of which we speak, the testimonies are too many, too uniform, and too distinct, to allow us to doubt of the degeneracy of the voluntary Churches, as being common to them with that of the Church by law established. Dr. Isaac Watts admits it for his own, as he fears it is a confession due also from other bodies. "It is," says he, "a general matter of mournful observation among all that lay the cause of God to heart; and therefore it cannot be thought amiss for every one to use all just and proper efforts for the recovery of dying religion in the world."†

But was not the Church characterized by orthodoxy and morality? This is sometimes asked, as though all that sober Christians can require were necessarily included in those two

* See Preface to *Essay on the Pastoral Care*. 1713.

† See Preface to *An Humble Attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion*. 1735.

words. Yet, granting (what is not wholly beyond dispute) that the Church was entitled to this praise, it could not have long remained so, while destitute of the animating principle of evangelical and practical godliness; for both sound morality and scriptural orthodoxy are incapable of engrafture either on the natural heart or on unreformed society; and a general state of formality and irreligion is soon followed by infidelity in the more educated classes. So it was at this time. The deism of Chubb, Toland, and other literary oracles, already so fashionable with those who were desirous of being esteemed learned or intellectual, began seriously to affect the Church itself. The ignorance which Bishop Burnet so feelingly laments was no bar to the expression of a clerical scoff at Christianity. The highest dignitaries and the obscurest of country Parsons were equally indifferent or contemptuous; and both humility and gratitude too often failed to keep silent either the starving Curate or the wealthy pluralist. Even the Universities—the very mirrors of orthodox example to the Church, and the fountain-heads of all her piety and teaching—were insidiously corrupted with the spirit of scepticism, and threatened to betray the whole land into the power of a faithless ministry. At Oxford, these principles increased so rapidly, that alarm was suddenly taken; and the Vice-Chancellor, with the consent of the Heads of Houses and Proctors, issued a *Programma*, in which this danger was exposed and deprecated; and the Tutors of each College and Hall were urged to “discharge their duty by a double diligence, by instructing their respective pupils in their Christian duty, as also by explaining to them the ‘Articles of Religion’ which they professed, and were often called upon to subscribe, and by recommending to them the frequent and careful reading of the Scriptures, and of such other books as might serve more effectually to promote Christianity, sound principles, and orthodox faith.” Even in the adoption of this cautionary measure, so due to the character of the University and the claims of religion, all in authority were not agreed; and the Dean of Christ-Church would not suffer this *Programma* to be put up in the hall of his College.

Such was the disheartening state of the English Church in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. But a change was close at hand. There is a mysterious alternation of light and darkness in the moral world; and, when the night is deepest, the dawn is nearest. And now the watchmen, who slumbered at their post, were to be awakened by the beams of morning. There are seasons in the economy of grace, as well as in that of nature; and to the Christian, as well as to the poet, it is given to “rejoice in hope:” *When winter comes can spring be far behind?* And so it was at this dreary period. Night and winter had both seized upon the Church. Like a frosted landscape glimmering in the moonlight, it caught and reflected rather the secondary than the primary truths of Christianity, and wore its

intellectual rather than its spiritual aspect. Its articles of faith were trees, symmetrical but bare, with sap at their roots, but no green foliage on their boughs, loaded with curious hoar-frost, and not bowed down with fruit. Its means of grace were to multitudes only as ice-bound channels: no longer living streams, they awaited the advent of the heavenly day-spring to melt their formal fetters, and send them sparkling and singing over renovated plains.

The first to hail the coming breath of spring are often those who are destined never to behold its flowers; and, when the gracious Spirit of God is about to be poured out on a dry and drooping church, the first intimation is sometimes given to one, himself invited to the fountain-head, and already passing into the unseen world. It was thus that the divine purposes of blessing were foreseen, at this time, by an aged servant of the Gospel, as though, in nearing the eternal city, he was permitted to hear some faint commotion, that betokened unusual grace to man. "Be steady," said the dying Rector of Epworth, placing his hands upon the head of his youngest son. "The Christian faith will surely revive in this kingdom. You shall see it, though I shall not." The serious temper of his children, already deepening into religious ardour, may, indeed, have served to prompt and encourage this strong faith; but the words of the speaker were at least remarkable; for events that speedily followed soon gave them something of the force of prophecy. The young man at this good patriarch's feet had already earned the opprobrious name of "Methodist."

When we mention the rise of Methodism as bringing that great change to which we have referred, is some reader disposed to charge our language with exaggeration? Yet let him pause a moment and reflect, and summon all his knowledge and all his charity to assist his judgment. We have no doubt *then* as to the conclusion, which we only value as it is catholic and impartial. Let no sectarian prejudice or preference interfere; but only that love of evangelical truth with which the love and service of our species are so intimately joined. We fear not, then, to over-state a blessing which is incalculable. The influence of that humble band of Methodists, despised and persecuted though they were, was destined largely to affect the moral history of the world: for magnitude, permanence, and importance, it will compare with that of the Reformation itself. What was achieved in the sixteenth century for orthodox belief and for religious liberty, was effected in the eighteenth for practical godliness and expansive Christian charity. In the rise of Methodism in the bosom of the Protestant English Church, we recognise the first great impulse given to the spread of evangelical religion, not as a mere form of doctrine, but as a rule of popular and daily life, acting first and most forcibly upon the outcast and humbler classes of society, since propagated from the lowest upwards, and insensibly

affecting those Churches with which it had little but the name of Christ in common. Neither has its activity abated to the present day, but multiplied itself in a thousand directions by a thousand different agencies. And if we would gain some faint idea of the results of that great movement, we must look for them, not in one Church, or class, or country: it is known by many names, and calls none but Christ "Lord;" and, fitted to breathe wherever humanity can respire, and even to give life where humanity is ready to perish, it has gone over into every clime, and seems destined, like the natural sun whose course it emulates, to dry up every noisome marsh of sin, and temper every fierce *Euroclydon* of sorrow.

But this is praise which cannot be wholly applied, or exactly limited, to any section of the modern Church; for it is the spirit and power of Christianity itself,—living, animating, and diffusive Christianity. And if these were the beneficent and expansive tendencies of Methodism from the first, and if such is the wide and still-increasing area of its present fruitfulness, it is clear that no partial or sectarian views restrained the mission of its earliest members; and not less clear, that a measure of its energy and warmth passed silently into communions, where its name and history were hardly known. And, in regard to that family of Christian Churches in which the recollections and traditions of this revival are still cherished, whose members desire continually to live in its spirit of zeal and charity, and to walk by its rule of primitive simplicity and fellowship, and who care not to shun the reproach attaching to its humble name, the test of all who worthily profess themselves by this designation is afforded in few words: Is their religion a happy development of practical and catholic Christianity?

But—to draw a little nearer to our immediate subject—the good effects of this revival are not all insensibly diffused throughout the church and the world. A substantive product of it challenges the attention of the present day. Methodism was not destined to subserve a merely temporary purpose, and then wholly vanish out of sight. To those who had little relished the disturbance of their religious complacency, its silent disappearance would have been most welcome; they would have turned with satisfaction on their other side, composed themselves once more to sleep, and dreamed that it was all a dream. But God mercifully ordered otherwise: for through His providence, by turns directing and seconding the labours of its most eminent leader, the chief elements of Methodism became gradually embodied in a vast system of evangelization and religious teaching, till, outgrowing the dimensions of a subsidiary church-society, it assumed the proportions and exercised the functions of an independent missionary Church. How this came to pass, is one of the most interesting studies of ecclesiastical history. To compare spiritual things with natural, the unpremeditated

growth and ultimate extension of this religious institute bear strong resemblance to the growth and extension of the British constitution and empire; and, in the singular providence of God, the one seems to have prepared a mighty channel for the other. Under the fostering care of British Methodism, flourish a large family of colonial Churches. But not to this empire, nor even to bounds determined by those of the English language, are these results confined. On the American continent one vigorous offspring of Methodism has found a prosperous and independent home, thus strikingly sustaining the parallel suggested; and long in Ireland, and now in France, and presently on the vast Australian plains, have been or shortly may be seen the cheering spectacle of these religious settlements, each the centre of active operations on the irreligion of the world. And if, in time future, (though we cannot anticipate the period,) no visible representative of the Methodism of the eighteenth century should survive in this country, the seed already sown broad-cast in the world, and carried by providential winds into far distant lands, and there falling into new and vigorous soils, will doubtless cover and adorn innumerable wastes with verdure, and whiten to the great millennial harvest.

In this unusual and rapid spread no serious or candid person can fail to recognise divine influence and blessing; for when we consider how little the doctrines and practices of Methodism are suited to flatter the pride or excuse the passions of our corrupt nature, confessedly nothing but a supernatural power is adequate to these results. Under similar conditions no parallel can be adduced:—certainly not Popery, in any of its forms. To say that Methodism, in its organic shape, has far more ably answered the pure ends of an earnest evangelical Protestantism than the Society of Jesuits has furthered the sinister designs of Popery, is not to settle their respective claims, or determine their relative inherent power. Weeds have small need of culture, but grow rapidly in the rank degenerate earth; it is another and far different thing, to plant gardens that promise to replace the glory of Eden. The vessel which is carried down the stream may, indeed, be drifted and guided into every port by turns; but to remount the river of our desperate nature, and reach near to its divine, unsullied springs, demands a principle of fire within.

It would be equally absurd and false, however, to deny that there was and is a capacity even in fallen humanity for the reception of such choice blessings, or that appropriate human agency is largely employed in every true evangelizing work. Both of these great principles are very plainly to be recognised in the economy of providence and grace. Man is still the creature of God, how deep soever may be his degradation; and the provisions of the Gospel are exquisitely suited to his perishing condition. Hence one prime reason that religious truth should any way prevail. God has chosen to accomplish his designs by

instrumentality, wholly ineffectual of itself, but ordered and endued and perfectly efficient by virtue of his sovereign will. Hence the progress of religion in the world is seemingly dependent on, and is actually modified by, the force of human character and circumstances. The history of Methodism furnishes ample illustration of both these truths; but only that last-named is relevant to our present purpose. The instruments of this great revival were, as regards the leading few, men of eminent natural parts; some were highly accomplished in matters of human learning; and, in one of them at least, these gifts and acquirements were richly united, and employed to the uttermost advantage. Heroes the world had often seen, fired either with secular or ecclesiastical ambition; but Providence now destined one for nobler usefulness, and inspired him with a purer aim. In raising this great missionary Church to further His designs of mercy to the world, how largely was God pleased to honour the piety and genius of JOHN WESLEY!

We know not where it would be possible to find a parallel, either to the character or the career of this extraordinary man. The whole history of his life—extending through almost the entire century of his birth—has perhaps no equal, for high and varied interest. It fascinates alike philosopher and Christian, and is not without a powerful charm for the luxurious student of humanity. Apart even from the great object which knit all his purposes together, and made the fruit of his personal labours a valuable heritage to his own and to future generations, the mere thread of his biography leads the reader towards a thousand sources of curious entertainment, which in the age of folios would have found some huge and independent monument, or received copious illustration in the pages of some erudite and curious Bayle. In the story of his family alone, there is a world of interest and instruction. The portrait of the elder Wesley is a study by itself; and still more so, that of his admirable wife. In each of these we have noble specimens of the sort of parentage in which Englishmen not unfrequently rejoice,—serious, devout, painstaking, orderly, and firm; the father, worthy to represent the loyal, orthodox, and faithful Parson of the English Church; the mother, born to conduct and discipline the youthful course of men like John and Charles Wesley. In the character and fortunes of their other children, how much there is to rivet and reward attention!—in Samuel, the honest churchman, the faithful son, the constant friend, beloved by Atterbury, and admired by Pope; in the daughters, Kezzy, Martha, and Hetty, all so gifted and unhappy, whose lively sensibility and quick intelligence only sharpened the misery of misplaced attachment and unmerited desertion. All the members of this family had something of the gift of poetry. Samuel, the father, left behind him an excellent piece entitled “*Eupolis’ Hymn to the Creator*,”—not to insist upon his more ambitious, but less interesting,

"Life of Christ." Samuel, the younger, was still more favoured by the Muses. He published a variety of moral and satirical poems, and was the author of that fine hymn, so touching at the funeral of the young: *The morning flowers display their sweets.* The sisters, too, learned to beguile their sorrows, and to rob them of half their stern reality, by coining them into melodious verse, not, indeed, of any great merit, but equal, at least, to that of the admired Orindas of the day. Charles Wesley was, perhaps, the most gifted minstrel of the modern Church; none, since the Psalmist, has embodied in strains so genuine the religious exercises of the soul; and to a vast number of devout congregations, lifting their voices in widely distant lands, his hymns supply the place of liturgy and psalter. As to John Wesley, it is the least of his extraordinary merits; yet he, too, was born a poet of no vulgar grade; and the excellence of many of his sacred pieces, both original and translated, gives evidence that the lyre which he laid upon the altar, subject only to celestial airs, is worthy to be mentioned among those many gifts which he refused to employ for his own aggrandizement or pleasure.

Such were the members of this remarkable family; but perhaps some others, equally favoured by nature and exercised by fortune, have left no trace behind them; and these to the historic eye will henceforth group themselves round one commanding figure, and owe to that connexion the rare notice of posterity. The name of Wesley, like the kindred name of Wellesley, summons to the mind one image of embodied power and resolution, one chosen instrument of the gracious providence of God, and one long train of precious and incalculable blessings.*

* This is not the first time that the name of the Founder of Methodism has suggested that of the Hero of Waterloo, nor is it likely to be the last. This circumstance is due to more points of coincidence than one. It is well known that the late Duke of Wellington commenced life as Arthur Wesley, in which form his name appears in the Army-List for the year 1800. This fact is readily associated in the mind with an important incident in the life of his grandfather, Richard Colley, who, when Charles, the brother of John Wesley, declined the offer of Garret Wesley, of Dangan Castle, Ireland, was adopted heir to the name and property of that gentleman; and so the family of Mornington attained that first position from which a young cadet of the second generation was to carry it on to the highest step of the peerage, and the most illustrious page of history. Taken together, these incidents are sufficient to suggest at least the probable identity of the families of Wellesley and Wesley; and there are reasons, not yet noticed, for supposing that at no distant period their actual ancestry would be found to merge in the same progenitor. In the character and career of the Founder of Methodism we find much that is characteristic also of the late famous defender of Europe. For strict habits and great hardihood they were both remarkable. Each rose early, employed every waking moment to the best advantage, and retired at an unvarying hour to rest. John Wesley, it is said, had sleep at his command; and on his long journeys of apostolic labour, when it happened that he could neither read nor write, (as frequently he did on horseback or in a carriage,) one thing he could do: he would shut his eyes, and take needful rest in sleep. Of Wellington we believe the same thing may be said: he, too, could sleep in the saddle: the habitual vigilance of his nature enabled him to choose a moment of repose, and the admirable temper of his spirit permitted it to rest at his volition.

There are two questions that present themselves, in any attempt to determine the value of a public and beneficent career. Was the object proposed of so high and rare importance as to merit the constant, earnest, and exclusive application of abundant natural gifts? Were the means employed for the accomplishment of this object dictated by truest wisdom and justified by pure and permanent success? Let us apply these to the general career of Wesley. What has been disparagingly said of many of his religious followers, was eminently and honourably true of him: he was a man of one great practical idea. Is any disposed to esteem him the less for that? Yet such were all those who have divided the world's history between them, and severally given their names to its most famous chapters. They were men of one idea,—of one predominant, prolific, central thought, which absorbed and ordered all the energies and resources of life to the nourishment of one great purpose, as the brain takes tribute of intelligence from the extremest point and member of the body, but which furnished in return sensibility, and life, and action to every subordinate and sluggish particle. O the omnipotence of one idea! In business it makes colossal fortunes; in science it insures profound discoveries; in art it blazons splendid reputations. What has not been achieved by this cold, clear, but fusing, temperament; this chastened enthusiasm; this intelligent co-ordination of the mind and will? Powerful alike for good and evil, in state-craft it has founded and confounded empires. Abused in one grand instance to subvert the truth, in Popery it has usurped the regency of souls,—assumed the attributes and tithed the heritage of God. And this has been wrought by human instruments, on merely human elements; tampering, indeed, with the spiritual intuitions of our nature, but unaided by divine communications. What, then,

Again: in the practical stamp of their minds, and especially in the laconic style of their writings, the resemblance between these men is very striking. The Dispatches of Wellington and the Journals of Wesley might have been dictated by the same person, if the style and temper of the writer only be considered. Their letters, too, are strongly marked in a very similar manner: they have brevity without obscurity, and force without vehemence, and particularity without trifling. Duty, according to the standard which he recognised, was the law of each: inflexibility the temper, and common sense the active servant, of its performance. Even the features of these personages had no small resemblance to each other; and we see a further coincidence in the health and length of days with which they both were honoured. Circumstances allowing, and spiritual convictions absent, we can imagine Wesley undertaking and sustaining the part of Wellington almost without the slightest diversity. Visited by the same strong sense of existing evil and divine mercy, we conceive that if Providence had chosen Wellington as the instrument of evangelizing the world by his preaching and example, instead of protecting it by his sword and counsel, the character of the man would readily have adapted itself to his great mission. The parallel might be pursued to the amazing results of the personal labours of each. Those of Wellington have been recently indicated by innumerable pens; and the historian of the Peninsular campaigns has said also of Wesley, "I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century,—the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long."—*Southey, in Wulferforce Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 388.

might be expected from the enlightened and devoted enthusiast for religious truth,—from the Gospel herald, charged with the convincing word, and seconded by the disarming Spirit? A handful of such faithful men might surely revolutionize the moral world, and recover it to the authority and sway of Christ.

We are frequently surprised to hear, that Wesley was not this, and did not do that, when, perhaps, it was his daily prayer that *this* he might never become, and that *that* he might never be led aside to do. Could the object of his life have been sublimer?—Might his energies and length of days have been more thoroughly devoted to it? These are questions far more pertinent and just; and the answer to them is, perhaps, such as the annals of no other life could furnish. What might have been achieved by such a man,—his gifts, his acquirements, and, above all, his resolute moral purpose considered,—we cannot say, and, perhaps, dare not, if we could. The same energy, self-sacrifice, and singleness of mind, seconded by so great a love of order, so much sagacity, such wide experience both of men and things,—these, devoted to the cause of any earthly sovereign, and exercised through three parts of a century, could scarcely have suffered him to remain lower than second in the empire of his birth. But he was called to a higher and more fruitful mission. He was early impressed with the idea of his life being, in an especial manner, due and destined to God and to his cause. He sees the hand of Providence in the disappointment of his natural affections, knowing that, otherwise, “he might have set up his rest in this world, and forgotten the work for which he was born.” This was before the manner of salvation was made clear to him by his own experience,—before the work of an Evangelist, in all its simplicity and power, was imparted to him. He knew that God had a message to the world; he felt its importance to be something awful, and that himself was a chosen messenger; but the burthen of the Lord was only dimly present to his mind. Yet we may notice how the Providence of God prepared this instrument of mercy for his future apostolic labours. The errors of his zealous conscientiousness were so much spiritual experience, to be turned by him, through exposition, and warning, and controversy, to the guidance of the Church of God. Thus, at Oxford, he feels (like many thousands, both before and since) that, to serve God, in every act and thought, is at once a peremptory and impossible obligation. Missing the righteousness that is by faith, he seems to crave some burden to lift,—some pain to endure,—some darling deeds to crucify,—some miracles of mortifying labour to perform; and this, not (as afterwards) from a simple and intense desire for the glory of God, but also to avert some spiritual and impending evil,—to secure some personal satisfaction,—to earn the forbearance, if not the favour, of Heaven. Thorough and practised theologian as he was, he yet missed of the kingdom of heaven, which is readily attained by

child-like faith. Too sophisticated, he must surrender all his pride of learning, and pass, with thankful heart, from the feet of Gamaliel to the feet of Jesus and his Cross. The time of his conversion was preceded, like that of Paul, by a state of blindness. He was allowed to grope after every door of hope, before finding that which Christ has set open, and which no man can shut. He was to be able to forewarn others of a thousand spiritual errors, and so was allowed to feel, as well as to see, the fruitlessness of misdirected efforts after human virtue,—doomed to roll up the recoiling stone of Sisyphus, and to fill the many-pierced vessels of the Naiads. But when the Gospel was apprehended in simplicity and fulness, and he felt the expansive gladness of a new and better nature, he soon learned also what was his providential calling. Henceforth he was to live “the servant of mankind.” The High-Churchman began now to be weaned of prejudice and error,—to breathe a catholic instead of an exclusive spirit. The lover of church-order—such both by temperament and education—must learn, at the dictate of conscience, to transgress church-discipline ; to preach in the field or in the barn, with or without rubric ; and, at length, even to associate with himself a band of humble Preachers, on whom no *lineal* hand had conferred the apostolic unction. In this spirit he went about doing good,—travelled more miles, and preached more sermons, and wrote more books, than any since the day when Paul laid down his life at Rome ; and not only did good by personal labours and example, but raised and trained, under the divine blessing, a body of plain, and earnest, and popular Evangelists, and organized a system of religious instruction and improvement, which has extended far beyond all that even his great faith was privileged to foresee.

If a rapid sketch could do justice to the career of Wesley, we should be tempted to give it in this place. As a mere picture of prodigious industry and sustained effort,—of methodical, but zealous, labour, continued almost to the verge of ninety years,—we are persuaded it would be far beyond all human comparison. The variety and extent of his performances exceed those of any Reformer that the Church has seen. The zeal of Luther, and the sagacity of Loyola, were both united in this man. His heroic courage and constancy may be disguised for a moment by the practical and daily wisdom which directed them ; but reflection soon forces us to recognise these elements of true greatness, and his life, as a whole, throws over the contemplating mind a colossal shadow of awe and reverence. But we have no space for even the outline of such a course.* We shall proceed at

* The writings of Wesley alone demand a separate attention. These have never received a tithe of that regard which they deserve. His “Journals” are unique in human literature,—a monument of incredible exertions, and testifying at once to the candour of his mind, the constancy of his purpose, the promptitude of his judgment, the charity of his heart, the variety of his knowledge, the nicety of his taste, and the vigour

once, therefore, to fulfil our first intention, by passing directly under review some of those works which, from time to time, have been offered to the world in illustration of the character and career of Wesley.

The assailants of Wesley, during his life-time, were neither few nor insignificant; but they may safely be left, some to the oblivion which so speedily overtook them, and others to such consideration as Wesley himself afforded them in his occasional replies. No religious sect was ever submitted to such fierce and continued vituperation as the body of Methodists; and all these bolts of opposition were concentrated on the head of their impassive leader. Wesley went calmly on his way, in spite of all, or shook them, literally, like dew-drops, from him. At length, the temporal reward of his constancy came to him, in the shape of outward veneration and respect; and he who had feared no man, nor inquired of any but his own conscience and the Word of God, passed his last days of serene, but active, piety, under the favour and protection of the public. Even to the end, however, of his personal career, the principles which actuated him were grossly misapprehended and traduced, in many publications. The first account of his life which appeared after his decease was inspired by resentment; and the author of the second, intrusted with more authentic details, was seduced by the two-fold love of popularity and money, to violate his own engagement, and to do injustice to the memory and intentions of his venerable patron. To these works of Hampson and Whithead succeeded a memoir, drawn up by Dr. Coke and Henry Moore, at the instance of the Wesleyan Conference; and many errors and misrepresentations concerning the character of Wesley were set right by these, his intimate friends and associates. To none of these accounts, however, shall we more particularly turn, as each has been superseded by works of greater value and completeness. The first in popularity, and not the least in merit, is that which bears the name of Robert Southey.

of his literary powers. His sermons form a body of doctrinal and practical theology, which, for brevity and clearness of expression, for harmonizing views of divine grace and the conditions of salvation, and for scriptural statements of Christian duty and privilege,—are nowhere surpassed in this or any language. His controversial tracts exhibit a mastery of technical logic, which cause the reader to rejoice that so trenchant a weapon was put into the hands of so fair a combatant. In every one of these polemical discussions, the temper displayed is worthy of the cause defended. The curtness of manner is not that of a man irritated or contemptuous, but of one who habitually economized his words, and to whom the spending of a needless moment was felt to be a loss to the Church of God and perishing souls. His miscellaneous writings are numerous and instructive, and characterized by the same judgment and skill. They include letters to all sorts of persons, young and old; grammars of all sorts of languages, ancient and modern; prefaces to all sorts of books, secular and religious; tracts upon all sorts of subjects, moral and political. True, every matter in this encyclopedic series is coloured by the author's individual mind, and treated in his usual decisive manner; but this was never objected to in Johnson, or any other of the world's great teachers, as derogating from the authority of wisdom, or even as wanting in its own peculiar charm.

The announcement of Southey's "*Life of Wesley*" awakened the attention of very different parties. Some were admirers of the laurelled author; others were drawn by love and reverence to the apostolic hero; and each of these classes was concerned to know how the literary moralist would deport himself amid the difficulties of an evangelical, and, withal, somewhat polemical, biography. Among general readers, the work was certain to find favour and acceptance. Whatever its theological defects might be, the work of Robert Southey could not fail in literary attractiveness; and whatever the bias of its treatment, the life of John Wesley was sure to possess an interest of its own. So admirable a narrator has seldom furnished himself with so remarkable a history. Many of the peculiar features of his subject were just those to attract the curious eyes, and to reward the graphic pencil, of this skilled and thoughtful writer. In such hands, all that was external in the rise, and progress, and spread of Methodism, must needs be ably, though it might not be, in all respects, accurately, depicted; and many of the psychological phenomena presented at this period, by the confluence of supernatural power with the sullen tide of human depravity, were known to have an especial charm for this student and lover of his species. In this last particular lay both the fascination and the difficulty of our author's task.

When the book appeared, it did not disappoint the public expectation. It was found to be tasteful, curious, and anecdotal; serious in manner and tolerant in spirit, investing what had been regarded by many as a vulgar theme, with classic graces, and rescuing the servants of the Gospel from the sneers and slanders of bigotry and fashion. It revealed a world of interest in the lives and deeds of poor, despised, itinerating Preachers; and in their leader discovered a hero, who put aside the learning, that he might emulate the labours, of a Paul. The book became a favourite with many of the most accomplished persons of the day. "To this work," said Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "and to the '*Life of Richard Baxter*,' I was used to resort, whenever sickness and languor made me feel the want of an old friend, of whose company I could never be tired. How many and many an hour of self-oblivion do I owe to this '*Life of Wesley*!' and how often have I argued with it, questioned, remonstrated, been peevish, and asked pardon; then again listened, and cried, 'Right! excellent!' for that I heard, and listened, and was soothed, though I could make no reply." And then, in a concluding exclamation of regret, we have some intimation of the kind of interest which Coleridge felt in this biography: "Ah that Robert Southey had fulfilled his intention of writing a history of the Monastic Orders, or would become the biographer, at least, of Loyola, Xavier, Dominic, and the other remarkable Founders!" In this expression of regret we sincerely join. For ecclesiastical biography of this kind Dr. Southey had some

remarkable qualifications. His learning, and his literary resources generally, were unusually great; his industry and research were hardly to be paralleled among men of letters; his biographical detail had all the charm and faithfulness of portraiture; and his general style was elegant, both in the popular and in the derivative sense. The life of a Romish Missionary, in his hands, would have been subject only to one great drawback: unconsciously on its author's part, it would have presented too flattering a picture of that subtle agent of a sinister and fallen Church; and many beautiful accessories, both of human and inanimate nature, would have tended to hide from our eyes the prolific evils that must arise when a corrupted form of Christianity is engrafted on the undestroyed vitality of Pagan superstitions. Yet such a work would have been valuable for its stores of information; and, perhaps, the high-toned Christian morality of its author, though wanting in evangelical clearness and decision, would have insured an occasional and sufficient check to his looser and more general sympathies.

In speaking of this "Life of Wesley," we are loth to speak in any but the language of praise. We believe that Southey's publication was intended as a sincere tribute to a man of unusual excellence and greatness. As a life of Wesley, its comparative merit is as little to be denied as its undoubted interest. It was an immense advance beyond the fierce intolerance of Bishops Warburton and Lavington. The author rose above a thousand vulgar prejudices by virtue of his humane and generous spirit, and escaped a thousand natural mistakes by the exercise of candour and diligence in the performance of his task. As already intimated, he was qualified by many gifts and acquirements for doing justice to the more external features of Methodism in its early course; and when he is not equally just in his animadversions and reflections, the fidelity of his narrative supplies a corrective to the spiritually-minded and unbiassed reader. If the author has failed to penetrate the simple, but sublime, philosophy of his evangelic theme, he is not without a measure of sympathy for the virtues of his apostolic hero. To those of his readers who more truly appreciate the religious principles of Wesley, no great misapprehension can arise. As a whole, while faithfully (in the main) recording the facts as they arose, the work before us could not entirely fail in reflecting the spirit of that great Revival. Of this the author's own inconsistencies are no small proof. His Church theories are for ever breaking down under the march of more stupendous and authoritative truths; and his offended tastes are continually expanding into a healthier and nobler standard of what is excellent and good.

But—we have deferred this little word as long as possible, and admit it with reluctance even now—there are serious drawbacks to the merit and value of this performance. Our respect for the memory of Southey must not cause us to forget or overlook the

fact, that in many passages he has strongly aspersed the character of Wesley. A gross and wilful slanderer has little power to injure the repute of goodness : but the case is very different with an author comparatively so fair and liberal. The sweetness that masques the poison increases the unlikelihood of its rejection ; and so rather strengthens than diminishes the danger. The literary graces of this production, the general candour of its reflexions, and the verisimilitude imparted to its narrative,—all of which assure us that Southey's "*Life of Wesley*" will long remain a favourite biography,—render it only the more imperative that Dr. Southey's readers should be set upon their guard ; for ignorance and prejudice have occasionally seduced him into gross injustice. Strictly viewed, with reference more to the exact truth concerning Wesley and the cause in which he was engaged, than to the sincerity and ability of its author, the amount of misrepresentation in this work is very serious. It brings a flimsy philosophy to explicate some of the most important mysteries of religion, and especially to disprove the reality of that Christian experience, which has been the chief source of comfort and confidence to all true believers in every age. It lays to Wesley's charge things which he knew not ; magnifies his personal credulity ; exaggerates into enthusiasm his clear and cool and reasonable and constant zeal ; and then strangely charges him with ambition and a boundless love of power ! With all his admiration for the religious character of his hero,—and this is very considerable,—he has still more for his inflexibility of purpose, for his power of ruling men in small or larger masses, and for the sagacity and skill with which he organized the Societies under his care. And, determined that a hero he shall be, (and one, too, after his own heart,) wielding, for the love of it, an ecclesiastical supremacy over many subject souls, he thinks of him as of a Protestant Loyola, fired with the same spiritual ambition, and hardly less scrupulous in the use of proselyting means. Strange, that the inconsistency as well as the gross untruth of this should not have appeared to Southey ! that he could have forgotten the manner in which God owned the labours of this great Evangelist, as well as of his brother Charles and Whitefield, even according to his own confession ! that he should have turned a deaf ear or doubtful mind to those piercing cries of one smitten with the love of souls, and gladly burdened with a vast commission !—

"The love of Christ doth me constrain
To seek the wandering souls of men ;
With cries, entreaties, tears, to save,
And snatch them from the gaping grave."

"My life, my blood, I here present,
If for thy truth they may be spent :
Fulfil thy sovereign counsel, Lord !
Thy will be done, thy name adored,"

It was not likely, under these circumstances, that those to whom Wesley's reputation was dearest, and who had entered into the spiritual charge of his Societies, should be satisfied with the tendency of Southey's popular volumes. A sacred cause and a spotless character were both compromised and threatened; and both were a solemn trust to that large community which is legally represented and faithfully served by the Wesleyan Conference. By appointment of that assembly, a champion was presently forthcoming; and so Robert Southey fell into the hands of Richard Watson.

When this great preacher and theologian undertook to correct the misrepresentations of the "*Life of Wesley*," all who knew the superior order of his mind, his thorough preparedness, and the serious temper in which he was likely to engage in what he believed to be the cause of God, expected no half-answer from his pen. No word of levity that had escaped the Laureate, and no sophtistical explanation of divine things attempted in his narrative, and no ill-founded charge against the good and great man whom he had chosen for the subject of his alternate censure and approval, was likely to evade the notice of this masterly polemic. What might fairly pass muster with the reading public, and even charm the languid hours of the philosopher of Highgate, was now to be sifted like wheat, after a heavy flail had first divided the grain from the chaff. And when Mr. Watson's tract appeared, it was found answerable to the character of its author. As a reply to Dr. Southey's charges, it was complete and irresistible. Till then, the reader of the "*Life of Wesley*" had never dreamed that it was so full of errors,—so elegant the composition, so plausible the views, so far above suspicion the dignified and able writer. But Watson exposed the least as well as the greatest of its faults, and showed them to abound in almost every page; and proved the fatuity and falsehood of every injurious statement. Disdaining to lavish useless compliment where his general purpose was so different, he went direct to his appointed duty; and yet there was a grave and lofty courtesy in his language, and a moral weight in his reflections, that only served to render his rebuke more fatal. In all that learning which the subject called for, he approved himself the Laureate's master; and, by the tone and tenor of a high Christian philosophy, was enabled to reduce, to almost contemptible proportions, the loose and feeble speculations of his author. Above all, in the theology of the English Church,—to a knowledge of which Dr. Southey, though a layman, made no ordinary pretensions,—the superiority of Watson was manifest; and by this advantage he was enabled not only to vindicate the catholic orthodoxy of Wesleyan doctrine and practice, but to convict the biographer of Wesley of gross incompetency for his voluntary task. Thus, with weapons out of his own vaunted armoury, he reduces the adversary of evangelical religion. With ready and copious learning, he brings the Fathers of the Protestant Church

of England to confirm the teaching of this strange sect; and from the writings of these worthies, and the Articles and Homilies of the Church itself, he shows that the doctrines thought to be peculiar to Methodism, and vilified as the spurious products of enthusiasm, belong, in reality, to that reformed and scriptural faith which Dr. Southey himself professed. It is at this point of his argument that our critic anticipates the charge of undue severity; and his remark in self-defence may be quoted as an instance of his trenchant manner: "If any should say, that it is too much to expect that the Poet Laureate should be a Divine, the answer is, that without a common initiation, at least, in the principles of religion, the Poet Laureate ought not to have uttered his *dicta* on the points referred to. It is surely not too much to expect that a professed member of the Church of England should understand his Catechism and the Book of Common Prayer."*

On the whole, we are disposed to think that Mr. Watson *was* somewhat too severe on this occasion. If Dr. Southey was compelled to acknowledge—as we have reason to believe he did at a subsequent period—that he was justly brought to task for making false and injurious statements, he had also some occasion for surprise at being treated as a flagrant enemy of Methodism. It was right and needful that the evangelical doctrines and practices of a large Christian community, as well as the religious character and pure intentions of its Founder, should be openly defended from the aspersions of so popular an author; but we think a tone of more friendly remonstrance might have been employed with equal effect; and, perhaps, a fuller acknowledgment was due to the comparative fairness and moderation of Dr. Southey. Yet, notwithstanding this abatement, we highly esteem the service rendered by Mr. Watson to the cause of truth. His animadversions are all warrantable in this regard. Nor must our reader, to whom this able tract may be unknown, suppose that the champion of Methodism was unfitted to appreciate, or unwilling to admit, the literary merits of the Poet Laureate. On more than one occasion he professes himself a reader and admirer of that author's poetry. But, with a mind cast in a sterner mould, and a calling that engaged and hallowed all his powers, he will not suffer these grateful recollections to mitigate the edge of his just censure. More frequently an allusion of this kind is introduced with terrible effect, to point our critic's shaft of irony, or to render the swift-following exposure only the more severe. The wreath of song is not,

* Nothing is more admirable in Mr. Watson's volume, than the philosophical spirit with which he discriminates between natural and spiritual phenomena, unless it be the moderation and judgment which mark his statements of important scriptural dogmas. Of this latter kind we may instance how well he guards the doctrine of human depravity from the extreme language of some Calvinistic writers,—language wholly at variance with the facts of human history, and quite unnecessary for the explication of divine truth.

indeed, withheld; but it seems to fall upon the head of a victim, and hardly for a moment is the sacrifice delayed.

It is probable, that a majority of those who are familiar with Southey's "*Life of Wesley*," have never read the "*Observations*" of Mr. Watson. And, unfortunately, the errors, which the latter work was intended to correct, are repeated in the recent, as they will doubtless be perpetuated through every future, edition of that work. For this we hold the editor, our author's son, in some degree responsible. It is well known that Dr. Southey greatly modified his published views of Wesley's character, wholly retracting the charge of an ambitious purpose in the formation of his Societies; and it is no less certain, that he made considerable preparations for an amended edition of the biography, which, indeed, was advertised as being in the press, just previously to the author's lamentable illness. Yet the son, upon whom the task of publication ultimately devolved, has thought proper to suppress every sign of this important change, and has suffered his father's memory to lose the advantage even of its bare acknowledgment. The reproach, in justice, will recoil upon himself. We esteem the honourable intention of the parent, and pity the son's mistaken churchmanship and pride. It happens, however, that Mr. Southey has allowed another to contradict his father, whom he would not suffer to correct himself,—so strange is his idea of filial duty! In Alexander Knox's paper, communicated to Dr. Southey, and published in this last edition, we have an interesting tribute to Wesley's simplicity of purpose; to the purity, happiness, and heavenly-mindedness which distinguished his serene old age, and evinced that no worldly considerations had biassed his career, or induced any act, the memory of which might serve to cloud the evening of his life. Of Mr. Coleridge's notes—also a feature of the new edition—we have little room and less desire to speak. They are remarkable for profound discrimination, both of terms and things. In them, language is denuded of its popular incrustations, and mind itself cunningly pierced and partially exposed through all its many plies, whether of education, sense, or habit. Yet these notes are unsatisfactory as a whole; their author's genius does not assist him in mastering the theology of Scripture; nay, it seems absolutely to mislead him, seducing him to venture far beyond the point where it has pleased God that man shall best recognise the relation of the creature to Himself. The blessings of religion are designed for every member of the human family, not for the gifted or much-instructed only; and even for the attainment of great discoveries in the economy of grace, and of large and consistent views of scriptural theology, the preparation necessary is more of a moral than a mental nature. And so it often happens, as in the case before us, that this super-subtlety of intellect is a practical disadvantage, even in the study of moral and religious science. It leads into a thousand metaphysical diversions, and corrupts the

simplicity of divine truth. It is as though a man should have a morbid prismatic vision, instead of an eye cunningly compounded of lens and counter-lens, engaging the use of many antagonistic properties, but all uniting to produce an act of simple perception.

The "Life of Wesley" which Mr. Watson himself prepared, is comparatively brief; but it contains, notwithstanding, a very lucid and able narrative of Wesley's religious history, and of the successive stages of his progress in forming the Societies under his care, and in providing for their spiritual and moral necessities. Indeed, this little work is a model of serious and succinct biography. Nothing irrelevant to its chief design, which regarded rather the public, than the merely personal, affairs of its subject, is admitted to weaken the effect of so important a relation. Yet, its fulness and completeness is surprising. Every topic, which a history of Wesley's labours would naturally touch upon, has here a brief, but fitting, allusion; and every feature of Methodism, which had been exposed to misconception or distortion, is here set right, with moderation of spirit as well as mastery of hand. Some fine criticism, also, is scattered over these pages; the poetry of Charles and the prose of John Wesley are characterized with judgment and discrimination. Here, too, the relations of Methodism to the Church of England, both in its earlier and later period, are lucidly and fairly stated. To those who would see, in brief compass, the chief steps in the career of this eminent Evangelist, we strongly commend the perusal of Mr. Watson's memoir.

A valuable substitute for Dr. Southey's volumes—hardly less interesting, and far more just, consistent, and reliable—appeared in the year 1825. It proceeded from the pen of Henry Moore, who was Wesley's son in the Gospel, and who, in conjunction with Dr. Coke, had compiled the first authentic account of the Founder of Methodism. Mr. Moore was now the sole surviving trustee of Mr. Wesley; he had lately recovered some important MSS., largely illustrating his career; and was, moreover, enabled to correct many mis-statements of a minor character, repeated by Southey, for which the limits and design both of Mr. Watson's tract and subsequent memoir furnished no equal opportunity. Under these circumstances the new biography, enlarged to two octavo volumes, and written on a comprehensive plan, had claims superior to any that had yet appeared. It is still unrivalled for its fulness and fidelity. The fortunes of the Wesley family are a singularly interesting feature of this book; and, with some of the more private incidents of John Wesley's course, they are almost pathetic in their character. As an example of the first, we may mention a letter of Mrs. Wesley to her brother Annesley, in which the poverty and distress of this remarkable family, painfully heightened by their contrasted education and accom-

plishments, is related in terms that move the reader to equal pity and admiration for that noble woman. Perhaps a finer example of the maternal character never adorned a Roman or an English home. Of her more eminent son, Mr. Moore gives some new particulars; and especially may be mentioned, as being here introduced for the first time, a remarkable copy of verses, inspired by strong love and sorrow, but breathing, also, a spirit of holy resignation. Wesley was now in the prime of life, and in the zenith of his triumphant labours. For the second time, the fountain of his human affections flowed towards a created object, and one so worthy of his love as to make the trial only the more difficult to bear; but Providence came to his assistance, and decided for him; for God chose that he should be devoted only to His church; and now he adds a further offering, even a bleeding heart, upon that altar which sanctifieth the gift.

In these volumes of Henry Moore, there is a pervading homogeneity, arising from the author's sympathy with his subject, which to us is very pleasant. There is something filial in his admiration for the venerable master, whose counsel and friendship were the chief blessings of his early manhood. Unlike the laurelled author who preceded him, he is of one mind with his hero, and profoundly enters into the sacred motives which hallowed all his actions, and rejoices in the fruit of such devotedness and zeal. If these motives and actions were more questionable, of course, this partiality would need to be guarded against; but, convinced as we are, (and as all must be who duly consider the nature and amount of his Christian and self-denying labours,) that Wesley was worthy of all the love and reverence he inspired, we feel it to be an advantage that he has found a congenial as well as competent biographer. Nor is the ability which Mr. Moore brought to his work of love to be lightly regarded. The author may be taken as a fair yet favourable example of Wesley's co-operators and successors. As a man, he was both shrewd and wise; as a Minister, diligent and faithful in his sacred calling. The volumes before us give evidence of no small measure of literary skill. The style is simple and unadorned, but even and judicious, and not without a certain elegance: it has, besides, a characteristic charm, distinct from that of its subject, yet beautifully harmonizing with it. We do not hesitate to pronounce it the best biography of Wesley.

The next writer who undertook to estimate the character and labours of Wesley was Mr. Isaac Taylor, well known by his original work entitled, "*Natural History of Enthusiasm*," and more recently by one on "*Loyola, and Jesuitism in its Rudiments*." This critic was supposed to have certain peculiar qualifications, and his production was expected with some interest. The hand which had lately drawn the features of the great arch-Jesuit, was now engaged on a companion-picture, equally full of

character, but marked by striking contrasts. Shall the study of Methodism, so remarkable in its origin, and so active in its influence upon the world of these last hundred years, have less interest or fascination for students of the present time, than that of the Society of Jesus, not, indeed, yet dissolved, but comparatively barren and uniformly dark? With no healthy mind could it be thus; and so, thoughtful men looked with curiosity for Mr. Taylor's book. At length it appeared—quietly, as this class of works are wont to do; still thoughtful men came round it and discussed it. They differed widely as to its literary merit and intrinsic value; but all agreed, whether for compliment or otherwise, that it was highly characteristic of its author. And so say we. What if, rather, it had more highly characterized its *subject*? But then the author must have been left very far behind.

Whatever the degree of Mr. Taylor's success, he has certainly produced no rival to the favourite work of Southey. Less comprehensive in plan, and less artistic in arrangement, it is inferior altogether in literary merit. It is only fair, however, to say that, its object not being strictly biographical, it would be invidious to force it into comparison with Southey's interesting volumes. Let us judge it fairly, according to its own pretensions, which, on some important grounds, are sufficiently aspiring. It claims to be a critical and philosophical study, in which both the principles and personages concerned in a remarkable religious movement are estimated and compared.

Though somewhat more extensive in its actual range, the title of Mr. Taylor's book is limited to "*Wesley, and Methodism;*" and his subject generally, though embracing other characters, and treated in smaller sections, divides itself naturally into two parts; namely, the religious revival of the last century, and the personal character and labours of its most honoured instrument. Of these general divisions, the latter most nearly concerns our present object; yet we must not omit all notice of the former, as it is the best and redeeming portion of a work to which we shall be bound to enter strong exceptions.

The spirit which animated the first Methodists is very justly appreciated by Mr. Taylor. In this part of his volume, the author has earned the praise of all lovers of catholic and evangelical truth. He cannot mistake, and will not depreciate, the character of a religious agitation, authenticated by so many proofs of divine favour, and issuing in so abundant a harvest of spiritual peace and joy. "It would not be easy," he says, "or not possible, to name any company of Christian Preachers, from the apostolic age downward to our times, whose proclamation of the Gospel has been in a larger proportion of instances effective, or which has been carried over so large a surface with so much power, or with so uniform a result. No such harvest of souls is recorded to have been gathered by any body of contemporary

men since the first century. An attempt to compute the converts to Methodist Christianity would be a fruitless as well as presumptuous undertaking, from which we draw back ; but we must not call in question, what is so variously and fully attested, that an unimpeachable Christian profession was the fruit of the Methodist preaching in instances that must be computed by hundreds of thousands, throughout Great Britain and in America." So, also, in his individual sketches, our author well depicts the members of this apostolic band. Whitefield, with his affluence of spiritual gifts, his amazing eloquence, his zeal urging him so frequently to compass sea and land ; and Charles Wesley, the fervent lyrist and liturgist,—these, the Barnabas and Apollos of Methodism, are nobly glanced at in these pages. Others, too, appear for a moment : as Coke, the Missionary ; and Fletcher, of Madeley,—the Protestant St. Xavier and D'Assisi, whose holy faith and labours were ennobled and rewarded by their cause, and whose names are canonized in a more precious record than the Romish calendar of saints.

But what of the most eminent of this extraordinary company of Preachers ? of him who, through a longer day, bore a far heavier burden, and headed the Christian march into the enemy's country, directed every assault, and went last to his rest and his reward ? To John Wesley it is due, that the labours of these Evangelists are remembered as having been something more than unconnected skirmishes, and recorded rather as a well-fought and victorious campaign ; and the chief interest of this period will always tend to him as the central figure. Mr. Taylor's estimate of Wesley, as gathered by the reader from different parts of this volume, is very unsatisfactory. It is much below the standard of his real character, even as witnessed to by so unprejudiced a judge as Southey. This depreciation, it is true, alternates with the language of approval ; but this approval is often not so much qualified, as neutralized, by prompt and large exceptions. The work, indeed, is contradictory throughout ; and the reason seems to be, that the facts of the case are far too strong for the philosophy called in. The moral worth and religious call of Wesley are freely admitted by our author : he does not question either the simplicity of his motives or the genuineness of his piety ; he has strong terms of admiration for his courage, zeal, and constancy. But all that would account for his acknowledged pre-eminence, and all those remarkable gifts which, under the divine blessing, so largely contributed to his sustained and permanent influence upon the world at large, are omitted or denied. His intellectual powers are very greatly under-rated ; his theology is summarily condemned ; and the acknowledged prosperity of his designs during his life-time is qualified by very serious doubts of the value and stability of the church-institute he left behind him.

Mr. Taylor is willing to grant that Wesley was a master in

logic, but very plainly asserts that his mind was limited and mechanical; in short, that it was unphilosophical. In these days, a reproach of this kind is not necessarily startling or conclusive. The censure implied in the charge of being unphilosophical, is determined, as to weight and pungency, by the value of the censurer's own philosophy; and this consideration has relieved our mind, as we think it calculated also to vindicate the intellectual character of Wesley. We are not about to question the value of Mr. Taylor's own writings, which, if not very trustworthy as to all that they *contain*, are often valuable for the truths which they *suggest*. But we cannot regret that the revered Wesley was not in like manner philosophical. Even his written works—so small a portion of his labours—will compare, we think, with advantage, as to these and other literary merits, with the productions of more modern and retired students; but, when considered as the incidental products of a practical and apostolic course, and especially as the key to that single and sublime philosophy, by which every action in that course was harmonized and ordered, we cannot wish them other than they are; and least of all can we regret the absence of metaphysical niceties or fancies. What Mr. Taylor repeatedly alludes to as a defect in Wesley, might, with equal reason, be mentioned with concern by the biographer of Marlborough or Wellington. Studies purely literary and abstract were foreign, not so much to the nature, as to the purpose, of our reformer; and such *dilettantisms* could never have consisted with so hardy and so useful a career. When he took the world for his parish, and determined to know and to preach nothing but the cross of Christ, he put aside, as an encumbrance, not only all vain philosophy, but every kind of learning and accomplishment which would not readily subserve his one design. But that rule implied exceptions; and chief among those exceptions was that of logic. This exception is characteristic, not more of the mental structure, than the moral earnestness, of Wesley. As logic is the instrument by which great truths are defended, and their relations and consequences proved, it was natural to expect that the controversial writings of Wesley should exhibit more of this faculty than any other; but is there no "philosophy," and that, too, of a very high, and catholic, and spiritual kind, which supplies the first principles of a career so useful and consistent, and harmonizes into one great system the laws so promptly recognised in every act of such a life? The philosophy of John Wesley is seen, as already intimated, not merely or chiefly in his written books, but in his living works; in the multitude of poor outcasts attracted by his zeal, and instructed by his scriptural ministrations; in the Societies formed by his wisdom and trained by his example; in the Churches founded by his agency or influence in all parts of the world. Herein is the substance of a true philosophy, destined to engage the critics and historians of a future age. The motives that urged to Wesley's extraordi-

nary labours, and the immense results which followed them, are surely neither fortuitous nor inconsecutive: the latter are profoundly represented in the former,—in principles deliberately recognised by his religious consciousness, heartily and prayerfully adopted by his devoted zeal, and thoroughly harmonized and blessed by the energy of spiritual laws and the consenting providence of God. That Wesley made no distinction between philosophy, eminently and properly so called, and the system most plainly deducible from the facts and precepts of the Bible; that he allowed the supernal truths of Christianity to supersede in him, and to bring to nought, all lesser, feebler, and more imperfect systems of morality, as the rod of Aaron swallowed up the rods of the Egyptian *Magi*;—may be regarded as grave objections by certain teachers of the present day, French, English, American, and German. But is Mr. Taylor of the number? Are there two prime rules of right, two sources of moral authority?—is there *any* clear fountain of spiritual truth, but the revelation of God?

So patent is this adaptation (both natural and determined) of Wesley's mind to the accomplishment of Wesley's work, that it is sometimes forced upon Mr. Taylor himself, who acknowledges (at p. 24) that "this intellectual characteristic is not to be spoken of with regret." Then why recur so frequently to the absence of a faculty of very secondary or doubtful merit, and particularly in a case where its presence would have been an absolute blemish and hinderance? To say the least, it is an intrusion so irrelevant as to mar very seriously the clearness and interest of this performance, whether considered as a personal portraiture of Wesley, or as a thoughtful estimate of the normal principles of Methodism.

But there is an ulterior purpose in this depreciation. It is intended to suggest and encourage the idea of essential weakness in the structure of Wesleyan Methodism, and great defectiveness in its system of theology. But here again the inconsistency already noticed very strikingly appears, and defeats the purpose. The administrative genius of Wesley is just that which Mr. Taylor himself allows, and the prosperity and permanence of Wesley's institute supply a much better and more convincing proof of the sagacity and wisdom of its Founder, than even this liberal admission on his part; while, as to the peculiar doctrines of Methodism, this at least is in favour of their profound and scriptural truth,—that they not only found a response in the hearts of the people, but brought forth—again with Mr. Taylor's admission—all the fruits and graces of the Christian character.

Mr. Taylor is continually annoyed by a recollection of Wesley's evangelical Arminianism, especially in connexion with the wide success of his ministerial labours. He seems to regard, with something like contempt, that body of doctrinal teaching which, if he better understood it, he would not stigmatize as forming a "crude theology." We are quite at a loss to know

Mr. Taylor's requirements for a perfect theological system, except that "system it must not be at all, nor its language any thing so poor as theological." This is not unlike the teaching of Mr. Theodore Parker, who repudiates dogmatic theology altogether. Again, Mr. Wesley's preaching was "clear of Calvinistic fanaticism and bad taste," and yet "carried with it, in the view of thoughtful men, the undiminished load of its difficulties. Lighten this load at all, and Methodism could not have spread, and would not have been." We should like Mr. Taylor to have been more explicit here. The *difficulties* of religion (as infidels conceive) are common both to the Calvinist and the Arminian creed; but not so the *inconsistencies*, which in the former are manifest and insurmountable. Besides, was every effect due to the preaching of natural depravity, also common to both parties, and none to the doctrine of free grace? "The unmitigated fact that reprobation assumes, Wesley also assumes." Pray, what fact? Reprobation is not peculiar in assuming the eternal punishment of sin, but for tracing back the cause, both of sin and of its punishment, to the unalterable decrees of God. Mr. Taylor's views on the doctrine of election—we cannot gather precisely what they are, but only what they are *not*—lead him into frequent inconsistencies. He represents Whitefield as advancing "beyond his friend's position by the genuineness and simplicity of his Christian instincts." Were not, then, Wesley's instincts genuine and simple? Mr. Knox, and even Mr. Taylor himself in other places, have assured us that they were. At any rate, this will not express the cause of the difference in opinion between these good men, regarding elective grace. Is it not more in harmony with the truth to say, that Whitefield's Christian instincts, by reason of their genuineness and simplicity, transcended the dark and narrow limits of Genevan doctrine, and forced him to the proclamation of a free Gospel? With respect to Wesley, his earnest and successful ministry was in admirable keeping with his doctrinal teaching; for both illustrated alike the doctrine of divine influence in concurrence with human operation. Practically, these great Preachers were at one in the substance as well as power of their ministrations; but to Whitefield only might the hearer make retort, "You charge a helpless sinner with obstinacy for not forcing himself into a covenant which was not intended for his benefit, and transform the effect of sovereign purposes into a crime that aggravates the sinner's fate."

Mr. Taylor has much sympathy with, and admiration for, the evangelical mission of Methodism; but he has no patience with the pretensions of the Wesleyan Societies to form in combination a distinctive Church, in which the services and sacraments of primitive Christianity are duly administered to members gathered out of the world, and the ministry of a pure word and doctrine is afforded to the flock of Christ. He does not seem so much to

doubt whether they be, as whether they *ought* to be, susceptible of independent Church-fellowship. Some of Mr. Taylor's minor exceptions we can partly make out; but his grand and cardinal objection, founded, we suppose, upon his own peculiar Church-idea, we cannot understand; nor does he seem to think his reader entitled to appreciate his meaning. "When we have affirmed," says he, "once and again in these pages, that Wesley did not construct a CHURCH,—a main part of what we mean finds its interpretation at this point: Methodism was a proclamation of the Gospel, lasting its season, and doing its work: *Wesleyan* Methodism was an economy well adapted to the purpose of sustaining that aggressive movement, after the impulse in which it originated should have subsided. But when it comes to be considered as a permanent system of religious discipline, as toward the people, it presents itself under an aspect far too special, and, one might say, too well adapted to the rude masses with which chiefly it has been conversant, to be entitled to the praise implied, if we were to call it a Church. If the rejoinder should come in the form of an animated question, 'Where then is *your* Church?'—this is a question to which we are not bound, in this place, to supply an answer." Now, Mr. Taylor is not bound to answer this very reasonable question, only because he is not bound to write intelligibly; and in this sense, indeed, he was not *bound* to write at all upon the subject. He has taken, however, a sure way to make his objection unanswerable, perhaps because it was the only way to insure its being so. Till we know what Mr. Taylor desiderates in a Christian Church, we cannot tell upon what principle Wesleyan Methodism is by him refused "the praise implied" by such a designation. What makes this conduct more perplexing, is the fact, that the only theory which seems to oppose insuperable objections to such a recognition of Wesleyanism,—namely, that of the apostolical succession as held by High-Church members of the Establishment,—is just that which Mr. Taylor seems to have given up as untenable; "for it," says he, "must either break itself upon Methodism, or must consign Methodism and its millions of souls to perdition, in as peremptory a manner as that in which the Church of Rome fixes its anathema upon heretical nations." We cannot doubt to which of these alternatives Mr. Taylor holds. His "Christian instincts," if not his preconceived ideas, must restrain him from a conclusion that is both monstrous and absurd. But if early Methodism was "a proclamation of the Gospel" to those who were hitherto uncared for, wherein is the economy of *Wesleyan* Methodism deficient, in its attempt to provide for the spiritual necessities of those whom it has been instrumental in gathering out of the world? Its "aspect," we are told, is "too special towards the people." This is a curious phrase, that would probably have been felicitous, if it had not stopped short of being intelligible. Does our author mean that too much care is taken

of the poor of Christ's flock? or, is it a fatal sign, that any Church should *have* so many poor? In either of these cases, we are compelled to differ widely from Mr. Taylor. But if he would insinuate,—what he certainly does not assert,—that the pastoral duties and religious privileges of a Christian Church are not duly administered or provided by the Wesleyan economy, he betrays small acquaintance with, or little candour towards, the communion of which he so confidently speaks. To say that Wesley did not design to construct a Church, is only to add another testimony to his purely evangelical motives; but, more than this, it necessarily refers to a far higher origin, what our author is at some pains in another place to disparage, as being merely human and temporary. Grant, then, that what Wesley conscientiously *proposed*, the providence of God otherwise, but yet more graciously, *disposed*,—largely employing its servant's gifts of industry and zeal and wisdom, but taking the event out of his hands, going far beyond the limits of one man's mortal powers, and bringing, by successive and appropriate agencies, a society of true believers to exercise the independent action of a church-community. Of a lineage such as this no Christian body has need to be ashamed. Born within the pale of the national reformed Church, but pastured in forbidden fields, which Heaven yet deigned to bless and fertilize, Methodism became gradually isolated in position, but never alienated in affection, from the fold of her birth. And, pure from the taint of ambitious hands, it is not unwarrantable to suppose, that the means which human piety and wisdom have devised for the furtherance of this evangelical mission, may be still seconded by the divine blessing, and supplemented, as heretofore, by the timely providence of God. Thus Christ is the Author and Head of this as well as of every other section of his Church; and if, for convenience' sake, it is sometimes called by a human name, no candid person will be offended or alarmed by this circumstance. A name is but a necessary expedient; and Mr. Taylor might as well argue that a local name (as that of the Church of England) forbids the notion of catholicity, as that a human one debars a church so designated from divine adoption and permanent success.

How little Mr. Taylor was justified in his more vague and general condemnation of the Wesleyan system, may be inferred from his remarks on one of its characteristic features. On the subject of class and band-meetings, he is full of contradictions. They offend his fastidious prejudices, yet evidently commend themselves to his Christian judgment. He cannot but esteem them of "ambiguous tendency," yet is of opinion that "the actual mischiefs resulting from them are probably much less than theoretically they would seem likely to produce." So it is, that our author's theories are continually rebuked by the irresistible evidence of facts. But, after this admission, betokening an evident misgiving of his former prejudice, with strange incon-

sistency he speaks of Wesley's acting in this manner, in terms worthy of Bishop Lavington himself. "What could he imagine would be the consequence of instructing his Class-Leaders to demand of each member an unreserved exposure of a week's sins and temptations? What is it that could be the product of such disgorgements, when each was solemnly enjoined, with a remorseless disregard of delicacy, of reserve, of diffidence, to pour forth, before all, the moral evils of the past seven days? May there not be some ground for the alleged comparative harmlessness of auricular confession?" Mr. Taylor is fond of the interrogative style, perhaps because it seems to commit him to no positive censure, where he is doubtful whether praise would not be the more appropriate language. It is the manner of those who prefer to "hint a fault, and hesitate dislike." But, in deference to his literary character, let us humbly imitate him in this particular, and ask, Are the hearts of believers, then, so foul, that, like thieves in a gaol, their mutual confessions form only a budget of depravity and vice, in which each succeeding speaker so far improves and heightens the relation, as to shock the comparative modesty of those that went before? And was it so in the ancient Church, when "they that feared the Lord spake often one with another," or in the primitive Church, when Christians were required to "confess their faults one to another, and to pray one for another, that they might be healed?" And was this the edifying practice that Bishop Taylor—that eminent Prelate of the English Church—recommended in his treatise of "Holy Living," "that he who would preserve his humility, should choose some spiritual person to whom he shall oblige himself *to discover his very thoughts and fancies, every act of his, and all his intercourse with others, in which there is danger?*" And, for the bugbear of Romish auricular confession, by which is it more nearly approached,—the Methodist custom of six or more meeting for mutual improvement in spiritual things, or this church-counsel of *one unbosoming to one only?* We think Mr. Taylor has not made sufficient use of his knowledge, either of scripture-precept, or catholic practice. If he had candidly examined the principles and customs of Wesleyan Methodism by these standards,—which are, nevertheless, of very different value and authority,—he would have found very little either of novelty or danger in that system of church-fellowship, and nothing to warrant his anticipation of its speedy dissolution.

Mr. Taylor's volume closes with a section, entitled "The Methodism of the Future;" but we will not be so unjust as to criticize what we so little understand,—for, though we might plead his own example for the practice, we must, in such case, have only his indifferent success for our reward, and that would not content us. The obscurity of this section is due, perhaps, in part, to its prophetic object, and, in part, to its transcendental manner. The only impression we gather from it, is not favour-

able to Mr. Taylor's prospective view ; for it does not seem that the most plain and powerful truths of Christianity are (in his opinion) to be most operative in the coming Methodism ; and the world's hope, as we think, rests still on them.

We have left ourselves but little room to speak of the last book on our list. Small as the volume is, it is the production of two authors ; and merits, on more accounts than one, a notice disproportioned to its size. The first essay, entitled "Wesley the Worthy," is by Dr. Dobbin, of Hull ; and the second, called "Wesley the Catholic," by the Rev. Charles Adams, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The former, we believe, has no lineal connexion with the personal labours of Wesley ; but it is evident, that he has drunk largely into his religious spirit, and deems him unrivalled as an evangelical reformer. Dr. Dobbin speaks with the earnestness, not of a partisan, but of a kindred soul ; he has caught a glimpse of one who comes very near to his ideal of moral greatness, and kindles in its contemplation. His eloquence is likely to infect the reader with a like wholesome admiration. We believe there is profound truth in this generous recognition. All intellectual attributes aside, the greatness of John Wesley was a *moral greatness* ; and, in this sublime particular, we know not if he ever had an equal. An *indomitable will* and *unbounded benevolence* : these are the diagnostic characters of the highest type of man ; and these, as Dr. Dobbin finds, are more strongly marked and more thoroughly developed in John Wesley, than in any creature of whom we have a record. And what were the results of the sustained and well-directed labours of this man ? Our author tells us in few words. "There were no Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies then, to employ the Church's powers, and indicate its path of duty. But Wesley started them all. He wrote, and printed, and circulated books, in thousands upon thousands of copies. He set afloat home and foreign missions. The Church and the world were alike asleep ; he sounded the loud trumpet of the Gospel ; and awoke the world to tremble, and the Church to work. Never was such a scene before in this land. The correctness and maturity of his views amid the deep darkness surrounding him is startling, wonderful ; like the idea of a catholic Church springing up amid a sectarian Judaism. It is mid-day without the antecedent dawn ; it beggars thought ; it defies explanation."

The other essay included in this little volume is contributed by American Methodism to the just memory of its venerated English Founder. What the United States are to Great Britain, such is the Methodist Church in America to the parent Society in this country,—independent in action, but identical in origin, animated by the same great principles, and honouring alike a thousand beautiful traditions. And in this paper of Mr. Adams we have both an interesting example of catholicity, and a testimony to the catholicity of Wesley. This is the feature, per-

haps, most characteristic of his long career : he was emphatically "*the friend of all, the enemy of none.*" No reformer that the world ever saw so remarkably united faithfulness to the essential doctrines of revelation, with charity towards men of every church and creed. And it is to this principle of true religion that his Transatlantic follower now appeals. "Needs there not the mighty shower to gladden and refresh the multitudes, urging us, if we have wandered, back to the original, the true position and action, and calling us again to the childlike simplicity, the undying zeal, the all-abounding love of Wesley the Catholic?" Is it not something like this that we should look for in the *Methodism of the Future?*

ART. III.—*Memorandums in Ireland, in the Autumn of 1852.* By JOHN FORBES, M.D., F.R.S., &c., &c., &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

"IRELAND is England's difficulty." How frequently is this phrase repeated! and yet how few persons possess adequate ideas of its real import! "England's difficulty!" What difficulties have ever arisen, that England has not surmounted,—conquered? Look at her career for centuries back,—look at her history ever since the Norman Conquest,—and what does it present to us, but one unbroken series of difficulties, foreign and domestic, appearing but to vanish; of progress, opposed, but ever onward; of prosperity, often threatened, but never seriously retarded? Surrounded by hostile nations, jealous of her success whilst deprecating her power, she has steadily advanced in political, commercial, and territorial greatness; in arts, science, and literature; in wealth, liberty, and social happiness; until she stands before the wondering world a unique example of what a small nation can effect, where truth and justice in principle are united with perseverance and industry in action.

And yet, with all this successful career, this ever-onward progress in national greatness, England unquestionably has a "difficulty," which has for centuries baffled the wisdom and justice, as well as the craft and injustice, of her rulers; constituting a problem which her ablest senators have been unable to solve, and which has broken up more administrations, and stultified more Acts of Parliament, than all the rest of the possessions of the Crown. That "difficulty" is Ireland; which, like a diseased limb, if it has not affected the healthy action of the rest of the body politic, has hung listlessly at her side; defying all her skill to heal, but ever present to annoy and perplex with the consciousness of its weakness and inefficiency. Subject to, and pro-

tected by, the same Government and laws, and enjoying equal and even superior natural advantages, her condition, as compared with the rest of the Empire, is a strange anomaly to the philosopher, the statesman, the moralist; by whom a succession of remedial theories have been proposed, all alike unavailable for any efficient practical purpose.

Neither has there been any want of endeavours to account for this anomalous state of things; for almost all the writers on Ireland, from Sir William Petty down to Sir Francis Head, have propounded their opinions on the subject. Many of these authors, however, have done little more than betray their scanty knowledge of Irish history and Irish society; and, consequently, have so confounded causes and effects, as to treat as primary what are derivative evils, although arising out of causes so remote as to escape common observation.

Dr. Forbes has followed the common practice of travellers, in giving his opinion upon the origin of the “difficulty;” nor has he shrunk from proposing a remedy. It were to be wished that, before he had done this, in so abstruse a question, he had taken more time to study the people of whom he writes, upon the spot; for it is impossible, without such actual inspection, to understand that very peculiar nation. We speak from a personal knowledge of the subject when we state, that in many instances our author has both mistaken and mis-stated important traits of character; has drawn his conclusions from erroneous data; and has finally proposed a remedy which, if adopted, would infinitely aggravate the disease; and which betrays a worse than latitudinarian spirit, on the one absorbing question which for so long a period has distracted the public mind in Ireland.

In no country of Europe,—perhaps in the whole world,—is the construction of society so intricate and difficult to be understood by a stranger, as in Ireland. We will go further, and say, that books cannot teach it; and that nothing but a residence in the country, with eyes and ears open, *and mouth shut*, will enable a person to arrive at the real condition of society. What, then, can we expect from a writer who, having taken a swallow’s flight over the island,—so hastily, indeed, as scarcely to afford time to visit its thousand natural beauties,—conversing with an old woman here, and a priest there,—the latter appearing to have wonderfully taken his fancy,—jumps to conclusions upon this *coup d’œil* view of a society, the more important, though minute, characteristics of which frequently lie too deep for even the best-informed to reach? No! The case of Ireland requires a personal, intelligent, and impartial application of the mind to the construction of society, to the course of events indicative of national character, and, above all, to her former history. Without opportunity for this, a man might almost as well pronounce his opinion upon the inhabitants of the moon, after viewing her disc through Rosse’s telescope, as dogmatize upon the condition of the

Irish people, from what he can gather during a two months' tour. It is for want of this practical knowledge, that so many blunders in legislation have been committed, which, in fact, have perpetuated those evils, which, by a wise and intelligent course of action, might long since have been abated, if not wholly remedied.

In regard to our author, it would almost appear to us that he has, in this work, presented us with a statement of foregone conclusions, and that his journey was undertaken either to confirm or to give a colour to them. However this may be, we consider those conclusions so erroneous, and so little justified by the real state of things, that we feel bound, so far as in us lies, to counteract their influence. And, in pursuance of this design, we shall at once commence our strictures on the work by a review of the fifteenth and last chapter, which comprises a summary of the writer's opinion on the past, present, and future of Ireland.

The subject is introduced by some general observations: "1. On the question of race and blood; 2. On the condition of Ireland relatively to England and other countries; and, 3. On the mode in which the relief or cure of the evils of Ireland—supposing their existence ascertained—should be attempted."

With regard to the first of these,—the question of race and blood,—we fully agree with the author that, as between Celt and Saxon, there is no structural or ethnological reason why the one should be inferior to the other in mental or moral development, under precisely similar circumstances; and that, if the Celtic population of Ireland have exhibited a less determined tendency to advance in progressive civilization, it is from other causes than those of race and blood. In proof of this, we find that Irishmen *out of Ireland* are a different class of men from what they are at home. We see instances every day of our lives, in the conduct of those Irish who emigrate to England and America, and the Australian Colonies. No sooner does the Irishman come into fair competition with the Anglo-Saxon, than he becomes another man. The once inert, unprogressive semi-barbarian, obstinately wedded to ancient customs, and resolutely abjuring all modern "innovations," as they term improvements, is suddenly converted into an active, enterprising, and industrious citizen; and that, not in isolated instances, but in large numbers, and under widely different degrees of physical advantage.

Other causes must, therefore, be found for this stagnation in social life; and Dr. Forbes has (at p. 366) given quotations from two works,—Hay's "*Social Condition of the People*," and Mill's "*Principles of Political Economy*;" the former of which works ascribes it to the oppression of the Catholic Priesthood by the Government, and by absenteeism; and the latter, to that of the people by the landlords. These, however, are but derivative evils, growing out of radical causes, lying deep in the very constitution of society. The oppression, as it is called, of the Romish Priesthood was the result of that rebellious spirit which

they have formerly evinced against a Protestant Government, and which could only be kept down by the strong arm of power. A religion like that of Romanism, partaking as much of temporal as of spiritual dominion, and which neither will nor can ever be satisfied without ascendancy in both, can only be dealt with by the secular power. Many of the more honest of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland make no scruple of avowing, that they "never will rest satisfied or quiet until they obtain their own;" and we have reason to believe that they all entertain the same sentiments, and are incessantly working to bring about their object. We do not charge them with any inconsistency in this, it being in strict accordance with their principles to uphold, promote, and establish what they consider *ought* to be the universal dominion of the Bishop of Rome. But if Protestantism be true, and the Reformation a blessing, and both have an antagonistic power to cope with, which admits not the existence of a rival, and which scruples not to use all means, carnal and spiritual, direct and indirect, open and secret, not merely to obtain ascendancy, but utterly to crush and annihilate every opponent; by what means, we ask, can such a power be met but by the secular arm of the law? We appeal to all history, ancient and modern,—we appeal to the analogous state of Italy and other Catholic countries at the present moment,—whether this was not, to the letter, the case as between Romanism and Protestantism, in the United Kingdom generally, and in Ireland especially? If, therefore, penal laws were at one time enacted, it was to meet the exigencies of the period, and to curb, not a merely spiritual power, but a religion which invariably, when it could, united the cross and the sword, and employed the secular power to enforce its spiritual domination.

These laws, however, no longer exist; and we rejoice that they have become unnecessary, not from the changed character of the Roman Catholic religion, or of the sinister designs of its Hierarchy, but from the utter inability of the latter to overturn or seriously disturb the peace of the country. We may, however, judge from their movements what might be expected from them, should an inscrutable Providence again allow them to obtain the ascendancy.

With respect to the oppression of the landlords, it is the effect of that craving passion for the possession of land, which, in the absence of manufactures, pervades the whole mass of the rural population. *All* want to be occupiers of land; hence the system of middlemen, by whom it is subdivided: and the extravagant rents obtained are but the natural consequence of the competition to which the small holdings are subjected; the aim of the middleman being to make as much money as possible during his lease. This pernicious system, however, in consequence of the famine, and the operations of the Encumbered Estates Court, aided by the extensive emigration, is fast declining; and we

may hope soon to see the landed property of Ireland placed upon a more healthy and beneficial footing than hitherto. Still, until manufactures become extended, and the mining riches of the country are explored and worked, there will be no other industrial resource for the country people than agriculture; and whether as labourers or as occupiers, or in these capacities united, their condition must be a depressed one, subjecting them to the overwhelming influence of those above them in social rank, who will not fail to take every advantage their position gives them.

The second observation, on the condition of Ireland "as compared with that of other countries, particularly England," may be more easily disposed of. We have no doubt whatever that, on the average, there may be as great an amount of human suffering amongst the poor of England as amongst those of Ireland. Such is the artificial state of society here, that this must necessarily be the case; but to compare the condition of the Irish peasantry with that of England in social comfort, is simply absurd. "Where ignorance is bliss, 't is folly to be wise." And if the Irish occupier of a shealing, built against a bank with loose stones, admitting the wind and rain at every crevice, containing in the same room men, women, and children, fowls, pigs, and cattle, all partaking of the same fare,—potatoes, and all sharing the same bed,—straw; if such a man, we say, is happy, or rather doggedly contented with his lot, it is because he never expects anything better. Such was the condition of his father and grandfather before him; and, like them, all his anxiety is to be able to hold his cabin and "bit of land" against the landlord, and to make the potatoes hold out the season. To make up his rent, he goes at hay-time to England, where for two or three months he works like a Negro, living on the coarsest and most scanty fare, begging at every favourable opportunity, and never spending a farthing beyond what his most pressing wants require. His wife and children at home, in the mean time, exist on the potatoes as long as they last, and beg amongst the neighbours, if they fall short; and such is the sympathy arising from a community of suffering, that no poor person in Ireland needs be either ashamed to beg, or afraid of a refusal. In this respect we will do the Irish poor the justice to say, that they will, at any time, share the last crust or the last potato with the wayside wanderer who is worse off than themselves. Dr. Forbes admits, it is true, that the condition of the English agricultural labourer is not "*quite* so low as this." Indeed it is not! There is the difference between wages at from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per day, and wages at from 3½d. to 6d., which, before the drain upon the population, was a common rate in the remote districts of Ireland. We knew an instance of a gentleman who hired a hundred able-bodied labourers at 3½d. per day. This was four or five years back; but we have known cases, within the last year, of such

men offering to work at 4*d.* per day. Now we say, that in no part of England, and at no period within the memory of man, have such wages been accepted or offered. The question of wages, however, is now righting itself in Ireland also, the emigrant drain upon the population having so reduced the amount of labour-power, that an advance was inevitable; and, in some districts, from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* is now obtained. The benefit, indeed, of the "Exodus" must necessarily be great to those who remain in the country; and, coupled with other causes now in operation, will soon render the condition of the labouring classes in Ireland much more comfortable.

But is Dr. Forbes aware, that this apparent poverty and wretchedness of the Irish cottier is frequently assumed, in order to hide from the landlord or his agent his ability to pay his rent, or for the purpose of exciting sympathy and obtaining relief? We could give numerous instances of both, but one of each shall suffice. At the time when the Clonmel Savings'-Bank failed, through the villany of some of its functionaries and the carelessness of its Trustees, there were several farmers who, having fallen into arrears of rent for some years, had thrown up their holdings, and gone into the Workhouse. Upon the breaking of the Bank, it was discovered that these men were depositors to the amount of from £300 to £800, which they had accumulated by defrauding the landlord of four or five years' rent, and had deposited the plunder in the bank in various names, the rules of the Institution prohibiting the investment of more than a certain sum for each depositor. Again: a friend of ours was crossing from Liverpool in a steamer, when he and some other gentlemen were accosted by a wretched-looking man, a deck passenger, who earnestly begged a "thrifle to help him home to his wife and the childer," when he reached Dublin. Struck by the bundle of rags that stood with tattered hat in hand before them, they retired, and made up a decent suit for him out of their own wardrobes; and, beckoning him to the fore-part of the ship, they told him to strip, and array himself in this (to him) new suit. This he quickly effected, at the same time carefully doubling up the rags, and laying them in a heap on the deck. One of the gentlemen, thinking that they would probably infest the deck with vermin, tossed them overboard with the end of his stick. Catching a glance of his rags as they flew over the bulwarks, the man began stamping with rage, declaring that he was a ruined man, for *there was more than £20 in the pockets!* A boat was instantly lowered, and the precious garments recovered; and, to the astonishment and chagrin of his benefactors, he drew forth a bundle of notes to the amount of £25.

In either of these respects, certainly, the condition, as well as the practice, of the Irish cottier is widely different from that of the English labourer. The latter would scorn either to have recourse to the Union-house, to beg, or to appear in rags, whilst

he had a shilling in his pocket to procure the necessaries of food and clothing.

The third general observation relates to the cure of Ireland's diseases; and our author, being a physician, and treating the subject in a professional way, assumes, first, that those diseases are chronic, and then recommends ("analogically") that they should be treated "*on the principles of the natural, rational, or regiminal system of cure*," as the only one likely to lead to satisfactory results. How far this State-physician (in more senses than one) is qualified to deal with State-diseases, we shall be able to show in the sequel.

We now come to notice the special observations of our author, which he has arranged under the following heads; namely,—

I. OVER-POPULATION.

II. THE COTTIER SYSTEM.

III. ABSENTEEISM.

IV. WANT OF A MIDDLE CLASS.

V. OFFICIAL PARTIALITY.

VI. WANT OF CAPITAL.

VII. WANT OF ENTERPRISE.

VIII. WANT OF EDUCATION.

IX. TENANT-RIGHT.

X. PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY.

I. With regard to OVER-POPULATION, it is in a fair way of becoming a mere matter of history; the "Exodus" being on the eve of turning the scale, and producing a scarcity, in the place of a redundancy, of labour. But even the former excess was but a conditional evil, arising from the want of those industrial employments which absorb the teeming thousands of the sister kingdom. In this respect, whilst England and Scotland have rapidly advanced, Ireland has retrograded; and as her population has multiplied, her manufactures have declined. The silk trade of Dublin, for instance, which a few years ago employed six thousand hands, does not now employ more than two or three hundred. Many of the country towns, also, which formerly possessed flourishing woollen manufactures, are now wholly destitute of them. Even in Dublin, within the last ten years, some important branches of manufacture have become wholly extinct. It was, therefore, the want of manufactures that rendered Ireland over-populous. Agriculture, even with that minute subdivision of the land which prevailed previous to the famine, could only employ a certain number of hands profitably; and the surplus of labour thrown upon the market by the rapid increase of the population, whilst it lowered wages to the *minimum*, diminished, at the same time, the amount of labour individually performed, and rendered the labourer inert and indolent, and sturdily resolved to do no more work than he was compelled to do. It would be absurd to suppose, or expect, that a man either could or would do as much work for 4*d.* or 6*d.* per day,

as for 1s. 6d. or 2s.; and Paddy is no exception to this general rule.

Our author ascribes the want of manufactures to the ill name Ireland has acquired for turbulence, and disregard of life and property. There is no doubt but this has prevented English manufacturers from settling there, where the immense water-power, in all directions, offers such facilities. But the cause of the decline of the *native* manufacturers, was the terrible efficiency (for evil) of the Trades' Union, which rendered it impossible for a master manufacturer, *whatever might be his means*, to compete with those of England. Had we room, we could prove this by the most indisputable evidence,—that obtained on the spot by the Government Commissioner, Mr. Otway, as well as by facts that have come under our own notice; and we have reason to believe, that the same evil combination which has broken up so many manufacturing establishments in Dublin, and other parts of Ireland, and driven the operatives out of the country, is still powerful enough to prevent the extension of manufactures in any portion of Ireland, except the north, where a better feeling prevails.

II. THE COTTIER SYSTEM.—Dr. Forbes' remarks on the evils of this system (p. 375) are very just. To it may be ascribed a large portion of the miseries that have come upon the country during the last seven or eight years, and, in a less degree, previously; and we cordially rejoice with him in the prospect of its extinction. The condition of the English labourer is infinitely better than that of the Irish cottier, both in regard to moral and physical comfort; and happy indeed will be the latter, when the course of events, now being gradually developed, shall have placed him in a similar position, giving him "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work."

But we cannot reconcile our author's condemnation of the cottier system, just referred to, with his strong recommendation of the continental system of the subdivision of the land. (Pp. 378–381.) We are no friends to feudalism, and we advocate the advancement of the labourer in his social and physical condition. But the question is,—Are the small occupiers in France and Prussia better off in this respect than the labourers of England, and have they a better prospect, or better means, of providing for a family? We believe not; for, unless the accounts of intelligent travellers are incorrect, the small farmers of France and Prussia are in the most abject state of poverty; unable properly to cultivate the land, and deriving from it the most scanty subsistence. Undoubtedly, the condition of the English labourer is not what it ought to be, or, we firmly believe, soon will be. For half a century the legislation of the country seems to have been so framed, as to crush the working class by oppression, and to reduce their moral and physical condition to the lowest point of human endurance. The impolicy, however, of this course has long been

seen by the country, and the Legislature will be compelled, by degrees, to yield to the public voice, and place the working classes of England and Ireland in that social position, to which their growing intelligence and relative importance entitle them.

III. ABSENTEEISM.—This is only a relative evil,—felt severely in Ireland, it is true, because the country is poor. In England it is no evil; or, if one, not felt, because the country is rich and can bear it. Besides, her wealth brings a large influx of foreigners to balance the loss of the absentees; consequently, the evils and benefit are reciprocal. Absenteeism, however, is a very old disease in Ireland; and, taking the difference in the value of money into account, has rather decreased than otherwise during the last hundred years; and the operations of the Encumbered Estates Court are fast remedying the evil, by dispossessing those who are absentees from necessity, and substituting a new, though a smaller, proprietary, who will mostly reside on their purchases.

IV. THE WANT OF A MIDDLE CLASS.—We fully agree with our author, that this want is strongly felt in Ireland; nor can the condition of the labouring class be much improved until that want is supplied. This, in fact, is now in a train of accomplishment, both by the determination of the larger land-owners to destroy the cottier-system and consolidate their farms, and by the division and sale of the large estates in the Encumbered Estates Court; which, conjointly, have already introduced a vast number of the very class wanted, whose object being to improve their new purchases or holdings, there will thus be furnished an abundance of employment for the labouring population.

Dr. Forbes, however, is wrong in supposing either that the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland (until recently) were poor, or that the Protestant Clergy are not active and energetic. From our own knowledge of the latter, we believe that the present body of the Established Clergy in Ireland are an excellent and efficient one, and that they are far before that of England in Evangelical principles and personal piety. Their influence, however, amongst a Catholic population must, of necessity, be limited; but we believe it to be greatly on the increase, owing to circumstances during the famine, which placed them in favourable contrast with the Catholic Clergy. And, with regard to the latter, until the famine, and its consequences, and emigration, had thinned the ranks of their supporters, there was scarcely a Roman Catholic parish Priest that had a less income than three hundred a-year, and a large majority of them enjoyed a much greater. What their “example and influence” have effected, we may judge by the general condition of the country, rather than by the results of Dr. Forbes’ hasty tour, recorded in his “Memorandums.” But more of this presently.

V. OFFICIAL PARTIALITY, OR POLITICAL FAVOURITISM.—We believe that formerly this system was carried to a great extent, so as to exclude the Irish from all participation in the

emoluments of public office. But we know that the evil exists no longer, and that an efficient Irishman is as eligible to an office now, as an Englishman or Scotchman. In proof of this we give the following statement of the clerks, &c., employed in the Public Offices in Dublin.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC WORKS.	
English.....	9
Scotch	4
Welsh	1
Irish	82
	—
	96

PAYMASTER'S OFFICE.	
English.....	6
Scotch	1
Irish	15
	—
	22

In the Poor-Law Department a large staff is employed, nearly, if not quite, all of whom are Irish; and the same may be said of the Office of Customs and Excise. In the Government Offices, also, in London, although we have not succeeded in obtaining the exact relative numbers, we have reason to believe that a full complement of Irish are employed. In the Copyhold and Tythe Commission and Surveying Department the relative numbers are :—

English.....	14
Scotch	1
Irish	7
	—
	22

So that, even in England, the full proportion of Irish are employed; and whatever jobbing may still be practised at headquarters, it certainly, of late, has been as much in favour of Ireland as of the sister kingdom.

VI. WANT OF CAPITAL.—This is a bugbear that has long constituted an apology for want of energy and enterprise. It has been well exposed and exploded by Sir Robert Kane in his work on the “Industrial Resources of Ireland.” The fact is, there is no want of capital, as is proved by the large sums continually invested in permanent securities, amounting to several millions annually; whilst the circulating capital does not amount to more than four and a half millions for the whole country! This shows that there is capital enough, and that what is wanting is enterprise, to render it reproductive and beneficial to the country. We will give but one instance in illustration of this charge. It is well known that Dublin Bay, and the adjoining coasts, abound with herrings, mackerel, cod, turbot, and other fish, all the year round. About 200 boats take to the

amount of about £60,000 *per annum*; and who is it that furnishes these boats? "The Dublin capitalists," you will, doubtless, suppose. *Not one of them!* They are all furnished by Cornish tradesmen, who build and fit out the craft, find capital, put the crews into them, and receive their portion of the profits, which, doubtless, are very considerable, or the system would not be continued. It is true, they frequently hire Dublin men to assist them in their operations; but none of the boats are found by Dublin owners, and that city itself is, in part, supplied with fish by the Cornish fishermen. What, we ask, is to prevent the Dublin tradesmen, or capitalists, from pursuing this branch of commerce, but that want of enterprise which has all along been the bane of Ireland? There is also, and always has been, a general dislike of commerce, and a disinclination to pursue it. Whilst in England even noblemen and men of fortune have not thought it beneath them to invest large sums in mercantile concerns, the smallest of the Irish gentry would scorn to engage himself, or to allow his sons to engage, in any commercial employment. The latter are invariably educated for some learned profession or for a military life. For the latter they are peculiarly fitted; and whilst we cannot do without soldiers and fighting, we are not disposed to cavil at their choice. But, in regard to the learned professions, this disinclination to commercial and industrial pursuits has super-saturated Ireland, and especially Dublin, with barristers, attorneys, and physicians, all eager "to do business." We now see the consequences in the necessity for the Encumbered Estates Court; there being scarcely an estate in Ireland but what is involved in litigation of some kind or other, or of which the title is not a subject of dispute.

To this contempt of commerce may also be ascribed the fewness of the instances in which a lucrative and successful concern is continued for any length of time in the same name. In England, a prosperous tradesman's ambition is, to continue extending his business until he has established a commercial reputation and a "house," to be continued in the family as an heir-loom, as long as the name exists. But such a man in Ireland, looking forward to the time when he may retire with a competence, does not dream of chaining his sons to the same oar with which he has worked his way. They are to be "gentlemen," and are, therefore, sent to Trinity College to study Law, Physic, or Divinity. And upon the retirement or death of the father, the scene of his commercial triumph is either closed, or passed into the hands of a stranger; and the capital with which it was worked, is invested in some public and permanent security, and is lost to the commercial world.

There is no doubt that the consolidation of the land into farms of a hundred acres and upwards will increase the capital of the country. These farms must be taken by men competent to work them; and thus labour will become abundant, and money will cir-

culate. But until the great body of the people of Ireland imbibe a commercial spirit, and perceive the advantage of engaging in reproductive employments ;—in short, until they become disabused of that contemptible pride, which makes them look upon trade as a mean and spiritless occupation, Ireland can never be rich or prosperous. It is this, and not the want of capital, that keeps her in poverty. What capital, we would ask, had Scotland eighty years ago, when she awoke from a similar dream of imaginary dignity and gentility, and took that start in the race of commercial and agricultural industry that has even outstripped England? Poor to a proverb, but thoughtful, calculating, and *honest*, having chosen her course, she flung all her ancient prejudices to the winds ; and with the help of that admirable system of banking, which it would be good policy for the grinding capitalists of Ireland to adopt, she has advanced in commercial prosperity with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the world ! What, then, is there to hinder Ireland from becoming equally prosperous, but the absurd cherishing of those national prejudices and pretensions, which are simply ridiculous in themselves, unattended, as they are, by the means for sustaining them with effect ; but, in the aggregate, form a bar to her advancement in wealth and real respectability ?

VII. WANT OF ENTERPRISE.—This evil is intimately connected with that of want of capital, and the same arguments and reflections apply in either case. The disposition to hoard money in a chest, or invest it in permanent security, rather than venture it in reproductive employment, arises, in some respects, from the undue value placed upon money *per se*, without reference to its use or character as a medium of exchange and a reproductive agent. This disposition, or principle, is very general in Ireland ; and it is considered good policy to secure a small per-centage on their gains by investment, or even to let them lie idle, rather than risk them in trade for the sake of a greater prospective advantage. Had England or Scotland pursued the same ultra-prudential course, they would now be as poor and as destitute of capital as Ireland. We must look to the increasing intercourse between the two islands to effect a change in the people of Ireland, in this as well as other national prejudices.

VIII. WANT OF SUFFICIENT EDUCATION.—This is emphatically the *quæstio vexata* of Ireland at the present time ; and to approach it with any degree of correct appreciation, requires an intimate knowledge of the state of religion and of parties in that country. Such are the diametrically opposite views of the two antagonistic Churches and creeds, and such is the determination of one of them, at least, to secure to themselves, if possible, the instruction of *all the youth* in their own faith, that, however impolitic it may be for the Established Clergy to stand aloof, and (as it regards the National Schools) let their opponents carry off the prize of education on their own terms, we cannot feel surprised at

it. We have already spoken of the high character, for Evangelical piety and active benevolence, of the great body of the Established Clergy in Ireland, and the importance they attach to the use of the Bible as an indispensable accompaniment in the system of education; and their conscientious rejection of any system that excludes it, is no subject of censure. We do not believe, what Dr. Forbes asserts, (vol. ii., p. 344,) that one of the causes of the opposition of the Clergy is the dread of exposing the comparative weakness, as to numbers, of the Established Church. The disproportion existing is well known by every body in Ireland, and cannot be affected by withholding the children from the schools. Neither do we believe that it is owing to their unwillingness "to mix on equal terms in the supervision of the schools with their unclothed brethren of the Catholic Church." (*Idem.*) From what we know of the Irish Clergy, we feel convinced that it is on higher, though, it may be, erroneous, grounds, that they object to the present principle of the National Schools; and that the charge of exclusiveness rests rather with the Clergy of that Church which ignores and unchristianizes those of every communion but its own.

There is no doubt but that the number of Catholics under instruction is much greater than that of Protestants; but the proportion of the instructed to the uninstructed amongst the latter, far exceeds the corresponding ratio of the former. And when it is considered that this instruction is imparted chiefly without Government aid, and is accompanied with a sound scriptural education, to which no Protestant ought to object, we cannot join with our author in condemning the Established Clergy for their conscientious scruples. If they err, it is on the right side; and we entertain a much higher opinion of them for it, than if they held, and acted upon, the sentiments expressed in the following passage:—

"It may be admitted that, in some of these relations (of social life), Protestantism has an advantage over its rival; but the amount and value of this advantage will be very differently appreciated by different parties. And to those who do not consider it as *immense*, it will appear unjustifiable to seek to obtain it at the risk of the comfort and peace of a nation which is profoundly devoted to Catholicism, proud of its peculiar doctrines, and happy in the practices they enjoin."—Vol. i., p. 258.

We avow that we are of the number of those who *do* consider the advantages of Protestantism over Popery as *immense*; and if the history and condition, past and present, of those countries (including Ireland) where the latter prevails, is duly considered, even Dr. Forbes must admit, that "in regard to the conditions of social life, to human liberty and progress, and to rational government," (*ibid.*) those advantages are as palpable as the sun at noonday, and quite important enough to justify Protest-

ants in endeavouring, *at all hazards*, to show to the people "a more excellent way."

IX. TENANT-RIGHT.—This is another subject of agitation in Ireland, and one on which so much difference of opinion exists, as to cause a great deal of ill blood amongst its advocates. Whilst some contend for the revolutionary notion, that a tenant is entitled to interminable possession of the land, at the rent it would be worth in a state of nature,—say, 1s. 6d. per Irish acre, which would be tantamount to "fee simple and fine certain;" others would be satisfied with the possession of a long lease, and power to dispose of their interest in it, subject to the landlord's approval of the purchaser. This latter plan is advocated by our author; (vol. i., p. 122, &c.) and to us it has always appeared that nothing more is required to place the Irish tenant-farmer on a par with those of England and Scotland. Certainly, the present and past condition of the tenantry in Ireland has been any thing but fair and just; but the wild and lawless schemes of some of the reverend demagogues, both Catholic and Presbyterian, who have perambulated the country, scattering disaffection against both the Government and the landlords, cannot be too strongly deprecated.

Dr. Forbes has treated this subject in several parts of his work with that moderation and good sense which might be expected from a Scotchman. We have no doubt that the Legislature will, ere long, set this question at rest by a law that will be advantageous to both parties concerned. The landed proprietors must, by this time, be satisfied that the existing conditions between them and their tenantry are far from being satisfactory or advantageous to either; and a good measure for their adjustment, when brought before Parliament, can scarcely meet with opposition, except from those iron-handed tyrants of the soil, who are never satisfied unless they possess the uncontrolled power of crushing those whom it is their duty to protect.

Dr. Forbes gives an instance (at p. 262, of vol. ii.) of that lawless spirit which has been superinduced, in the first instance, by oppression, and, subsequently, fostered by the incendiary arguments of such itinerant declaimers as we have just referred to.

"One of our companions rents a farm of twenty-five acres, for which he pays £56 annual rent. This, he says, is more than it is worth; and the object of his present visit to the agent is, to propose a reduction of four shillings in the pound. He says, if he fails in obtaining this reduction, he will throw the farm up, and take himself *off to America with the help of the rent now due*, which, however, he is prepared to pay on the reduced scale. He does not regard such a proceeding as of the nature of a cheat, or as in any way unjust. And he met the remonstrance I made against such conduct, by saying, that, as his landlord had no formal document proving a contract, he could not detain, much less imprison, him; though it was known to everybody that he and his fathers had lived on the farm for many generations."

The same false reasoning, although unaccompanied by the same impudent avowal, is exhibited in the following passage:—

“A small farmer I met in Coleraine market told me, that he and his father and grandfather had lived on the farm, now occupied by him, for nearly a hundred years; during which time they had, among them, not only reclaimed it from being a mere bog to be a fertile soil, but had built all the houses now upon it at their own expense. He considered himself as not only liable to be removed, but as likely to be so at any time, and believed that he was fully entitled to compensation, if this should be the case. I began by reasoning with him on the ground that he and his predecessors, during the long course of time they had possessed the land, must have derived advantages from their own improvement of the soil, sufficient to cover the outlay on the houses; but he met this argument by the fact, that the landlord had deprived them, in a great measure, of these advantages, by increasing the rent in proportion to the improvements.”—Vol. ii., p. 249.

X. THE RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES TO THE PEOPLE AND TO ONE ANOTHER.—This is, indeed, “one of the gravest evils of Ireland,” the monster evil which either originates, aggravates, or unites with and absorbs all the rest, and of which there can be no mitigation or cessation until the one has destroyed the other. The conflict between Protestantism and Romanism is one between truth and error, in relation to the most momentous question that concerns humanity; in which both the belligerent parties have nailed their colours to the mast,—the weapons of the one being spiritual, and the other carnal:—the Protestant depending for success on the force of argument, drawn from the word of God;—and the Romanist, on the argument of force, according to the fashion of the world.

In the consideration of this question it is necessary, in the first place, to consider the composition of the two hostile Hierarchies, and their relative positions with the State under which they both exist. And this is the more necessary, in that a scheme for endowing the Roman Catholic Clergy *is certainly determined on* by the present Ministry, and is strongly advocated by Dr. Forbes, in the work under review, as the sovereign panacea for all the ills of Ireland! We should feel simply ashamed of the Protestant who can coolly propose such a plan, were it not that a sense of its monstrosity sinks all other feelings in those of contempt and indignation, at the idea of a Protestant nation being called on to patronize and endow that system which it formerly deprived of every emolument, and most justly, too, on account of its abuse of them! Was, then, the Reformation from Popery so unjust a measure, that our present Government cannot longer bear to reflect upon it? Or, is the difference between truth and error of so little account that we may safely support both? Or, is it not rather the apprehension that, if they do not throw this “sop to the Popish Cerberus,” the

Established Church itself will be in danger? Well, be it so! We speak the language of a large body of its Clergy themselves when we say that, with all our veneration for the Protestant Establishment, better far would it be for the State to withdraw her emoluments, and leave her to fight the battle alone, than that truth and error should be so alike cherished and patronized as to render it doubtful to weak and ignorant minds whether both Churches are not impositions of State,—bugbears, upheld to strengthen the aristocracy, and keep the multitude in subjection!

In considering Popery relatively, as to its position with the State, we shall go into the question of its dogmas, only so far as these have a direct bearing upon the prosperity of a nation. Thus, the sentiment, that “ignorance is the mother of devotion,” cherished by the Church of Rome, has become a living principle; and, in furtherance of its practical use, all instruction that has not for its basis the absolute supremacy of that Church,—all societies that have a tendency to liberalize and humanize the mind,—all books that enlarge the understanding by the impartation of general knowledge,—are placed under the ban of the Church. Thus the Queen’s Colleges in Ireland, although so framed in their constitution that it is impossible for either Catholic or Protestant youth to be the subjects of religious tampering, have been deemed worthy of a rescriptive denunciation from the Pope himself; as has also the Society of Freemasons, which boasts an existence long prior to the power which has thus denounced it; whilst the “*Index Expurgatorius*” of the Vatican has cut off, from the perusal of the faithful, some of the most useful, as well as the most sublime, emanations of human genius. Worse than all, *the Book* which, of all others, contains the purest morality and the sublimest doctrines, and from which *alone* can be derived that “righteousness which exalteth a nation,” is absolutely forbidden to that class of mankind, who, of all others, stand most in need of it as the alleviator of their sufferings in the present life, by holding out to them the hope of a better life hereafter.

Here, then, we have a dogma which, in its practical bearing, stands directly opposed to the progress of the mind in everything that ennobles and humanizes the species. Under its influence, education itself becomes a mere ecclesiastical machine, to mould the mind to a certain form, and limit its attainments to a certain standard of intelligence, most favourable to the absolute authority of the Church. And on the same ground we object to the “forced celibacy of the Clergy, the segregation of men and women in monasteries and nunneries, the practice of confession and absolution, the multiplication of holidays,” &c.; all of which are directly detrimental to the secular and social—and, we may add, the moral and intellectual—well-being of society, on which grounds they were suppressed at the Reformation. Whether it would be politic, at the present day, to renew the

laws against them, for the same reasons, the time is not come to inquire ; and our business is only to show that the Government cannot endow such a system without doing violence to the moral, social, and intellectual well-being of the nation.

That all these great interests suffer irreparable injury from the practices enumerated, is proved by the condition of those countries exclusively Popish. What is the state of morals, for instance, in Spain, Italy, and Austria? Dr. Forbes, after rather rashly assuming, in the first volume, the superior chastity of the Irish women,—an opinion which he subsequently modifies,—ascribes it to the confessional ! Has he, then, read “ Dens’ Theology,” that vile mass of obscenity which the congregated Catholic Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin so strongly recommended as a class-book for Maynooth, and which is, consequently, in the hands of every parish Priest? If he has, would he be willing to allow any Priest, with that book for his guide, to leave his shoes at his wife’s or daughter’s chamber-door, as an intimation that he, the husband and father, must not intrude during the interview?

Dr. Forbes concludes, upon the testimony of the “ lower class of Irish Catholics,” that the confessional is a strong incentive to virtue amongst the females ; and that the charge of the abuse of it, “ *even as a rare case,*” “ among the Irish Priests, is one of the most unjust ever made against that body.” (Vol. ii., p. 82.) It would be exceedingly difficult to procure a body of direct evidence to prove such delinquencies ; although, from what has been related to us on the subject by medical men and others in Ireland, we have no faith whatever in the practical celibacy of the Irish Priests. But, as human nature is the same in all ages and countries, we may judge, from analogy, of the effect of a certain system upon the morals of a people. Now, history records that, in Spain, at one period, so flagrant and general had been the abuse of the confessional, that a committee of inquiry, consisting of twenty Inquisitors, and as many Notaries to write down the evidence, was appointed to investigate the cases ; and all women who had been seduced and outraged by the Priests at the confessional, were charged to come forward and state their cases, on pain of the heaviest censures of the Church. So far, so good. This was an experimental step ; and thirty days were allowed for the investigation. Such, however, was the number of cases still to be heard in the city of Seville alone, that, at the end of that period, thirty more days were appointed, and this was repeated four times. Maids, wives, and widows, young and old, rich and poor, came in throngs, many in the deepest anguish, to relate the horrible atrocities to which they had been subjected ; and business so multiplied on the hands of the committee that, at the end of a hundred and twenty days, they sent for further instructions from Rome : upon which, an order came from the Vatican, *to quash the whole proceedings, destroy the evidence, and bury the whole in oblivion ; so much did it reflect disgrace upon the Church, and*

contempt on the confessional. This account is related by five eminent writers, so that there is no possible reason for doubting its truth.*

Nor is there any doubt that absolution is granted upon confession, not only for murder already committed, but for the intention to commit it at a future time; and that the secrecy of the confessional must not, in either case, be violated. So that a Father Confessor may professionally learn that his intimate friend or neighbour is certain of losing his life at a given time; and yet he must not only absolve the intended murderer, but must make himself an accessory before the fact, by keeping the intention inviolate. We state this on the recent unequivocal admission of a celebrated Jesuit to a reverend friend of our own, forbearing, however, to mention the names. But the fact, that such is the practice of the Church of Rome, is confirmed by other evidence, and by the circumstance that never has a murder in Ireland been yet discovered through the agency of a Priest and the confessional; whilst the general feeling in such cases, amongst the rural population, is that of sympathy with the murderer, and not for his victim.

Is there nothing, then, we ask, in such a practice, opposed to the well-being of society? and is it a religion which imperatively enjoins this practice, on pain of ecclesiastical censure, that a Protestant Government calls upon its people to patronize and endow? What is the state of morals in Italy, where every married woman has her "*cicisbeo*," who claims the right of *entrée* at all times, and on all occasions, provided the husband be absent? What in Austria, where, when it was proposed to the late Emperor to wall off a portion of the city of Vienna for the residence of loose women, he replied, that, "if it were intended to include *all* such within it, the present walls would do very well, and would not be found too extensive?" And had our author taken more time, and looked more closely into the condition of private life amongst the Catholics in Ireland, we feel convinced that he would have hesitated before he gave so favourable a view of the practice of the confessional.

We shall next say a few words respecting the amount of allegiance rendered by the Priests of Ireland to the British Sovereign. Before the establishment of the College of Maynooth, the Irish Roman Catholic youth, as well laymen as those intended

* The authors referred to are, Gonsalvo, p. 185; Llorente, p. 155; Limborch, p. 111; Edgar, p. 529; Da Costa, vol. i., p. 117. This was in the 17th century, and time of Pius IV., and the Papal Bull ran thus:—"Whereas certain Ecclesiastics in the kingdoms of Spain, and in the cities and dioceses thereof, having the cure of souls, or exercising such cure for others, or otherwise deputed to hear the confessions of penitents, have broken out into such heinous acts of iniquity as to abuse the sacrament of penance, in the very act of hearing the confessions, nor fearing to injure the same sacrament, and Him who instituted it, our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by enticing and provoking, or trying to entice and provoke, females to lewd actions, at the very time when they were making their confessions," &c., &c.

for the Priesthood, received their education chiefly at Douay and St. Omer; and, as it required a considerable outlay to effect this, it followed, that few but the sons of gentlemen were able to avail themselves of it. There were many advantages attending this plan. Not only were the Priests generally men of standing in society, but their education was both sound and liberal; Catholic France having always been noted for opposition to the despotism of the Vatican. With this also was allied that politeness of manners which was a characteristic of the French Clergy and *noblesse*, and is still perceptible amongst all ranks in that country at the present day. The Irish Roman Catholic Clergy were, in fact, gentlemen in rank, manners, and education; and whilst they looked towards Rome as the mother to whom they owed spiritual obedience, they maintained the same degree of independence of her as was so long and strenuously contended for by the French Clergy.

But the British Government conceived, that with these advantages, they also contracted those political feelings in regard to England, which prevailed in France at that period; and that they returned with principles of disaffection towards the British Sovereign and Constitution. They therefore, in an evil day, determined to found and endow a Roman Catholic College in Ireland, to prevent the necessity of sending the youth of the country to France for their education. The erection and endowment of Maynooth College was the result.

And how has this precious do-evil-that-good-may-come system worked? and what has been its effect upon the Irish Catholic Priesthood? In the first instance, so meagre was the Government allowance, and so wretched the accommodation, that none but the lowest of the people would avail themselves of it; and the candidates for the priesthood were selected out of the hedge-schools, none being accepted but such as could be depended on for servility to their ecclesiastical superiors. These were placed under the most rigid Ultra-montane discipline and instruction, being taught to look to the Holy Pontiff as their lawful Sovereign in all things; their obedience to the British Sovereign (the heretic) being subordinate to that due to the Pope. We know this to be the case, because we have heard it avowed by men of education, as well as by others; and it is practically manifested at many public dinners, where the health of the Pope is frequently drunk before, and sometimes to the studied exclusion of, that of the Queen. It was also proved at the time of Smith O'Brien's abortive attempt, by the mass of letters promising him support from most of the leading Catholic Ecclesiastics in Ireland; and the recent extension of the grant to Maynooth to £30,000 has made the matter worse instead of better. The candidates for the Priesthood are still selected from the same class, only in greatly augmented numbers; so that not only are Priests educated there for Ireland, but for England and the Colonies,

and the United States of America; and a mass of low-bred, disaffected men are disseminated into every portion of the British dominions.

We see the effect of this system upon the mind of the Irish Catholics, in that bitter hatred, which is expressed on all public occasions, to the English nation. What may be the ultimate result upon the future prosperity and peace of the Empire at large, remains to be seen. But to attempt to check the evil by rewarding the evil-doers, is an absurdity worthy only of insanity. What, we would ask, has been the effect of all the concessions hitherto made to the Roman Catholics of Ireland? Every individual step in that direction has been used by them as a means of strengthening their hostility to the Government; nor will they cease their efforts, until they have once more obtained the ascendancy in both political and ecclesiastical affairs, resumed the benefices of which they were so justly deprived, and once more established the power of the Pope in these islands.

Will it be said that this is an absurd and visionary idea? Let us then look at the present state of the kingdom. If the "Record" and other Church-of-England Journals speak the truth, a large body of its Clergy are prepared, or preparing, to embrace Romanism on the first favourable opportunity. A great number, also, of the aristocracy are inclining the same way, on account of its conservative character. From half to two-thirds of the army are absolute Catholics, and a large portion of the remainder care not which system prevails. And with regard to the people, we believe that the middle class may be depended on; but the mass of the lower class, though calling themselves Protestants, never enter a place of worship, and are, in fact, more disposed to Romanism than otherwise, and would certainly take part against Evangelical Protestantism, in case of a conflict.

But the Parliament? What will it do? Should it come to a struggle, how many of the present House of Commons would think it worth while to uphold a principle against the latitudinarian spirit which so much prevails in high places? We fear, much less than a majority; and that there would be an awful falling away amongst those who now call themselves staunch Protestants.

But we must close our remarks, although there are many other topics in the work before us worthy of observation, if space could be allowed for them. Dr. Forbes' description of the beauties of Ireland, both of the country and the women, are written in an easy and graphic style, and cannot fail of pleasing; and the statistics both of the National Schools, the state of the Union-houses, and of the temperance movement, are deeply interesting to the philanthropist and the politician.

- ART. IV.—1. *The British Desmidiæ*. By JOHN RALFS, M.R.C.S. London: Reeve, Benham, and Reeve. 1848.
2. *A History of the British Freshwater Algæ, including Descriptions of the Desmidiæ and Diatomaceæ, with upwards of 100 Plates*. By A. H. HASSAL, F.L.S., &c. London: S. Highley. 1845.
3. *Recherches sur les Anthéridies et les Spores de quelques Fucus*. Par MM. DECAISNE et THIURET. Annales des Sciences Naturelles. 3me Série. Paris, 1845.
4. *Botanique Cryptogamique, ou Histoire des Familles naturelles des Plantes inférieures*. Par J. PAYER, Avocat, Docteur és Sciences, Maître en Pharmacie, Agrégé de la Faculté des Sciences, Paris, et Professeur à l'Ecole Normale. Paris: Victor Masson. 1850.
5. *Recherches sur les Zoospores des Algues et les Anthéridies des Cryptogames*. Par M. GUSTAVE THIURET. Annales des Sciences Naturelles. 3me Série, Tome 16. 1851.
6. *Mémoire pour servir à l'Histoire Organographique et Physiologique des Lichens*. Par M. L. R. TULASNE. Annales des Sciences Naturelles. 3me Série, Tome 17. 1852.
7. *Class-Book of Botany, being an Introduction to the Study of the Vegetable Kingdom*. By J. H. BALFOUR, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.L.S.; Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden, Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1852.
8. *The British Species of Angiocarpous Lichens, elucidated by their Sporidia*. By the REV. W. A. LEIGHTON, B.A., F.B.S.E. & L. London: printed for the Ray Society. 1851.
9. *A Synopsis of the British Diatomaceæ*. By the REV. W. SMITH, F.L.S. London: Van Voorst. 1853.
10. *Phycologia Britannica; or, History of British Seaweeds, including all the Species of Algæ inhabiting the Shores of the British Isles*. By WILLIAM HENRY HARVEY, M.D., M.R.I.A.; Keeper of the Herbarium of the University of Dublin. London: Reeve, Benham, and Reeve.

"THOSE who come to inquire after knowledge," says Lord Bacon, "with a mind to scorn, shall be sure to find matter for their humour, but none for their instruction;" and so it ever will be. Narrow, however, as was the spirit that dictated the sneers of Wolcot, Pope, and the wits of the last two centuries, when they ridiculed the labours of contemporaneous naturalists, their sarcastic attacks were not wholly unmerited. At that time, attention was too exclusively devoted to details of external conformation, whilst the higher physiological problems which give to these details their sole interest, were in the main neglected. On looking over the works of naturalists prior to the age of Buffon, we cannot fail to be struck with their uninteresting character. They

are mere assemblages of names and technicalities, with nothing to clothe the dry bones, or to infuse into them a spirit of life. Not that we mean to disparage scientific nomenclature: far from it.

“ Then names are good ; for how, without their aid,
Is knowledge, gain'd by man, to man convey'd ?
But from that source shall all our pleasures flow ?
Shall all our knowledge be these names to know ? ”

The subject assumes a widely different aspect, when we associate with such dry details either the broad generalizations with which every fact has some important relation, or the evidences of special adaptation to a purpose, which bespeaks an intelligent designer. Thus, when we have once learnt the magnificent truth first enunciated by the poet Goethe, that all the petals, stamens, and pistils of a flower, are but leaves modified for the purposes of reproduction, everything connected with these organs assumes a new significance ; their shape, size, colour, and number have been altered so as to adapt them for the performance of their several functions ; and in the nature of these modifications we find evidences, at once simple and sublime, of the power and wisdom of God. It is true, there are many who are unable to perceive beauty in the illustrations which nature supplies of the existence of general laws ; who fail to appreciate the evidences, that, amidst the diversities which alone strike the untaught eye, there lurks a unity which bespeaks a pre-arranged plan, and a great First Cause. It is to be feared that this class of individuals is a large one ; but, in spite of their intellectual, or rather un-intellectual, dulness, these truths are replete with beauty ; and the studies which develop a knowledge of them are rapidly extending in all educated circles. Hence, we trust the day is not remote, when the obtuseness of narrow minds, and the one-sided witticisms of higher intellects, will be known only as obsolete things, to be classed with shilling postages, tinder-boxes, and mail-coaches running eight miles an hour.

Of late years, a new spirit has been infused into the pioneers of natural science. They are no longer satisfied either with absurd guesses, or with superficial investigations. They seek to penetrate the innermost arcana of nature. To them may be applied the language uttered by Evelyn, when vindicating his coadjutors of the then infant Royal Society : “ They are not hasty in pronouncing, from a single or incompetent number of experiments, the ecstatic *Εύρηκα*, and offer hecatombs ; but after the most diligent scrutiny, and by degrees, and many inductions honestly and faithfully made, record the truth and event of trials, and submit them to posterity.”

To no branch of science are the preceding remarks more applicable than to the subject of the works at the head of this article. Their writers treat of organisms which have, until lately, been imperfectly understood, even by the best botanists. Hence it

affords little cause for wonder, that in earlier years the existence of the objects was either wholly unknown, or strangely misapprehended. Bacon, in his "Natural History," speaks of the Moss growing on trees as "a kind of hair; for it is the juice of the tree that is excerned, and doth not assimilate." To the unscientific masses, though they may occasionally admire the elegance of a Fern, or the varied hues of "the rock with Lichens grey," these objects are necessarily devoid of material interest. It would be difficult to persuade such persons, that in the dry crust of the Lichen, or in the slimy seaweeds cast on shore by the wintry gale, there are hidden, pictures of unsurpassed beauty, vital processes of marvellous strangeness, and resources for the attainment of needful ends, which display the wisdom of God in some of its most exquisite manifestations.

The vegetable kingdom has long been separated into two great subdivisions, viz., the *Phanerogamia*, and the *Cryptogamia*; terms originating in peculiarities connected with the sexuality of Plants. The existence of sexual organs was first demonstrated in 1676 by Sir Thomas Millington, and afterwards confirmed by Grew, Malpighi, and Ray. At a later period, the immortal Linnæus gave new significance to the discovery of our countryman, by making it the basis of a classification of Plants, long destined to be accepted throughout the civilized world. The stamens and pistils are now universally acknowledged to be the male and female organs of plants, exercising a mysterious, but well understood, influence over one another, prior to the development of the seeds. Sometimes both classes of organs are found in the same flower. At others, they are found on the same plant, but located on separate flowers, then called *Monœcious*. In a third group, they not only occupy different flowers, but grow on different plants of the same species, which are then called *Diœcious*. As a *practical* fact, this was known to the ancient Egyptians. The Date Palm happens to be one of those in which the stamens and pistils are developed on different plants; and as its fruit formed an important element in their daily food, the Egyptians learned to increase the productiveness of the pistilliferous or female trees, by artificially conveying to them the pollen of the male flowers.

In each of these types of vegetation, the sexual organs are conspicuous, and their functions obvious; hence the plants are termed "Phanerogamic," from two Greek words, implying conspicuousness of the union or marriage. The great group thus designated comprehends most of the obvious forms of vegetable life. But there also exists a second group, comprehending the Ferns, Mosses, Liverworts, Sea-weeds, Mushrooms, and Lichens, in which for a long time no sexuality could be detected: hence the term "Cryptogamic" was applied to them, indicating that their union or marriage was concealed. Many unavailing efforts were made to establish a close resemblance between the repro-

duction of these objects, and that of the flowering plants. But the best botanists often blundered on, amidst forced analogies, sustained by assertions, which were sometimes dogmatic in proportion to the weakness of the hypothesis they were intended to strengthen. Even the masculine mind of Sir Edward Smith, the learned author of the "English Flora," did not wholly escape from these errors. He castigated his predecessor, Hedwig, for his unbelief on points, where the sceptical dissent of the latter has been shown by recent investigations to be as legitimate, as the inferences of his corrector were wide of the mark; affording to younger and less accomplished authors a valuable lesson as to the necessity for caution and modesty.

Many writers have wholly denied the existence of sexuality amongst Cryptogamic plants, and have contended that, in this matter, they stand apart from the more ordinary forms of vegetable life. Several distinguished living botanists belong to this class; their still considerable number being significant of the rapidity with which this department of science has progressed. Most of the labour has been done within the last ten years; (*much* within the last five;) during which period, Suminski, Thuret, Decaisné, Ralfs, Thwaites, Berkeley, Tulasné, Hoffmeister, and a host of other observers, following up the inquiries of Hedwig and Amici, have removed much of the obscurity which has hitherto clouded this interesting question, and, at the same time, indicated the direction in which all further inquiries must be made.

Cryptogamic plants are divisible into two great classes, distinguished from one another by a marked peculiarity of internal organization. The less highly organized forms consist wholly of what are called "cells." These are minute bladder-like vesicles, aggregated in various ways, and varying considerably both in their size and form. Sometimes they are flattened into lozenge-shaped plates; at others they are drawn out and pointed at each end, like spindles. Again, they may retain their primary spherical shape, or be mutually compressed into polyhedral forms: but, in all such cases, they retain their primary character, as an aggregation of closed sacs.

In addition to an abundance of these cells, the plants belonging to the other division of the *Cryptogamia*, possess what are termed "vessels," corresponding with what exist in all flowering plants. These are elongated tubes, chiefly originating in the coalescence of a linearly arranged series of cells, and the subsequent absorption of their contiguous extremities: as if the authorities of London, when laying down pipes to convey a purer fluid to the good citizens than has hitherto been supplied to them, (*nunquam sera!*) had fastened a number of barrels together by their extremities, and then by the wave of some magic wand had annihilated all the barrel-heads, leaving a long open tube. These vessels play an important part in the

conveyance of the nutritive sap from one organ to another. In the *Cryptogamia*, they are chiefly confined to the Ferns, the Club-Mosses, and the *Equiseta* or Mares'-tails, with their allies. These peculiarities of structure have led some botanists to divide plants into vascular and cellular; all the flowery species and part of the *Cryptogamia* being comprehended in the former, and the remaining *Cryptogamia* in the latter.

If we were asked wherein lay the chief peculiarity of the modern modes of studying botany, we should unhesitatingly say, in the recognition of the important functions performed by the vegetable cell. We mainly owe this recognition to the careful study of the cellular *Cryptogamia*, in which, since no vessels exist, the cells necessarily fulfil every function of vegetable life, whether nutritive or reproductive. What, then, is this important structure, designated a "cell?" We have already observed that it is a small closed vesicle, consisting of *Cellulose*, a substance having the composition of starch with a little water superadded. Within this outer membrane there is usually an inner one, which contains a gummy fluid, often granules of starch and of waxy colouring matter, with other substances of less importance. This inner membrane, with its granular mucilaginous contents, forms the "Protoplasm," the vital, all-important part of the cell, by which is secreted the outer vesicle, and which separates from the nutritive sap the gum, sugar, resins, and other vegetable products, with which most are familiar.

The simplest form of vegetation consists of one of these cells existing in an independent condition, and isolated from all others. When a little atom of yeast is diluted with water, and placed under the microscope, it is seen to contain myriads of small globules, each one of which is a single cell: a few are occasionally, though rarely, linked together. These globules are the Yeast-plant or *Torula*, the existence of which is in some way connected with the fermentation of saccharine fluids, and which represents one of the simplest forms of vegetable life. The plant multiplies by what is termed fissiparous generation. The cell becomes constricted in the middle, like an hour-glass; and after existing for a time as two cohering vesicles, these vesicles finally become detached, each undergoing the same process as the one from which it sprang. Little do our readers dream, when they drink their Burton ale, how much they owe to the decomposing influences of a microscopic Mushroom.

The next step in the ascending scale shows us a few cells ranged in a line, forming a filament. If the traveller in Derbyshire or Wales examines the damp rocks in the neighbourhood of springs and waterfalls, he will often find them covered with an olive-coloured gelatine. This is the *Nostoc*, or "Fallen Star." On compressing a little of it between two glasses, we shall find that the jelly, which is transparent, contains numerous green filaments, like minute strings of beads. These are little more

than our old friends, the cells of the Yeast-plant, cohering in linear series, forming compound filaments. This, however, is not a *Fungus*, or Mushroom, but a *Conferva*.

It is to the existence of closely allied plants that are due many of the strange phenomena which awe frightened nations from their propriety, such as showers of blood, and the apparent conversion of rivers and lakes into the same sanguinary fluid. The stones washed by the mountain streams of Wales are not unfrequently invested by a thin coating of a bright red colour, known as the "Gory Dew." This consists of a colourless jelly, containing innumerable bright red granules, each of which is a cell, containing a progeny of younger cells within it. In this case the fissiparous subdivision is limited to the contained protoplasm of the cells, which divides into two, the outer cell-membrane undergoing no change beyond a gradual distension. This process is repeated again, every subdivision of the protoplasm being followed by the secretion of a distinct cell-membrane around each resulting half. In time, the tension of the parent cell becomes so great that it gives way, and the contained young plants escape,—the single cell having thus liberated at least two others. Since, under favourable conditions, this process goes on with marvellous rapidity, it ceases to be a matter of wonder that large bodies of water should sometimes become so charged with these crimson plants as to assume a blood-red appearance. The striking phenomenon of the "Red Snow," well known to Arctic travellers, owes its origin to a similar plant vegetating in the snow, which it sometimes reddens over very extensive areas.

From the starting-point furnished by the simple forms of vegetation just referred to, we can branch off in several directions. From the Yeast-plant we may ascend, through the various forms of mould, to the most highly organized of the *Fungi*,—the edible Mushrooms. We can also ascend, in like manner, through the jointed plants abounding in fresh water, and known as *Confervæ*. Proceeding in other directions, we find the parent cell dividing and sub-dividing, as before; but, instead of the cells thus formed becoming detached, they cohere in one place, forming a flat foliaceous expansion, instead of isolated granules, or even a jointed filament. In this way are produced the richly coloured sea-weeds, the deserved favourites of all pleasure-seekers on the sea-coast. Similar phenomena attend the development of Lichens; so that, through several cognate lines, we connect the isolated cell, itself a perfect plant, with the highest forms of vegetable life.

Some of the most extraordinary and novel modes of reproduction occur amongst these lowly types, the study of which has thrown considerable light upon the reproductive phenomena seen amongst the highest vertebrate animals, especially in their earliest stages. They have taught us the grand truth, that

reproduction appears to involve the separate existence of two cells, (to which Professor Owen has assigned the names of Sperm-cell and Germ-cell,) and that a more or less complete blending of the contents of these cells is essential to the development of a new embryo. Let us, for a moment, examine this phenomenon, as it occurs amongst the *Confervæ*.

There are few who have not noticed the green covering that floats on the surface of most stagnant pools. We do not now refer to the small elliptical leaves of the duck-weed, but to a slimy, half-fermenting mass, usually of an olive-green colour, with occasional patches of a brighter hue, entangling large gaseous bubbles amongst its decomposing elements, and conveying to the unscientific mind any sensations but pleasurable ones. To the ardent microscopist, however, these are the true game-preserves. Repeal the Game-laws, if you will, but don't drain his ponds. Let Sanitary Commissioners beware how they venture within a mile of his covers, if they hope to escape his wrath; for amongst these decaying filaments dwell myriads of the marvellous animalcules, which, when revealed by the magic microscope, have been a source of delight to thousands, and will be to thousands more. But, besides these animal wonders, the vegetable threads, which look so revolting in the aggregate, exhibit, under the microscope, forms and colours of most exquisite beauty. The threads are made up of transparent cells, arranged in regular linear series. Within each of these cells is the green protoplasm, with its investing membrane,—at first lining the entire cell, but soon re-arranging itself in beautiful spiral bands, in which large brilliant granules are planted, at regular intervals, sparkling like gems in some royal tiara.

But after a while all this changes. The symmetry of the protoplasm is lost, and in the place of the spiral bands we have an irregular, shrivelled, granular mass. The filament now ranges itself by the side of another of the same species; and here, at the outset, we are struck by the evidence of a half-instinctive faculty, which enables it to discriminate between threads of its own species and those of any other, however closely allied. The opposite cells of each of the contiguous filaments now project into the narrow intervening space small processes, which meet midway, become united, and, by the absorption of their two extremities, establish numerous tubular bridges of communication between the two filaments. Along each of these bridges, the coloured protoplasm of one of the cells passes, and enters the opposite cell, which thus obtains a double portion at the expense of its now empty neighbour. This double protoplasm soon becomes consolidated into an oval body of exquisite symmetry, which encases itself in a fine, transparent, protecting membrane, secreted from the exterior. The cells of the parent plants subsequently break up and liberate the protoplasms, now converted into

spores, which in popular phraseology may be regarded as seeds. These spores, protected by their investing membranes, alike resisting the summer droughts and the winter frosts, perpetuate the species through all successive years.

In the formation of these seed-like spores from which new plants are developed, the union of the contents of two cells is obviously essential. Different *Confervæ* exhibit many modifications of the details, but the principle is the same. Sometimes the contents of two contiguous cells in the same filament unite in one of them. At others, the protoplasm leaves both the cells of two filaments, and unites in the temporary bridge which connects them together. Illustrations of these numerous variations will be found in Mr. Hassal's volume. The discovery of this process, to which the technical name of "conjugation" has been applied, is one of the most important made by the Cryptogamic botanists, since its application is not limited to their objects of study. It has given the clue to the solution of some of the most recondite phenomena of human and comparative physiology; consequently its scientific importance can scarcely be over-estimated.

Mr. Ralfs' volume is devoted to the consideration of an allied group of minute objects, common in fresh water, called *Desmidiæ*. The majority of these consist of a single cell, so constricted in the middle as to give to many of the species a bi-lateral symmetry, which, though common amongst animals, is rarely seen in the vegetable world. Indeed, the great Prussian naturalist, Ehrenberg, arranged all these exquisite atoms, along with many others referred to in this article, amongst his Infusorial animals. As to the vegetable nature of the vast majority of these objects, there can no longer be any reasonable doubt, since even the beautiful and actively moving "Globe-animalcules" (*Volvox*) have been conclusively shown by Professor Williamson, of Manchester, and Dr. Colin, of Breslau, to belong to the vegetable kingdom. The *Desmidiæ*, of which Mr. Ralfs has shown himself such an able expositor, exhibit beautiful illustrations of the formation of spores by conjugation. But besides these spores which exhibit no motion, many of the *Confervæ* produce little green bodies called *Zoospores*, capable of performing strange antics, for vegetable productions. According to Mr. Hassal,—

"They fall into the water, through which they begin to move hither and thither; now progressing in a straight line, with the *rostra* in advance;—now wheeling round and pursuing a different course;—now letting their *rostra* drop, and oscillating upon them, like balloons ere the strings are cut, or like tops, their centripetal force being nearly expended;—now altogether stopping, and anon resuming their curious and excentric motions. Truly wonderful is the velocity with which these microscopic objects progress, their relative speed far surpassing that of the swiftest race-horse. After a time, however, the motion becomes much retarded, and at length the *Zoospores* then lie as though dead.

Not so, however. They have merely lost the power of locomotion. The vital principle is still active within them, and they are seen to expand, to become partitioned; and if the species be of an attached kind, each Zoospore will emit from its transparent extremity two or more radicles, whereby it becomes finally, and for ever, fixed."—*Hassall's History of British Freshwater Confervæ*, vol. i., p. 11.

The faith of the casual observer, who sees these objects under the microscope for the first time, is strangely taxed on being told that they are of vegetable origin. His stare of incredulity is often most comical. His old prejudices respecting the stationary habits of plants, derived from the oaks and apple-trees with which his childhood was familiar, are sadly disturbed, when he is told that there are vegetables which move with such freedom and rapidity as to exhibit many signs of apparent volition. Plant-germs, nevertheless, these active *Zoospores* are, since their development into true *Confervæ* has been traced by more than one observer.

The transition from the jointed *Confervæ* to those plants more commonly known as "sea-weeds," is gradual. In many of the latter we have the same cellular structure, but the cells have spread out in one or more horizontal layers, producing broad foliaceous expansions, (*Thalli*,) which may either be undivided, as in some common Tangles, or branched, as in the elegant crimson *Placamiums*, which are the delight of all seaside-going young ladies.

In these sea-weeds, we find two very distinct modes of reproduction; nutrition being still carried on by the individual cells absorbing fluid from the sea. The simplest of these is by means of what are termed *Tetraspores*. On holding one of the delicate sea-weeds between the eye and the light, its surface, especially near the extremities of the fronds, will often appear studded with minute dark specks. These are small *buds* formed by the quaternary division of the protoplasms of some cells. They develop an external protecting covering, which preserves them when liberated by the decay of the parent plant; and though each one becomes a new plant, they must be regarded as representing the deciduous buds formed at the bases of the leaves of some lilies, rather than as seeds.

But there is also another way in which sea-weeds produce spores of a different class, as the result of a process of conjugation. On examining one of the common Bladder-wracks covering the rocks between high and low water-marks, we shall find there often exist on the leafy expansion two kinds of enlargements. One of these exhibits large bladder-like inflations of the frond, containing air, and serving as floats. The others generally occupy the extremities of each frond; and are of a yellowish hue, having their surface studded with minute pustules, as if suffering from some eruptive disease. At the apex of each of these little pustules is a small aperture leading to a larger internal cavity, which is lined with numerous small cellular jointed filaments, resembling

confervoid plants. On examining some of the joints of these filaments under a very high power, they are seen to contain myriads of small moving objects, like very minute Tadpoles, with one or more long tails, closely resembling what are called *Spermatozoa*, found in the sperm-cells of all the higher animals. Similar objects are found in the male anthers of many flowering plants. Hence the filaments containing them in Cryptogamic plants have been appropriately termed *antheridia*.

Nestling amongst these *antheridia* in the pustules (termed "conceptacles") of these sea-weeds, are large oval spores, invested, like those of the *Confervæ*, by a transparent covering. These spores have been developed from germ-cells, between which and the contents of some of the sperm-cells there is reason to believe that an union has taken place, analogous to the conjugation of the simpler *Confervæ*. The result of these phenomena is the formation of numerous separate spores, which become liberated when the parent plant decays, and subsequently fulfil all the purposes of true seeds. Thus we see that these sea-weeds are multiplied in two ways; namely, by the production of buds which become detached from the parent plant, and by the formation of bodies resembling seeds,—the result of a true sexual process. This distinction is most important, since it explains some phenomena exhibited by many of the higher *Cryptogamia*, hitherto ill-understood, and which have occasioned warm discussions, in some of which the disputants have displayed a tartness reminding us of the polemical contests of the Schoolmen.

M. Payer, in his beautiful work, has committed the error of confounding the gemmules, or buds, with the spores resulting from a union of the contents of two cells. Thus he arranges all the spores of sea-weeds and *Confervæ*, in the same category with those produced in the urn-like capsules of Mosses, and on the under surfaces of the fronds of Ferns. We shall shortly show that these latter structures result from very different modes of reproduction,—as different as those which produce the two kinds of spores in the sea-weeds,—and shall have to refer again to M. Payer's views on this subject.

Closely allied to the confervoid plants are the *Diatomaceæ*,—objects frequently found both in fresh and salt water. Whilst they exhibit several features in common with the *Desmidiæ*, they are distinguished by having each cell invested with a siliceous covering, secreted by the contained protoplasm. Some of these are single and free; others combine to form parasitic chains, one end of which is usually attached to some shell or aquatic plant. Nothing can surpass the beautiful sculpture which adorns the surface of many *Diatomaceæ*. Being easily mounted as microscopic objects, they are the special favourites of most observers.

Of all the organisms referred to in this article, the *Diatomaceæ* occupy the most equivocal position. Naturalists are far from agreement, as to whether they are plants or animals. Mr. Thwaites

found species in which conjugation had taken place,—a process which we have already seen to be common amongst plants: but a somewhat similar phenomenon has recently been discovered in the *Gregarinæ*, minute animalcules found in the alimentary canals of worms; so that undue stress must not be laid upon Mr. Thwaites' interesting discovery. On the whole, they appear to assimilate more closely to the vegetable than to the animal kingdom; but, at the same time, we see no reason for denying the existence of intermediate beings, connecting these two great divisions of the organic world. The living creations may be divided into a vast number of groups, of which certain well-marked examples may be regarded as the central types. Thus the tiger or leopard may be taken as the type of the group of Feline animals; the wolf, of the Lupine race, including the dog, fox, and their allies: the eagle, and the wild duck, respectively typify two groups of birds. If we place each of these typical animals in the centre of all those which have an affinity to it, arranging nearest to the type those which most closely resemble it, as we approach the periphery of the group, we shall find the forms to differ more and more from the typical example, until we ultimately arrive at objects which cannot be definitely united with any of these aggregated groups. Milne Edwards has suggested that since each group is separated from its neighbours by a kind of neutral ground, happily designated "a circumvallation" by M. Flourens, we may admit the existence of satellite groups, occupying the neutral space, and which, being independent of all types, may have no decided connexion with either of the typical groups between which they are located. If this be true of all the minor subdivisions of the organic world, why should it not be equally so of the major? In the creation of terrestrial organisms, two great primary ideas have obviously existed in the divine mind,—that of the plant, and that of the animal; ideas that we can vividly realize, so long as we limit our conceptions to the well-marked, dominant forms with which we are familiar, such as a tree and a vertebrate animal. But, after we have grouped the aggregates of these two kingdoms around their respective types, there still remains a number of objects which hover midway between them, and which we are not called upon to attach definitely to either. The existence of two grand subjective ideas in the mind of Deity, does not for a moment involve the existence of a definite boundary-line between the innumerable forms in which each of these ideas has found an objective manifestation.

Whether these *Diatomaceæ* are animals, or vegetables, or neither, they are beautiful and interesting objects. Magnificent examples of them abound in guano. The birds to which the guano owes its origin, have fed upon sea-weeds loaded with these parasites, or upon shell-fish which contained them in their stomachs; for they are found in the alimentary canals of most marine animals. The siliceous cases have alike survived all the digestive influences

to which they have been exposed, and the decomposition of the accumulated mass of excrement. It is probable, that they augment the fertilizing properties of the guano, by contributing to the soil some of the siliceous element which is so essential to the growth of the various grasses and cereal plants. They are found in vast numbers in a fossil state. Beds of considerable thickness, chiefly composed of them, are of frequent occurrence, sometimes ranging over hundreds of miles of country, especially in America. The soil of the rice-grounds of Savannah and Carolina contains myriads of marine forms, showing that at a recent period these still swampy states have been under the sea. The well-known Tripoli, or polishing powder of Bilni, owes its economic properties to the minute siliceous cases of *Diatomaceæ*, of which it consists; and a similar bed occurring at Tullamore, in Ireland, is known to the neighbouring peasantry as "Lord Roden's plate-powder."

Mr. Smith's work is confined to the free species of the *Diatomaceæ*, and is a valuable addition to our English monographs. The plates are beautifully executed, and well represent the various forms. The frontispiece is an exception to this eulogy, being coarse and rough; its defects contrasting in a marked manner with the more important plates on which the species are delineated. We believe that the author intends to publish a second volume on the attached species, amongst which Mr. Ralfs has laboured so successfully; and we shall hail this further result of Mr. Smith's researches with great pleasure.

In glancing at the *Fungi*, or Mushrooms, we must again go back to the primary vegetable cell; for to this group belongs the *Torula*, or Yeast-plant, to which we have already referred as one of the simplest forms of vegetable life. In forming our notion of a Mushroom, we must not confine our ideas to those esculent species which have such charms for the modern epicure. The eatable Mushroom is, in fact, only the fruit-bearing portion of the plant, not the plant itself; any more than a bunch of Filberts is the Nut-tree, or of Grapes, the Vine. In the majority of cases, the real Fungus is a "*Mycelium*;" an assemblage of minute jointed filaments which ramify under the ground, push their way through the interstices of decaying wood, or fatten upon the decomposition of all kinds of organized bodies. The knowledge of this circumstance explains many facts connected with their history. Thus the fairy circles seen on our grassy pastures, once thought to be owing to the dances of—

"Demy-puppets that
By moonshine do the green-sour ringlets make,"

have long been suspected to be occasioned by Mushrooms, which plants were often found growing on the darkened ring. It was supposed that they commenced at a central point, and, extending themselves in every direction, exhausted the soil of ingredients

necessary for their nutrition : hence they ceased to exist at the centre, and confined themselves to the periphery of the ever-enlarging area.

But the objection was made to this ingenious hypothesis, that the Mushrooms existed in too small numbers, and too far apart, to have formed the unbroken fairy-ring. The discovery that the rue *Fungus* was a subterranean *Mycelium* did away with all doubt on the subject ; so that, substituting *Mycelium* for " Mushroom," the above explanation becomes a correct one. The subterranean fibres interlace in such numbers, as to form an unbroken ring ; but it is only here and there that they send up to the surface the reproductive structure to which the name of " Mushroom " is popularly applied, and which had attracted the attention of early observers.

To attempt to give but an abstract of the various forms of *Fungi*, and their modes of reproduction, would involve details which, even could they be comprehended without pictorial illustrations, would be incompatible with the limits of this article. For these points we must refer our readers to the excellent work of M. Payer, in which they are profusely illustrated by well-executed woodcuts. It is much to be regretted, that no English edition of this publication has made its appearance : were such to be issued by the proprietors of the original wood-blocks, it could scarcely fail to be successful.

To this group of plants belong the curious lines of red and white excrescences, which, in wet weather, grow out of old posts and rails ; all the varieties of mould which spoil the good housewife's preserves, and at whose door have been laid those formidable pests to society,—the potato disease, and the dry rot. It would appear, that in the latter cases, after finding a suitable soil for germination, where some weakness indicates incipient decay, the plants become changed from effects to causes, and rapidly promote the destruction which they did not always originate. To the same group also belongs the whole tribe of edible and poisonous mushrooms.

All these *Fungi* may be regarded as consisting essentially of two parts,—the filamentous *mycelium*, and the reproductive organs. The former usually consists of branched, jointed threads. The reproductive organs exhibit innumerable modifications. Sometimes only the terminal cell of each filament is enlarged to form a spore, which becomes detached, and originates a new plant. At others, many of the terminal joints do the same thing, looking, before they separate, like strings of beads. In the common Mushrooms, the subterranean *mycelium* sends up to the surface the *Pileus*, the Mushroom of the cook, which is but a reproductive apparatus developed by the *mycelium*. The radiating *laminae* on the inferior surface of this *Pileus* are covered over with very minute vesicles, from the surfaces of which project three or four small spikes, each being surmounted by a single

spherical spore. In the *Lycoperdon*, or Puff-ball, so common in our meadows, the entire plant consists of a mass of spherical cells, contained within a common investment,—each cell being a “conceptacle” filled with minute spores ; which, when the plant is matured, blow away like impalpable dust. It has been calculated that, in the *Bovista*, one of these Puff-balls, that increases in a single night from the size of a pea to that of a melon, these cells must be produced at the rate of about 66,000,000 in a minute ; a rate of development which explains the proverbially rapid growth of the *Fungi*.

Closely allied to the *Fungi* are the *Lichens*,—

“ The living stains, which Nature’s hand alone,
Profuse of life, pours out upon the stone,
For ever growing.”

In the first instance, these plants consist of a thread-like *mycelium*, which adheres to the irregularities of the rock, or lurks amid the cracks in the bark of the tree. This *mycelium*, which is essentially *the* plant in the Mushrooms, constitutes but a transitory growth in the Lichens, soon giving way to the permanent structure to which the name of *Lichen* is ordinarily applied. This latter is really a common receptacle, bearing the reproductive apparatus ; but, by a change of function, of which we have numerous examples, it assumes the nutritive offices, which, in the Mushrooms, are performed by the *mycelium*. These Lichens derive none of their nourishment from the trees and rocks on which they grow, but from the atmosphere. This is shown by their distribution, which is regulated more by climatic influences, than by the various substances to which they attach themselves. Species that in one part of the globe are found only on the bark of certain trees, in other regions are equally confined to particular rocks. For example, a species which in the south of France is found everywhere, in the north only exists on warm, calcareous soils, not thriving on those of a cold, clayey nature : the reason of this limitation has some obvious relation to the greater rapidity with which the former imbibe heat, than the latter. At the same time, the Lichens are, of all known objects, the best fitted for resisting hygrometric atmospheric changes ; a property essential to the conditions under which the Creator has destined them to exist. Covering the hardest rocks, they may at one time be soaked with continuous rain ; and, at another, be exposed for weeks together to the parching rays of a vertical sun, unable to obtain any appreciable amount of moisture. Hence, they may be dried up, reduced to powder, and scattered to the winds, but without losing their inherent vitality. Many of the dispersed grains retain within themselves a principle of life, which enables them, as soon as the requisite conditions return, to germinate anew. Thus the causes which threatened their destruction have but dispersed their germs, and multiplied their numbers.

The leaf-like expansion of the Lichen consists of two classes of cells,—those which are oblong or cylindrical, and those which are spherical. In the flat incrusting species, the latter usually occur near the upper surface. They are also distinguished from the cylindrical forms, by being filled with green colouring matter. If we glance at one of the large circular patches so common on old walls and exposed rocks, we shall find, that whilst the periphery has a smooth, leaf-like aspect, the central part is disintegrated and granular. This disintegration progresses until the whole disc is reduced to a greenish or yellowish powder, which consists of small masses of the spherical cells, known as *gonidia*; each of which may be regarded as a veritable bud, capable of becoming developed into a new plant.

But, besides this increase by budding, Lichens have another mode of multiplication. The common receptacle exhibits here and there small special receptacles (*apothecia*). These exist either in the form of little spheres, each being perforated at the apex, or of hollow saucer-like cavities, which are often conspicuous from their bright red, yellow, or black colours. When they are divided transversely, they are seen to consist of a number of small jointed filaments, (*Antheridia* or *Paraphyses*,) disposed vertically, and closely packed: amongst these filaments numerous large oblong cells (*Asci*) are distributed in the same vertical manner. The joints of the *Paraphyses* contain multitudes of small oblong bodies, supposed by M. Tulasné to represent the *Antherozoa*, or Sperm-cells, of the higher plants; whilst, within the *Asci*, a series of minute spores, varying in number from four to sixteen, are arranged in perpendicular series. It is most probable, that these *Asci* represent the Germ-cells, and that, at an early period of growth, some true conjugation takes place between them and the small bodies contained within the *Antheridia*, or *Paraphyses*, the result of which is the formation of the reproductive spores.

There are few persons, with any pretensions to sentiment, who, when reclining in some greenwood shade, have failed to appreciate the symmetry and graceful elegance of the tribe of Mosses. To the physiologist, they possess a still higher interest, as being amongst the first of the Cryptogamic plants in which Hedwig demonstrated the existence of sexuality. In 1784, John Hedwig published, at St. Petersburg, a quarto volume, in which he endeavoured to show, that the *Cryptogamia* possessed a sexuality as distinct as that of the ordinary flowering plants. The general truth of this demonstration was admitted by Sir Edward Smith, the distinguished author of the "English Flora;" but he was unable either to comprehend, or to sanction, all the distinctions that the philosophic mind of the northern botanist so clearly perceived. In fact, Hedwig lived as far in advance of his age as did Galileo or Copernicus, Burke or Adam Smith. Even in 1839, we find Dr. Carpenter writing on the *Cryptogamia* as

follows: "Although botanists have laboured to discover the existence of a second set of reproductive organs in these classes, analogous to those which exist in the *Phanerogamia*, none such have been demonstrated;"* and in a foot-note he adds, "The so-called *anthers* of Mosses, Liverworts, &c., have not, in the opinions of the best Cryptogamic botanists, any influence on the production of the germs from the *theca*." We see from this, how little progress in public favour had been made by Hedwig's hypothesis, since his conclusions were not considered to be materially better than a mass of absurd guesses which had been from time to time indulged in by various men. But the last few years have made a great change in the state of the question. The more recent investigations of Thuret, Tulasné, Suminski, and others, have confirmed the views first enumerated by Hedwig, who, after an interval of seventy years, is now beginning to receive his due meed of fame; one of the first of the English physiologists who changed his views on the subject, being the able and distinguished writer, one of whose early works we have just quoted on the opposite side.

On observing a Moss in a very young state, we find the stem terminated superiorly by a very small head of narrow leaflets. On examination of these leaflets under a very high magnifying power, we find that some of them, which are larger than their neighbours, are filled with little cells, each one of which contains a minute *Antherozoon*, or small animalcule,—like the objects already so often referred to. But besides these organs, (*Antheridia*,) there are also produced, either on the same plants, or on other individuals of the same species, small appendages called *Pistillidia*; the names *Antheridia* and *Pistillidia* symbolizing a supposed resemblance between their respective functions, and those of the anthers and pistils of flowering plants. The *Pistillidium* is a small bottle-shaped object, with a long neck, having at its base a small mass of cells. Though the neck of the bottle is permeated by a canal, it has at first no terminal orifice; but, by and bye, the mouth opens, and expands like a small rosette. In time, the neck of the bottle withers away, whilst the little cellular mass at its base expands to form the future capsule, or urn. A cavity now appears in the interior of the latter, and the cells forming its walls separate into layers. The external ones constitute the extinguisher-like appendage known as the *Calyptra*, whilst the inner ones form the urn with its dehiscent *operculum* or "lid." Within the urn, are produced myriads of little spores, having all the essential properties of true seeds. As the various parts of the capsule are developed, it is elevated, in the majority of species, upon the delicate stalk, which, with its terminal urn, constitutes so elegant an object.

Hedwig distinctly enunciated the doctrine, that the *Antheridia*

* "Principles of General and Comparative Physiology."

were the male organs, and the *Pistillidia* the female organs, of Mosses; thus arriving at a sound conclusion, though he was ignorant of the valuable corroborative evidence with which modern researches have supplied us. These have not only confirmed his views, but have made us familiar with the real points of affinity between the phenomena seen in the *Cryptogamia*, and the fertilization of the *Ovule*, or young seed, of the flowering plant, by means of the pollen-grain. The discovery of the process of conjugation in the lower *Confervæ* has given the clue to the solution of the entire problem. We have learnt from it, that a more or less complete union of the contents of two cells (*i. e.*, the germ-cell and the sperm-cell, in their various forms) is essential to the development of true reproductive organs. In the flowering plant, this is accomplished by the direct influence of the contents (*fovilla*) of the pollen-grain, exerted upon the embryo-cell, developed in the interior of the young seed, which cell afterwards becomes a single young plant. In the moss, on the other hand, the immediate result of the union is not the fertilization of individual spores, or seeds, but of the cells from which the future urn or capsule is produced; which latter buds off from its interior the numerous spores destined to continue the species. Each one of these spores, when liberated by the rupture of the ripe capsule, and lodged in a fitting soil, becomes a young plant, in which all these changes again take place. This mediate mode of fertilization is not without its parallels amongst some of the lower bi-sexual animals; *e. g.*, the *Aphides*, or Plant-lice.

In this distinction between the *direct* and *mediate* fertilization of the spores, lies the germ of the mutual errors which have rendered the sexuality of the *Cryptogamia* a battle-field for fierce conflicts. Hedwig clearly demonstrated, that the spores of Mosses were not exactly seeds, though destined to fulfil similar purposes; hence he gave them the name of "spores." "The most malicious rival of his immortal fame," says Sir Edward Smith, "could not have imagined anything more subversive of that fame." The latter philosopher concluded, that because the spores were, as Hedwig had proved, the offspring of impregnation, they must be seeds, and not buds; and the error of Smith has been that of scores of his successors. On the other hand, many who were satisfied that the spores were not strictly seeds, being unable to see their way to an intermediate solution of the problem, arrived at the opposite conclusion to that of Smith, by merely reversing his argument; *i. e.*, not being true seeds, they could not be the result of a sexual union; hence, they conceived the sexuality of the *Cryptogamia* to be a mere "baseless fabric of a vision." The school that has taken up the latter position, has done so with a pertinacity that renders their conversion a hopeless task; consequently, we much regret to see, that M. Payer has damaged his otherwise excellent work by joining their ranks.

Speaking of the doctrine of Cryptogamic sexuality, whilst he admits, that "*la plupart des botanistes l'ont même déjà accepté*," he places it in the same category with the *aura seminalis*, once applied to the higher plants; which is equivalent to saying, that it is all moonshine. This is simply ridiculous. The one is a mere ideal hypothesis, without a shadow of proof. The other is supported by a mass of evidence, that is irresistible to men who do not shut their eyes. There is no parallel between the cases.

We are tempted to linger amidst these little plants, always our favourites; but limited space, and the patience of non-botanical readers, alike forbid.

Who has not revelled in the contemplation of the broad and waving fronds of the common Ferns? Nothing in the many designs exhibited at the World's Fair struck us more than the prevalence of these lovely forms, both in the woven and printed fabrics; a sure proof that, notwithstanding the low tastes which have so often made wretched designs profitable to the manufacturer, a love of the graceful is beginning to pervade the public mind.

If we examine the under side of a matured fern-leaf, we find numerous brown or golden patches embossing its surface, and thrown into various forms. Each of these consists of myriads of small spherical cases filled with spores. Each case is cellular, and so constructed that, when ripe, it splits along a medium suture, and the two halves are violently separated. This dehiscence is effected by a curious contrivance. Passing from the centre of each half, and across the line along which the box splits open, is a row of cells that are larger than the rest. The hygro-metric changes produced by the ripening process, give to these cells considerable elasticity; and since the same changes have weakened the cohesion of the cells composing the box along the line of dehiscence, the contraction of the former separates the two halves of the box, or spore-case, liberating the contained spores.*

As in the case of Mosses, attempts have alike been made to identify these spores with seeds, and to discover sexual organs in the matured fronds. All such attempts have been unsuccessful; and we owe to M. Nægeli, and an accomplished Pole, Count Suminski, the knowledge why they have been so.

It had long been known that, in its early germination, the spore of a fern produced a cellular expansion or *Thallus*,

* These spores constitute the "Fern-seed," that forms so interesting a subject of Folk-lore. If collected on the Eve of St. John, at the magic hour when the Baptist was born, it was believed to possess some marvellous virtue; though, as old Parkinson observes, in his "Theater of Plants," "*I cannot find it exprest what it should be.*" The "seed" so gathered was supposed to render its possessor invisible, and to enable him to control the affections of those whom he wished to win; properties which caused it to figure largely in the stock in trade of the dealers in magic. In Lancashire, these legendary virtues are restricted to the spores of the *Osmunda regalis*, which is known to the country people as "St. John's Fern:" the gathering of the seed is made the subject of one of the most spirited little episodes in Bamford's "Passages from the Life of a Radical."

which existed but for a short time. It developed from one part of its surface the permanent frond; and whilst the latter was still in an incipient condition, the *Thallus* withered away. This *Thallus* was thought to be somewhat analogous to the *Cotyledons*, or seed-leaves, of flowering plants; but Count Suminski found that it bore true sexual organs. On one part of it were *Antheridia*, containing actively-moving *Antherozoa* lodged in cells; whilst, in another, were *Pistillidia*, containing Germ-cells, destined to be developed into the future fronds. He found, that these Sperm-cells, or *Antherozoa*, escaping from their prison-houses, spread themselves over the *Thallus*, some of them finding their way into each of the little hollow cavities called *Pistillidia*, through a small orifice at its summit. At the base of each cavity were the Germ-cells; and between them and the Sperm-cells some union occurs, like that between the embryo-cell in the interior of the true seed, and the *fovilla* of the pollen-grain, by which it is fertilized. The Germ-cell now begins to grow by the process of cell-division, so common amongst the lower *Algæ*; the cells multiply in number, forming a young embryo, which bursts through the surrounding *Pistillidium*, shoots up into a young frond, or leaf, and the *Thallus*, having fulfilled its functions, soon decays; the frond sending root-fibres into the ground, and assuming an independent existence.

M. Thuret is disposed to hesitate, before admitting all the phenomena described by Count Suminski, and his inferences respecting the influence of the *Antherozoa* upon the Germ-cell. But the principal observations of M. Suminski have recently been verified by Henfrey; consequently, no reasonable doubt of their essential accuracy can remain.

To comprehend the signification of the *Prothallus* of the Fern, we must glance at a less known group of plants called *Marchantiæ*. The damp walks of neglected gardens are often carpeted over with flat, leathery fronds of a dark green colour, especially in the months of March and April. These belong to the *Marchantia Polymorpha*. Another allied species, (*M. Conica*,) which arrives at perfection two or three months later, is equally common on stones and clay-banks, by the sides of ditches, bridges, and waterfalls. No forms of vegetation better repay a careful study, than these comparatively unknown objects. The frond is a large representative of the *Prothallus* of the Fern, being a flat cellular expansion; within which are curious cavities, probably subserving some purpose connected with the respiration of the plant. In the *M. Polymorpha*, the *epidermis*, or cuticle, rises up in the form of elegant cups, within which are developed numerous lenticular buds, arranged on their edges. These successively break off, and, being dispersed by the wind and rain, give birth to new plants, whilst others take their places; an additional example of multiplication by germination or budding. But, besides these buds, we find true reproductive Sperm and Germ-cells. The moving *Anthe-*

rozoa of the former were noticed by Schmidel, as early as 1747; and the latter have been shown by many writers to exist in organs presenting a close resemblance to the *Archegonia*, or *Pistillidia*, of Mosses and Ferns.

From the Germ-cells, at the base of these *Pistillidia*, after their fertilization by the *Antherozoa*, there springs up a fruit-bearing organ, (receptacle,) containing oval spore-cases. Each of these latter is filled with spores, mixed with cells, containing spiral threads, or elaters,—forming an explosive apparatus of such a nature, that if its size equalled its power, it would vie with Congreve rockets, Shrapnells, or Warner's long range! The cells are at first spherical and compressible; but, becoming elastic as they ripen, by their consentaneous action, they burst open the spore-cases, and scatter the contained spores.

Bearing in mind the phenomena presented by the *Marchantia*, it seems probable, that the *Prothallus* of the Fern, in which the sexual apparatus is developed, constitutes the true plant; and that what we recognise as the Fern, is merely a persistent bud-bearing organ, corresponding with the receptacle of the *Marchantia*, the urn-like capsule of the Moss, and the *Pileus* of the Mushroom; but which, instead of having a brief existence, and requiring to be reproduced annually, as in the cases referred to, is a perennial growth, though the fronds themselves die down each year. There remains a permanent stock, from which bud-bearing fronds annually spring up, without any further indications of sexuality. The true plant arrived at its maturity, when the Germ and Sperm-cells made their appearance; and when these had fulfilled their functions in producing a bud-bearing organ,—whether temporary or persistent, matters not,—they withered away.

There seems much reason for giving a similar account of the early growth of *Equiseta*, or Mares'-tails, growing at the margins of ponds, in hedge-rows, and in corn-fields. M. Thuret has shown, that in these, also, the *Antheridia* and *Pistillidia* are developed on *Prothalli* closely resembling those of the Fern, living only for a few weeks; and that from the fertilized *Pistillidia* of this *Prothallus* springs the object, commonly known, to botanists, as the *Equisetum*, or perfect plant; but which, like the Fern-frond, appears rather to be a reproductive apparatus, capable of developing numerous buds, without the intervention of any further fertilization than what was accomplished in the *Prothallus*.

The history of the Club-mosses, (*Lycopodia*), so common on our mountains and upland moors, is as yet too little understood, to enable us to take them into consideration. That they produce spores, which develop into *Prothalli*, is certain. On these *Prothalli*, the Germ-cells exist in *Pistillidia*; whilst, according to M. Hoffmeister, some of the spores develop *Antherozoa* in Sperm-cells; but the exact relation between these two classes of cells remains to be determined. Sufficient has been done by M.

Hoffmeister, to justify us in supposing, that when we become as familiar with the reproduction of the *Lycopodia*, as we are with that of the other Cryptogamic plants, we shall find in them precisely the same evidences of sexuality that we meet with elsewhere.

In the singular freshwater plants, known as *Charæ*, remarkable for the curious circulation observable within the cells or joints composing them, the two classes of reproductive organs distinctly exist,—the Sperm-cells, containing *Antherozoa*; and the Germ-cells, giving birth to the spore, from which springs the young plant. As in the case of the *Lycopodia*, the influence exercised by the former of these cells upon the latter, has not been traced; but no reasonable doubt can exist, that their functions are the same as in the Mosses and Ferns.

We have now briefly glanced at some of the more important physiological phenomena presented by Cryptogamic plants. We do not flatter ourselves with the idea, that we have made the subject intelligible to those of our readers, who are wholly ignorant of it; that is scarcely possible, without the aid of the pictorial illustrations, that abound in the various monographs on the subject. But, in our opinion, the *Cryptogamia* present by far the most important field for the investigation of botanical phenomena; and that in which the most striking discoveries are being made, as well as the most entire revolution of pre-existing notions is being effected.

To the revived doctrines of Hedwig we acknowledge ourselves to be complete converts. However incomplete may be the evidence in many individual *genera*, we have now amply sufficient proof of the sexuality of the *Cryptogamia*, as a whole, to satisfy any observer, who has not placed his reason in commission, and allowed others to think for him. The question is not whether these plants have anthers and pistils, like the flowering forms, but whether they develop what are essentially Germ-cells and Sperm-cells. Taking into consideration the functions of these two structures, we must conclude that we possess abundant evidence of their existence amongst the *Cryptogamia*. We regret that so little of the labour of investigating these phenomena is being done by the more distinguished of our English Botanists, so many of whom remain sceptical on the subject in question. We cannot but think, that they under-rate the importance of these studies, when compared with that of the Flowering Plants. On this point, Dr. Carpenter has set them a good example, which they will do well to follow: let them prove themselves the worthy successors of Robert Brown, and not allow his mantle to fall solely upon the Thurets, Suminskis, and Hoffmeisters, who are working with such glorious success on the other side of the Channel.

Whilst on this subject, we may notice, in passing, the superiority of our continental neighbours in the style of their pictorial illustrations. Let any one, for a moment, contrast the finished

beauty that characterizes the plates to the admirable Memoirs of MM. Thuret and Decaisné, in the "*Annales des Sciences Naturelles*," with the coarse, unmeaning daubs that figure in the volume on Lichens, published by the Ray Society. The former are as exquisite as the latter are execrable: in the one, all the improvements of modern art have been made subservient to the cause of science; whilst, in the other, the lithographs might have been some of Senefelder's earliest efforts.

Mr. Ralfs' volume is a beautiful specimen of what such a monograph ought to be. The descriptions are clear, and the illustrations good. We cannot say so much of Mr. Hassal's production. It is true, some of his *genera* are awkward ones to grapple with; but we defy any one to make out a very large number of his species; and most of his illustrations of the *Desmidiæ* are but bad copies of those previously published by Mr. Ralfs, in the "Annals of Natural History."

None of the English publications on the *Cryptogamia* surpass, and few equal, that of Professor Harvey on the Sea-weeds. It comprehends all the excellencies that render such publications honourable to the nations in which they are produced; proving itself to be the work of a philosopher, who is master of his subject; whilst the illustrations are the best of the kind that have been produced by British naturalists. The new edition of Professor Balfour's "Manual" is also an excellent and useful work. We are glad to see that in it he has given more prominence to the philosophy of the *Cryptogamia*, than he did in the corresponding part of his first edition; and, also, that he is disposed to appreciate the evidences of Cryptogamic sexuality. We trust that the second part, when it appears, will carry out the improvement, by illustrating the various groups of the *Cryptogamia* in a more ample manner than was done in his original work. The woodcuts are fairly executed, though still inferior to those of M. Payer.

ART. V.—1. *Sights and Sounds: the Mystery of the Day: comprising an Entire History of the American "Spirit" Manifestations.* By HENRY SPICER, Esq. London: Thomas Bosworth.

2. *Table qui danse et Table qui répond. Expériences à la portée de tout le monde. Traduit sur des Publications Allemandes.* Brussels: Mayer.

3. *La Danse des Tables.* Par FERDINAND SILAS. Suivie de *Considérations sur les Rappites.* Brussels: J. B. Tarride.

THERE have been many popular delusions, but none more monstrous, nor more widely spread, than the delusion which is now agitating the minds of men in America, Germany, France, and

England, of pretended "spiritual manifestations." There are many points of peculiarity about this mania, one of the most remarkable being the nature of the minds which give it implicit credence; for the believers are not merely idle, gaping, curious, wondering "fashionables," susceptible women, and enthusiastic visionaries, but also grave men, authors, judges, clergymen, men of science, and—most surprising of all!—professed "infidels!" Men who believe in nothing else, believe in this;—men who declare God to be a delusion, and immortality a dream, believe in Mrs. Hayden, and the trash of which she is the *medium*! * And side by side with these men stand the religious, who hail this new "manifestation" as the advent of a new "spiritual era;" who regard it in the light of corroborative proof of Holy Writ, and do not see the monstrous incompatibility between the teachings of Scripture and the suppositions involved in spirit-rapping. The rapidity with which this delusion has spread, is as remarkable as anything else about it. No sooner does it make its appearance in any circle, than it is received with shouts of laughter;—the laughers, however, are persuaded to give it a trial;—it succeeds, (as, indeed, being a trick, and a very simple trick, it is on the cards that it should succeed,)—and then the laughing sceptic is turned into a devout convert,—his incredulity is replaced by a credulity as rash;—and if you attempt to explain to him the trick upon which it depends, he regards you with something of the angry bitterness which he would feel towards you, if you were disturbing his most deeply rooted and cherished convictions!

Let us remember, however, in extenuation of those who believe,—and, as we must think, believe on very imperfect evidence,—that the belief is kept up, on the one hand, by the extreme simplicity of the trick upon which spirit-rapping depends,—a simplicity so great, that men with difficulty bring themselves to conceive it possible such a trick should escape detection,—and, on the other hand, by the startling nature of the revelations which constrain belief. When a man sits down to a table, and asks a supposed invisible spirit a *mental* question, receiving a correct answer,—we can easily understand his surprise; and if no one present, save himself, could have known what the question was, and yet the answer turn out correct, "How," it will be asked, "could the *medium*, or any other person, (being an impostor,) have read that question, and given the correct answer? Yet this has occurred frequently; answers have been given which it is totally impossible the *medium* should have been in a condition to give; questions written down, and seen by no eye, save that of the writer, have been answered with accuracy." We admit it all. It seems wonderful, but is only wonderful to those who are

* The person who acts as the connecting link between the human querist, and the supposed spiritual respondent, is called the *medium*.

unaware that the *answers are in reality given by the questioner himself*, and *not* at all by the *medium*.

Although we cannot help regarding the “spirit-rappings” as an ignoble imposture, and must needs view its spread amongst our intelligent circles with a feeling of sadness at the implied irreverence and the explicit credulity which accompany it, we see in it, as in all other delusions, abundant matter for philosophic instruction. It will teach the inquirer something. If it do not admit him within the arcana of the spirit-world, it will carry him into the mazes of human folly. Mr. Henry Spicer, in the strange jumble which he has brought together under the title of “Sights and Sounds,” tells us that he began as a sceptic, but,—

“Let it suffice to say that I have seen, heard, and learned enough, to force me irresistibly—even against my will—to the conclusion that the mystery in question has its origin in no mechanical skill—in no human intelligence, however shrewd and penetrative—in no hitherto recognised law of physics—in no material organism whatever.

“It is calculated that there are, at the present moment, not less than *thirty thousand* recognised *media* practising in various parts of the United States. A friend, who writes under date of July 17th, assures me, that in the City of Philadelphia alone, may be found no fewer than three hundred magnetic circles, holding regular meetings, and receiving communications. And, let it be remarked, that the majority of the parties alluded to are neither needy, illiterate, nor obscure, but members of highly respectable families, entertaining no views of pecuniary profit, nor, as far as can be seen, deriving any possible advantage from the exhibitions in question. Another American friend,—himself originally a most determined sceptic,—whose interesting communication will be found, *in extenso*, at a future page, writes:—‘The most astonishing circumstance connected with the subject, to my mind, is, that so large a number of persons seem to have adopted the system into their most familiar daily experience; and *use it*, with as little apparent idea of its extraordinary character, as they do the post-office or the telegraph! I saw persons come in, with an ordinary business countenance, ask their question of the spirit summoned to the table, and go off again, as well satisfied with their answer, as though it were in words from the lips or hand of their living partner in business.’—Pp. 4, 5.

Mr. Spicer adopts the old cuckoo-cry of “Galileo,” and declares that “this new philosophy, if it be anything at all, is a subject for the consideration, not of cliques and classes, but of mankind,—a question, not of nations, but of worlds;” and, “Let us at least hope,” he says, “that the foul spirit of ignorance and prejudice which put Galileo to the torture for a true discovery, and in a later age nicknamed the first American steam-boat ‘Fulton’s folly,’ is not to be resuscitated in enlightened Britain.”

We are weary of this Galileo-cry. Because Galileo proclaimed a truth, and met with the fate of all great teachers, every noodle who conceives a new extravagance,—every inventor who constructs even a new coffee-pot,—instantly ranks himself beside

Galileo, if his extravagance or his coffee-pot be not instantly adopted by a "persecuting world." It is one thing to stifle inquiry, and persecute the inquirer; another thing, to confront new schemes with the light of reason, or—if need be—ridicule. Since people are talking about the "philosophic attitude of mind" necessary for the reception of this, as of every other new doctrine, let us remind them, that although it may be a reasonable caution, not to *disbelieve* any new fact because we cannot account for it, (for *our* ability to explain things should never be taken as a test of their reality,) yet, on the other hand, it is an equally reasonable caution, not to *believe* in any new fact, simply because we cannot account for it: if ignorance is no just ground of disbelief, neither is it just ground of belief,—a sequence too often overlooked. Moreover, there is this great distinction to be borne in mind, namely, the distinction between *facts* and *inferences*. I may have abundant evidence for my belief in a fact, but no sort of evidence for belief in the inference, hypothesis, or doctrine, which you suppose that fact to prove. I may believe, for instance, that disease is cured by such an instrument as Perkins's "Metallic Tractor." I see the man cured; and when these "tractors" are used in hospitals with success, it is unreasonable of me to doubt the *fact*. But in believing, or granting the *fact*, what do I grant? Simply this: that a man afflicted with rheumatism is very much better, after some one has pointed at him for a little time with a "metallic tractor." The *inference*, however, that this "metallic tractor" has in itself some specific and curative power,—is not at all proven. Other evidence is required before it can be accepted; and in the case referred to, the falsity of the inference was proved by that sceptical physician who employed tractors made of wood, painted to *resemble* metal, and with these wooden tractors did everything which the metallic tractors were supposed to perform; proving by this, and by experiments with metallic tractors on animals, that the *fact* of cure was no conclusive evidence for the inference supposed to follow, but was evidence, rather, of the extraordinary power of imagination. The rheumatic patient, *believing in the virtue* of the metallic tractors, was cured as well with the false tractors as the real; that is to say, he was cured by *neither*, but by his imagination.

We cite this as one amongst many illustrations of the rule, that belief in a fact should not entail, as a consequence, belief in the supposed agency. Thus, although we may perfectly credit many of the marvellous accounts which have reached us of "spirit-rappings," we are wrong to assume that *therefore* the spirits were actually present. As in the case of the "tractors" it was the imagination of the patient, so in this case of "spirit-rapping" it is the consciousness of the questioner; and that it is so, may be proved in a very simple way. Let the questioner request the *medium* to hold the card herself, and let *her* point to the letters,

while the questioner remains at some distance from her; and he will then find, that the *medium*, (if she consent to the experiment,) being deprived of his assistance, will *not* be able to give answers at all approaching to correctness; whereas, if it really were the spirits who answered, they would as readily answer the *medium*, when *she* tapped, as the questioner when *he* tapped. But if, on the contrary, as we assert, it is the questioner who by his manner indicates to the *medium*, when he expects a tap to be heard, of course, if he be merely a bystander, and the *medium* be left without his assistance, then no correct answer will be given.

It is because men do not recognise sufficiently this distinction between the fact and the inference, that we hear so much of the conversion of sceptics. A man tells you that he “approached the subject as complete a sceptic as you can be, but his scepticism vanished before the evidence of the facts.” By this he means that at first he simply disbelieved the facts stated to him; whereas what he should have disbelieved was the inference, or hypothesis, by which these facts were explained. There are few false facts in the world, compared with the number of false theories; but men habitually reserve their scepticism for the facts, and their credulity for the theory.

Now, what are the facts in this case? There is first the fact, that when persons are sitting round a table, a *medium* being present, certain raps are heard. You have been told before, that these raps are the signs made by spirits; and your imagination has been more or less predisposed, both by the marvellous accounts you have heard from others, and by the quiet and assured way in which the *medium* talks of the spirits. As, moreover, these raps are very peculiar in sound, and are produced by an agency which you cannot easily detect, your mind rushes on, from the *simple fact of a sound heard*, to the *inference that the sound is produced by a spirit*.

Let us now proceed to the second stage. You are told that the spirits are present, and are willing to answer any questions; and you *do* receive a correct answer to a question put. That is the fact; but observe,—*that*, and that only, is the fact; the inference begins when you leave the narrow basis of fact, and rush on to conclude that the answer was given you by the spirit. Here lies the source of the fallacy. The facts are unquestionable; it is in the explanations of those facts that the cautious thinker will find cause for hesitation.

Given the facts, let us ask, as a question of mere probability, Whether it be *more likely* that the raps and the answers should be given *by spirits*, whose presence requires to be proved, than *by the medium*, aided by the suggestions of the questioner? This question we consider Mr. Lewes to have settled.* He proved that the answers were suggested to the *medium* by the manner

* See his account of an interview with Mrs. Hayden, in the “Leader,” No. 155.

of the questioner; and not only proved it positively, by making her give whatever answers he pleased,—no matter how fantastic,—but also proved it negatively; that is, proved the presence of spirits to be a pretence, by summoning one of the *Eumenides*, (who intimated that she died a few years ago in the *Jewish* faith,) the *ghost of Semiramis*, (who intimated that she had *seventeen noses*!) the *ghost of Pontius Pilate*; (who intimated that he was a *leading tragedian*!) and all the ghosts thus summoned and interrogated behaved precisely as other spirits behaved. The answer to this crushing *exposé* has usually been, that the spirits “perceived Mr. Lewes’ intent, and, like so many wags, determined to deceive *him*, who tried to deceive *them*.” But, if we understood Mr. Lewes rightly, his intention was, *not* to deceive spirits, in whose presence he could not believe,—but Mrs. Hayden, of whose good faith he had very strong suspicions. Moreover, the proof that it is the questioner himself who furnishes the answer, however unconsciously, is seen in this:—whenever the questioner remains perfectly passive, no correct answer is given; if he do not linger at the letters he expects to be indicated,—if he do not, by his agitation of manner, or suspension of breath, or by any other of the thousand and one indications which suffice to an acute *medium*, afford a guiding hint,—no correct answer will be given; whereas, if he linger at certain letters, or feign the expectation in any other way, the letters which he selects will be indicated, so that the most monstrous absurdities come up in the shape of answers. This we have proved over and over again; and this any of our readers may prove also, with a little ordinary circumspection.

At any rate, even supposing that our explanation of the trick be inaccurate, we still return to our old position, and say, that, given the facts, you still require evidence for your inference. The fact of raps being heard, and the fact of questions being answered, are not sufficient to prove that the raps and the answers came from spirits: it is there we lack evidence. American and English neophytes, however, require no such evidence. With them the fact carries the inference as a necessary consequence; and as to evidence, they are at no loss for any amount you please. They find abundance of collateral evidence in ancient history, and even in the Holy Bible. Turning over some of the papers devoted to this subject, published in America, (for you must understand that these spiritualists, besides pamphlets and bulky volumes, have several weekly organs,) we find the Bible brought forward in the most irreverent and preposterous manner, as may be seen in the following extravagant specimens:—

“SPIRITUAL HANDWRITING PROVED BY THE BIBLE.

“IN the account of Belshazzar’s impious feast, contained in Dan. v. 5, there are these words, viz.: ‘In the same hour came forth *fingers of a man’s hand*, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the

plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the *part of the hand that wrote.*' Was not this spiritual writing? What else could it have been? The *fingers of a man's hand were seen writing by the king himself.* And Daniel was called in to interpret it.

"Is not this a full confirmation that the Bible sustains the doctrine of *spiritual writing*? And if the Bible asserts it, it must be true. Let the objector to *spiritual manifestations* in this form answer this if he can.

"WILLIAM S. ANDREWS."

Again :—

"VOCAL UTTERANCES OF SPIRITS.

"UNDER this head, Mr. Brittan, in his second letter to Dr. Richmond, cites the following cases from the Scriptures :—

"In the Book of Genesis we have an account of the expulsion of Hagar and her son from the house of Abraham. They were driven into the wilderness, and left to wander without the means of subsistence; and Hagar, in despair, sat down and wept, saying, 'Let me not see the death of the child.' Then an angel 'called to her out of heaven,' or from above, and ministered to her wants.

"In Numbers xxii. we have a remarkable account of the appearance of an angelic personage to Balaam. The presence of the spirit was indicated by his wonderful control of the organs over the beast,—the dumb animal, whereon the magician rode, being impelled to speak in an audible and intelligent manner.

"Elijah was a medium for spiritual communications. It is related in the nineteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, that a spirit came to him, and directed him to take food before starting on a journey to Mount Horeb. Subsequently, and during his stay in the mountain, he was again addressed in a 'still, small voice,' which, according to the account, emanated from an inhabitant of the spirit-world.

"In the fourth chapter of Job we have the following sublime description of an interview with a spirit: 'In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up. It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes; and there was a silence, and I heard a voice saying: Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?' In this case the sense of hearing appears to have been most successfully addressed, the occult presence being but imperfectly disclosed to the vision. There was an image before the eye, but it was dim and shadowy, the precise outline not being distinguishable.

"In the fourth chapter of Daniel it is said, that while the King of Babylon was vainly boasting of the magnitude of his power and the glory of his empire, 'there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O King Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; the kingdom is departed from thee,' &c. Agreeably to the narrative, the king was immediately driven from his palace to herd with the beasts of the field; and thus the prediction was signally verified.

"Saul, being on his journey to Damascus, to prosecute the believers in spiritualism, was suddenly arrested by spiritual agency, and he heard a voice saying unto him, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?'

There are many similar examples recorded in the Jewish Scriptures, but I must have recourse to other authors and to the unpublished records of the human experience for further illustrations."

And, further, we find among the resolutions passed at the Worcester (U. S.) "Spiritual Convention :"—

"*Resolved*, That the opposition to the Spiritualism of the Modern Manifestations (based on the Automatic or Od-principles) bears, with equal force, against the Spirituality of the demonstrations recorded in the Bible ; and true candour will not separate the ancient from the modern in its investigations.

"*Resolved*, That the kindest feeling and the most perfect charity should be exercised towards those who may be more under the control of an ignorant love than an expanded wisdom.

"*Resolved*, That we recognise the hand of God in raising up a new class of teachers, who, freed from the trammels of past sects in philosophy and religion, are prepared correctly to appreciate and successfully propagate truth ; and we recommend to the friends of Spiritualism to secure the services of those teachers, wherever it is practicable."

Nay, so easy are men's minds on the score of evidence, that Robert Owen finds in spirit-rapping corroborative proof of the truth of his scheme for perfecting society ! and because the spirits declared his scheme to be the right one, he considered *that* to be evidence of their genuineness, and therefore became a convert ! The reader will smile, sadly perhaps, perhaps scornfully, as his eye passes over the following extract from the

"MANIFESTO OF ROBERT OWEN TO ALL GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES.

"PEACE, CHARITY, LOVE, UNION, AND PROGRESS, TO ALL THE
INHABITANTS OF THE EARTH.

"A GREAT moral revolution is about to be effected for the human race, and by an apparent miracle.

"Strange and incredible as it will at first appear,—communications, most important and gratifying, have been made to great numbers in America and to many in this country, through manifestations, by invisible but audible powers, purporting to be from departed spirits ; and to me, especially, from President Jefferson,—Benjamin Franklin,—His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent,—Grace Fletcher, my first and most enlightened disciple,—and many members of my own family, Welch and Scotch.

"No one who knows me will attribute superstition to me, or want of moral courage to investigate truth, and to follow it wherever it may lead.

"I have honestly and fearlessly applied my best faculties to examine the religions, laws, governments, institutions, and classifications, of all nations and peoples, and I have found them all to be based on a fundamental principle of error, which pervades the whole, and which, in consequence, produces, in each of these divisions of society, evil instead of good.

"I have applied all my powers of mind so as honestly and fearlessly to investigate these new manifestations, said to be made by departed spirits, from another advanced state of our existence.

"Until the commencement of this investigation, a few weeks since, I believed that all things are eternal, but that there is a constant change in combinations and their results, and that there was no personal or conscious existence after death.

"By investigating the history of these manifestations in America, and subsequently, as will be narrated, through the proceedings of an American *medium*, by whose peculiar organization manifestations are obtained, I have been compelled, contrary to my previous strong convictions, to believe in a future conscious state of life, existing in a refined material, or what is called a spiritual, state; and that, from the natural progress of creation, these departed spirits have attained the power to communicate their feelings and knowledge to us living upon the earth, by various means.

"From the communications which have been made to me, through the aid of this American *medium*, from Jefferson, Franklin, Grace Fletcher, and the father of our present Sovereign, I am informed that these new manifestations, or revelations, from the spiritual, or, more truly, the refined material, world, are made for the purpose of changing the present false, disunited, and miserable state of human existence, for a true, united, and happy state, to arise from a new universal education, or formation of character, from birth, to be based on truth, and conducted in accordance with the established laws of human nature."

This striking paradox, of a man, so many years a "sceptic," suddenly becoming a believer in a foolish and impudent fiction, leads us to remark, that the terms "sceptic," and "sceptical mind," are habitually misused. There are very few sceptical minds; for there are few things of which men are more impatient than of doubt. He is not a sceptic who simply denies Christianity to be true; he is not a sceptic who—having read in some book, or heard from some teacher, that there is no life beyond the grave—dogmatically denies all immortality: he may be as credulous and *unsceptical* as the veriest fanatic: the only difference between him and the orthodox believer is, that the orthodox believer believes *one* thing to be true, and he believes *another* thing to be true! But that calm equipoise of judgment, keeping the mind open to truth, not swaying hither and thither according to the impulse of impatience or of prejudice,—that weighing of evidence which, properly speaking,* constitutes the sceptical mind,—is very rarely met with; and, however paradoxical it may appear, that "infidels," as they are called, should believe in spirit-rapping, it is only a paradox, because the term "sceptic" is so misunderstood. We could not easily pick out a man more credulous than Robert Owen, as his persistent belief in his own foolish scheme amply proves.

Something more surprising than Owen's credulity, however, is that of Judge Edmonds, an American lawyer of considerable standing. We will quote Mr. Spicer's account of his conversion.

* That is, according to the *etymological*, not the *ordinary* and *conventional*, meaning of the word *sceptical*.—ED.

"It seems that, up to the early part of 1851, Judge Edmonds had always entertained the conviction, that intercourse with the spirits of the departed was impossible; and, possessing, unhappily, no very definite notions of the future life at all, was, as might be expected, as ready as any one to scoff at the spiritual intercourse now assumed to be established.

"His first experience of the kind was in December, 1850, some few weeks subsequent to the death of his wife, to whom he was warmly attached, and by whose loss he had been deeply affected. He was, at this time, residing alone; two of his daughters being married, and the third at school. One night, when the servants had retired to bed, he was reclining upon a sofa, reading. Suddenly, he distinctly heard the voice of his wife addressing a sentence to him. As he himself described the incident, he started up, as if he had received a shot, and, gazing eagerly around him, half expected that the speaker would reveal herself to his eyes. His lamp was burning, and the fire blazed cheerfully in the grate. Nothing unusual was visible; and, persuading himself that it was a delusion, originating in grief and want of rest, he presently lay down again. Still, reason as he would, the impression that it was a *real* voice continued and strengthened daily; while, like a true philosopher, he studied and analysed the operations of his own mind, in the hope of ascertaining *why* it was, that the impression was stronger than were the conclusions of his reason.

"In December, he removed into the city, hoping to derive some benefit from change of scene and occupation; and it was in the ensuing month that a lady, a friend of his late wife, invited him to her house to witness the 'spiritual manifestations,' stating that she had been impressed for several days to do so, and, during that time, had *felt* the continued presence of Mrs. Edmonds in a remarkable manner, the idea of her departed friend mingling with every action and circumstance of her daily life. The Judge, though without the slightest faith, and with little curiosity, in the matter, accepted the invitation. The interview was brief; yet several things occurred which at once rivetted his attention. He ascertained that the sounds he heard were not, and could not be, produced by the persons present. He saw, moreover, that there was *intelligence* in them. In short, his curiosity was fairly excited; and he resolved to investigate the subject, and, if there were imposture, to detect it. The worthy Judge, however, must have been one of the hardest bargains ever made by the unseen intelligences,—a subject of the very toughest kind! He kept very full and careful records of all he witnessed,—a duty which his habits of reporting enabled him to fulfil with ease and accuracy; he compared the proceedings of different days, in order to detect any lurking inconsistencies or contradictions; he sought for different *media*, thus precluding the possibility of concert of action, and only 'finally yielded his belief when no sane mind could withhold it longer.'

"The Judge had, it seems, commenced his investigations by demanding *proofs*,—proofs that the matter was deserving of investigation at all; and this tolerably high ground being conceded to him, by certain mystifying phenomena, he went further, and requested to be furnished with evidence that the affair was altogether super-terrestrial, and that those who professed to be his interlocutors from the spirit world were, really and truly, those whom they pretended to be.

'What proofs did he require?' The experienced lawyer was not to be caught with so hollow a device. He handled the case in a legal manner. It was not for him to call witnesses to the good character of his opponents; nor, by indicating the precise nature of what would convince him most, suggest to them the means of his own conversion. Proofs he must have, and good ones too, or they might be off about their business, and seek out more credulous subjects for their experiments in mechanico-metaphysics.

"Strange to say, so far from resisting this sturdy scepticism, the more *exigeant* the Judge became, the more the 'other party' (we must use general terms) conceded; and he was promised, in plain words, proofs that could not, and should not, fail utterly to annihilate his slightest misgiving. It was clear that he was, at any price, to be won. Nevertheless, it appears that the Judge held gallantly out,—meeting, with the calm sense of a really clever man, and the quick penetrative discernment of the practised lawyer, such minor appeals to his credulity as were comprised in rappings, table-tippings, &c., or in vague communications purporting to proceed from the extra-mundane sphere. He certainly heard the sounds, and saw the movements, and *that*, as in the case of everybody else, without being able to refer them to any satisfactory origin. But the Judge remembered the pledge he had received; and, knowing that the 'spirits' were bound to prove their whole case, wisely refused to accept any instalment. He would receive it in its entirety, or not at all. These matters amounted to a mystery, and nothing more. They were simply puzzling, and only retarded the march of the grand *éclaircissement* he had been distinctly promised, and which he now claimed.

"*'Qui s'arrête à chaque pierre, n'arrive jamais,'* thought the Judge; and he would doubtless have grown weary of results which perpetually fell short of his high expectations, had not an event at last occurred, which was destined to work an entire change in his views and feelings, and make him, as has been said, not only a believer, but a participator, in the extraordinary demonstrations now challenging the wonder of the community.

"On the 21st of May, in the present year, a meeting, for the purpose of spiritual investigation, took place at the house of Mr. Charles Partridge, of New York, a gentleman who had devoted much time and attention to such inquiries, and promoted, as far as possible, every attempt then making to arrive at a proper understanding of the much vexed subject in question. The account of what transpired at the meeting referred to is taken from the elaborate report furnished by himself to the New-York journals.

"It seems that there were present about fifteen to twenty persons, among whom may be mentioned the names of Judge Edmonds himself, Dr. and Mrs. Grey, Mr. E. Fowler and his sister, Mrs. Fox and her daughters, Messrs. Gordon, Cooley, J. Partridge, &c., &c. Rappings were heard, and a communication from the 'spirits' requested the company to play on a piano in the room. This was done, the raps beating accurate time to the measure. Mr. Gordon, who was a *medium*, was thrown into a magnetic sleep, during which he gave utterance to some remarks directed against the too ready yielding to sister-superstitions with those which, in past ages, obstructed the advance of Gospel light, and the pure influx of the Holy Spirit.

"While this was proceeding, sounds were occasionally heard on the door and sides of the apartment, as loud as could be produced by a violent 'pounding' with a man's fist. The table at which Mr. Partridge was employed in taking notes, was several times moved from its place; and a chair, which stood outside of the circle, and several feet distant from any one present, was moved up to the circle, and back again, placed on its side, &c. &c.

"These, however, were the usual phenomena, and of such frequent occurrence that they excited but little interest. In the present case, they proved to be but the prologue to demonstrations of a most astounding character, and such as, I am fully aware, will tax to the utmost the faith of the uninitiated in the veracity of those upon whose concurrent testimony these facts were subsequently made public.

"At the stage of the proceedings last alluded to, it was proposed by some one to darken the room, in order to try whether the lights or sparkles, known frequently to accompany the manifestations in former instances, would be perceptible. It was accordingly done; and the lights were observed at different times, and in different parts of the room, sometimes resembling phosphorescent flames,—sometimes forming luminous clouds, moving about,—sometimes like glistening stars, crystals, or diamonds. Physical demonstrations increased in variety and force, and continued for three hours, 'during which,' says Mr. Partridge, '*the Judge seemed to be in the possession of the spirits.*' Many things occurred to him, which he mentioned, that he alone could be conscious of; though we could perceive that something extraordinary was going on with and around him. Many things, however, also occurred, which all could witness.

"The card-table before mentioned began to move with violent force from one side of our circle (which was large) to the other, rocking, and rising up, and coming down; and, finally, the leaf was shut up, the cover turned round to its place: the table was gently turned upside down, and laid at our feet. In this situation, myself and others took hold of it, and ascertained its position; and, after a short interval, it was turned up, the leaf opened, and the table placed as before. A chair which stood outside of our circle, and several feet from any one, was suddenly moved up to the circle, and back, rocked, and finally, with great rapidity, conveyed from one end of the room to the other, winding its way among the people who sat there without touching them, and yet, at times, passing with fearful rapidity within an inch or two of our persons.

"Some of the party, among whom was Judge Edmonds, were requested to go into another closet from that where Gordon was, where there was a guitar, bass-viol, and violin, each of which was played upon, separately at first, and, finally, all together, in marked time, which was beat out by raps, sometimes upon the viols, floor, ceiling, &c., the bow often touching the persons there.

"Afterwards, the bass-viol and violin were raised above their heads, and out of their reach; (except one end, which sometimes rested on their hand, head, or shoulder, often changing;) and in this position they were played and rapped upon as by human fingers, and the time marked as before.

"A dinner bell on the shelf was raised up, and rung over their heads; then taken out into the parlour, and carried round the room,

ringing over the heads of fifteen or twenty persons, sitting in the circle there, and then into the adjoining parlour, (where there was no person,) and carried nearly its length, and dropped on the floor some fifteen or twenty feet from any human being. Another small bell was taken off the shelf, rung, and placed into, and taken out of, the hands of several persons. A pocket-handkerchief was taken from the Judge's pocket, and tied into many knots, and put back again; a table-brush was taken from the shelf, and put into the hands of several persons successively, and taken out again, and their hair brushed with it.

"From this period, the Judge became a regular member of the magnetic circle; and, at a meeting somewhat subsequent to the above, it was announced to him, that he would shortly be himself a *medium*, and that, too, under circumstances which would enable him to record, and give to the world, such communications as he might receive. This promise is understood to have been realized. The Judge became clairvoyant, or, as he expressed it, 'found in his mind' certain scenes or visions relating to the spiritual world, in all of which scenes actors and incidents were as vividly pictured as though presented to his outward senses. These occur as well by day as by night, and only require that external objects be shut out by closing the eyes. Certain of these visions, or 'revelations,' have been made public, from time to time, and are, as has been justly observed of them, eminently practical in their character, and containing sentiments that cannot be unacceptable to the most pure and humble Christian. The lessons they teach are those of love and kindness, and address themselves to the calm, deliberate reason of man, asking from him no blind faith, but a careful inquiry and a deliberate judgment.

"That the effect of the 'manifestations' has, in this instance, at least, been fraught with advantage, is proved by the change said to be worked in the Judge's mind and manner. From being irascible and excitable at times, he has become calm and moderate; from being occasionally stern and unyielding, he has become kind and gentle; from being a doubter as to the future, he has become well grounded in the belief of man's immortality, and his redemption through the mercy of God; and he has found in spiritual intercourse, not merely matter to gratify an idle curiosity, or responses to vain and frivolous inquiries, but wisdom most profound, knowledge most interesting, and morality most pure and elevating, as all may find who will seek with an earnest desire for truth, and with minds open to its reception."—Pp. 114–124.

It is fair that we should borrow from Mr. Spicer some account of one of these spiritual *séances*, and we choose one at which several well-known persons were present.

"Mrs. Fish and the Misses Fox now visited New York City, whither, it is almost needless to say, their fame had preceded them; and there, as in Rochester, every conceivable test was applied, in a manner to satisfy the most sceptical. The ladies were disrobed, and subjected to the most searching investigation, by a female committee chosen for that purpose, who reported to their constituents that the sounds in question *could not*, by any possibility, emanate from the parties themselves.

"The Rev. Dr. Griswold, who had hitherto remained wholly

incredulous as to the alleged preternatural origin of the manifestations, now determined to investigate the facts of the case for himself; and with that view assembled a small party at his house in Broadway. The circle was composed of gentlemen of high character and intelligence,—persons who, probably without exception, had no prepossession in favour of the principal actors in the scene, and who even numbered among them several avowed sceptics.

“Among those present were the late Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper, Mr. George Bancroft, the Rev. Dr. Hawkes, Dr. J. W. Francis, Dr. Marcy, Mr. N. P. Willis, Mr. Bryant, Mr. Bigdon, Mr. Richard Kimball, Mr. H. T. Tuckerman, and General Lyman.

“In order to prevent any suspicion as to the arrangement of the room, the furniture, closets, &c., the *r  union* was appointed, as has been mentioned, at Dr. Griswold’s own dwelling, which neither of the ladies had ever entered before. A little past eight o’clock, Mrs. Fox and her three daughters, accompanied by two gentlemen of Rochester, made their appearance. For some time—perhaps half an hour—no sounds were heard, and the company began to exhibit obvious symptoms of impatience. They were then requested to draw nearer the table, which was in front of the ladies, and form themselves into a compact circle. Soon after, faint sounds began to be heard from under the floor, around the table, and in different parts of the room. They increased in loudness and frequency, becoming clear and distinct, while no one could deny their presence, nor trace them to any visible cause. The question was now asked, ‘Will the spirits converse with any one present?’ No satisfactory answer was obtained, though there was a general rumbling succession of sounds, the purport of which appeared to be ambiguous to those who professed to be most conversant with the language. The question was then put more definitely with regard to several gentlemen present. After a good deal of coquetting, it was said that replies would be given to any questions proposed by Dr. Marcy. He inquired whether the spirit with whom he wished to converse was a relation,—was a child,—and what was its age at the time of its death. We understood Dr. Marcy to say that the answers were correct; but nothing worthy of special notice was elicited.

“Mr. Henry T. Tuckerman was the next to propound inquiries, which, contrary to the usual custom, he expressed audibly, so as to be heard by the ladies and the whole company. Having fixed in his mind the name of an individual, he asked, ‘Did he live in New York?’ No answer. ‘In Baltimore? In Cambridge? In Boston?’ Three distinct raps. Mr. T. continued: ‘Was he a lawyer? A merchant? A physician? A Clergyman?’ Knocks. ‘Was he an Episcopalian? A Presbyterian? A Unitarian?’—going over the names of the principal sects. No answer. At the suggestion of a gentleman, Mr. T. asked, ‘Was he a Christian?’ Knocks. Mr. T. then asked the age of the person in a series of tens. ‘Was he twenty years old at the time of his death? Was he thirty? Fifty? Sixty?’ Knocks. ‘Has he left a family?’ Knocks. ‘Children?’ Knocks. ‘Five? Three? Two?’ Knocks. ‘Did he die in Boston? In Philadelphia? In Albany? In Northampton? Bennington?’ Knocks. ‘Did he die of consumption? Of fever? Of cholera? Of old age?’ Knocks,

"The person in the querist's mind was the late Rev. Dr. Channing, of Boston, who died, as stated, at Bennington, (Vt.,) while on a journey. It may be remarked that, for the last years of his life, Dr. Channing disclaimed all sectarian names, preferring to be called only 'Christian;' and, though under seventy, had nearly exhausted his physical powers.

"The Rev. Dr. Hawkes was less successful in obtaining replies, and, after a short period, gave way to Dr. J. W. Francis, who was welcomed with a general roll of knockings from the mysterious agents, seeming to claim the privilege of old and intimate acquaintance. With his proverbial urbanity, seating himself as if at the bed-side of a patient, Dr. F. asked, in terms of the most insinuating blandness, whether the spirits present would converse with any member of the company. Would they vouchsafe to speak to his illustrious friend, the world-renowned author, Mr. Cooper? Would they converse with the great American poet, Mr. Bryant? To these flattering invitations no reply was given. Would they speak to so humble an individual as himself? Loud knocks. Dr. F. then asked, fixing on a person, 'Was he an American? Was he an Englishman? Was he a Scotchman?' The knocks were loud and unanimous. 'Was he a merchant? Was he a lawyer? Was he an author?' Loud knocks. 'Was he a poet?' Yes, in distinct knocks. 'Will you tell his name?' Here the spirits called for the alphabet, by sounds intelligible to the ghost-seers. It then spelled out B-u-r-, when the company indiscreetly, but spontaneously, interrupted, by crying out, 'Robert Burns.' This was the true answer.

"Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper was then requested to enter into the supramundane sphere, and proceeded to interrogate the spirits, with the most imperturbable self-possession and deliberation. After several desultory questions, from which no satisfactory answers were obtained, Mr. C. commenced a new series of inquiries. 'Is the person I inquire about a relative?' Yes, was at once indicated by the knocks. 'A near relative?' Yes. 'A man?' No answer. 'A woman?' Yes. 'A daughter? A mother? A wife?' No answer. 'A sister?' Yes. Mr. C. then asked the number of years since her death. To this an answer was given in rapid and indistinct raps, some counting 45, others 49, 54, &c. After considerable parleying, as to the manner in which the question should be answered, the consent of the invisible interlocutor was given to knock the years so slowly that they might be distinctly counted. This was done. Knock—knock—knock, for what seemed over a minute, till the number amounted to fifty, and was unanimously announced by the company. Mr. C. now asked, 'Did she die of consumption?'—naming several diseases, to which no answer was given. 'Did she die by accident?' Yes. 'Was she killed by lightning? Was she shot? Was she lost at sea? Did she fall from a carriage? Was she thrown from a horse?' Yes.

"Mr. Cooper did not pursue his inquiries any further, and stated to the company that the answers were correct, the person alluded to by him being a sister, who, just fifty years ago the present month, was killed by being thrown from a horse."—Pp. 70-76.

Throughout, it is quite easy to detect how the answers were suggested; though we must confess that there are many

accounts, both in Mr. Spicer's volume and elsewhere, which do not at all admit of a similar explanation. But it is also true that they do not admit of *belief*!

When we read of men being lifted into the air, and there suspended by invisible agency for three or four minutes, without touching anything or anybody, we do not pretend "to account" for such a phenomenon,—we simply disbelieve it!

"On the 8th, in company with three gentlemen, I paid a visit to Ward Cheney, Esq., residing in Manchester, at whose house a good *medium*, Mr. Daniel D. Hume, was temporarily stopping. After a formal introduction by one of our party, who was acquainted with Mr. C., we entered into social and pleasant conversation; and a proposition was soon made by one of us, to try our luck in getting spiritual communications. A circle was accordingly formed, with Mr. Hume as a member; and the well-known vibrations on the table were soon forthcoming, loud and distinct. One of my friends had never seen any thing of the kind, and he accordingly looked under the table, to make sure that no one touched it. Answers of a personal character were given very freely; such as tests of identity, (the *medium* being a total stranger to both parties,) messages of a joyful import, &c., &c.

"The *medium* was then (apparently) thrown into a spiritually magnetic state, discovering great rigidity of muscle, and the ordinary phenomena of the psycho-magnetic condition, including a magnetic locking of the jaws, in which an iron-like hardness of the muscles was apparent. He then spelt out (with his eyes closely bandaged) some remarkable and interesting messages to one or two of the company, the personal nature of which precludes their publication, but which were declared, by those interested, to be perfect tests. He did this by pointing, with almost incredible rapidity, to the different letters of an alphabet arranged on a seven-by-nine card, and thus spelling out the necessary words. A rapid writer had difficulty in keeping up with him; and when a word or a sentence was partially finished, a suggestion from any of the company as to what was intended to be spelt would, if correct, be answered by eager and vehement rappings in various parts of the table. Among others (all remarkable) came a message from two sailors lost at sea, relatives of one of the company, a stranger to most of those present. These spirits announced themselves, somewhat unexpectedly, by canting over the solid and ponderous table, and rolling it in the manner of a vessel in a violent tempest. Accompanying this demonstration, came a violent *creaking*, as of the cables of a ship when strained in a gale; then came the loud sound of a prolonged wailing, shrieking blasts of wind, precisely such a noise as the wind makes in the rigging of a ship in a storm at sea; and the creaking of the timbers and masts, as the vessel surged to one side or the other, was distinctly heard by all. Next came the regular, sullen shocks of the waves, as they struck the bows of the doomed vessel. All this time the table kept up the rocking motion. And now the table was *capsized* on the floor! All this was done with no one touching the table, as a close and constant scrutiny was kept up by two, at least, of our party. These two sailors, (whose names and ages were given,) it seems, lost their lives by the capsizing of a vessel, as represented;

although this fact, I have the best reasons for knowing, was not previously known to the *medium* or the company.

"Demonstrations now increased in force and number. The table was actually lifted up from the floor, without the application of a human hand or foot. A table, weighing (I should judge) one hundred pounds, was lifted up a foot from the floor, the legs touching nothing! I jumped upon it, and it came up again! It then commenced rocking, without, however, allowing me to slide off; although it canted, at least, to an angle of 45°. Finally, an almost perpendicular inclination slid me off; and another of the company tried it with the same results. These things all happened in a room which was light enough to allow of our seeing under and over and all around the table, which was touched by no one except the two persons who, respectively, got upon it to keep it down.

"We went into a darkened room, to see the spiritual flashes of light said to have been vouchsafed to some investigators. Instead of this, we were greeted with *tremendous rappings* all about us. Some of the blows on the walls, floor, and tables, within three inches of myself, were *astounding*. I could hardly produce such violent demonstrations with my fist, though I were to strike with all my might. The very walls shook. Answers to questions were given by concussions of varying force and intonation, according to the character of the spirits communicating. A favourite little daughter of one of the gentlemen present,—a stranger from a remote state,—who had left the earth in the fourth year of her age, announced her presence by a thick pattering *rain* of eager and joyful little raps; and, in answer to an inward request of her father, she laid her baby hand upon his forehead! This was a man who was *not* a believer in these things,—he had never before seen them; but he could not mistake the thrilling feeling of that spirit-touch. I also had a similar manifestation, in the character of which I am not deceived.

"Suddenly, and without any expectation on the part of the company, the *medium*, Mr. Hume, was taken up in the air! *I had hold of his hand at the time, and I felt of his feet; they were lifted a foot from the floor!* He palpitated from head to foot with the contending emotions of joy and fear, which choked his utterance. Again and again he was taken from the floor; and the third time *he was carried to the lofty ceiling of the apartment, with which his hands and head came in gentle contact*. I felt the distance from the soles of his boots to the floor, and it was nearly three feet. Others touched his feet, to satisfy themselves.

"This statement can be substantiated, if necessary."—Pp. 126–130.

"If necessary!" What charming *naïveté*! The idea of any man having it in his power to substantiate a statement of this kind, and not doing so, but only saying that he will do so, "if necessary!" For ourselves, we unequivocally say, that we do not believe a word of it; and that the substantiation is not only necessary, but must be unequivocal, before we should give it a moment's credence. Here is something more of the same kind, extracted by Mr. Spicer from the "*Spiritual Telegraph*." It is an account of a New York conference, for the investigation of spiritual phenomena, which was held on Friday evening, June

18th, 1852, in the presence of several well-known persons, whose names are given.

“Dr. Hallock related a case of physical manifestations, which took place on the Friday evening previous, at the house of Mr. Partridge, after the conference had adjourned. Mr. D. D. Hume was the *medium*, and the circle consisted of Mr. Partridge, wife, and daughter, Wm. Taylor and wife, S. B. Brittan, and himself. On the table around which we were seated were loose papers, a lead-pencil, two candles, and a glass of water. The table was used by the spirits in responding to our questions; and the first peculiarity we observed was, that however violently the table was moved, everything on it retained its position. When we had duly observed this, the table, which was mahogany, and perfectly smooth, was elevated to an angle of about 30°, and held there, with everything remaining on it as before. It was truly interesting to see a lead-pencil retaining a position *of perfect rest, on a polished surface inclined at such an angle. It remained as if glued to the table; and so of everything else on it.* The table was repeatedly made to resume its ordinary position, and then its inclination as before, as if to fasten upon us the conviction, that what we saw was no deception of the senses, but a veritable manifestation of spirit presence and of spirit power. They were then requested to elevate the table to the same angle as before, and to detach the pencil, retaining everything else in their stationary positions. This was complied with. The table was elevated, the pencil rolled off, and everything else remained. They were then asked to repeat the experiment, retaining the pencil and everything else upon the table stationary, except the glass tumbler, and to let that slide off. This was also assented to, with the like result. All the articles retained their positions but the tumbler, which slid off, and was caught in the hands of one of the party, as it fell from the lower edge of the table. Then the table, after being restored to the natural position, was moved strongly to and from the *medium*, and to and from different individuals in the circle, as they would request. After this had been repeated several times, and while a corner of the table was inclined into his lap, Mr. Taylor asked if the spirits would lift it clear off the floor while in that position. Assent was signified; and the table, after much apparent effort, though, probably, only apparent, was lifted clear off the floor as he requested. Dr. H. said he was led to the conclusion, that the effort was only apparent, because, while we were watching it closely, with a light upon the floor, so as to see the slightest motion, the table, in the mean time resting upon one castor on the floor, and one corner of the leaf in Mr. Taylor's lap, was raised, perhaps about one inch, after having been literally tumbled about the circle, sometimes upon one castor, and sometimes upon two, the leaf resting, first upon one person's lap, and then in another. But when the foot of the table was finally raised, as described, he, to make sure that they were not mistaken in the fact, got down upon the floor, to observe more closely. While looking, the foot of the table, instead of being raised a doubtful inch or so, was thrown up clear of the floor six or eight inches, as if all former attempts had been mere playful efforts. We then asked if they could move the table with a man on it. They replied, ‘Yes, with two men on it.’ Mr. Partridge and myself then seated ourselves, back to back, upon the table. Our combined weight is a little over 350 pounds; but, notwithstanding, the

table was moved as easily as when nothing but the candlesticks, &c., were upon it. We were rocked backwards and forwards, to and from the *medium*, and held stationary in that position, with us upon it; and, finally, we remarked playfully, 'When you get tired of rocking us, throw us off!' It was done: the table was tipped strongly and rapidly *from* the *medium*, and we were thrown on the floor."—Pp. 316–319.

Besides rapping answers to questions, the American spirits, or, rather, the spirits who appear in America, vouchsafe poetical and prose communications, which are duly printed in the devout papers. Mr. Spicer has reprinted several of these trashy efforts, naively confessing that they are *mediocre*.

"Volumes might be filled with the prose communications purporting to proceed from the like supernatural sources. It must be owned that the great majority of these are of a very mediocre character, and would rather induce an apprehension, that the spirits of the illustrious and eminent persons from whom these lucubrations emanate, have rather deteriorated than improved by their translation to another sphere.

"Readers must judge for themselves. Here are abundant specimens. Where shall we begin? With George Washington, perhaps:—

"WASHINGTON.

"*Robert White—Medium.*

"O YE men of intelligence! be ye warned that this doctrine of spiritual intercourse will spread and overleap all opposition. Be patient, examine, investigate—try all things by the unfailing laws of nature and reason. Be not easily turned from your course—let 'onward and upward' be your watchword—all will be well if you persevere. Have charity; love your opposers; forbear; seek to enlighten them. O! be forgiving!—you are progressing. All is not truth that is asserted, but that which will stand the test of examination alone. All will work together for your good. O persevere in the investigation of this truth! I would like to impress on the mind the necessity of purity in life and thought. It would make man happy, and prepare him for the reception of these heavenly truths. The mind will become pure and cleansed of its prejudice and bigotry, and it will begin to advance, and be able to understand the subject in all its fulness and beauty; it will make you wise, and advance you to occupy a higher position in the spirit world. You must not expect to comprehend spiritualism in a moment, or in a day, week, or year. As you progress, the hidden beauties will be unfolded to the mind. Exercise and pursue the subject with diligence. Be pure, and have holy and God-like views, and, in proportion, you will progress.

"(Signed) WASHINGTON."

"Communicated, April 21, 1852."

"JEFFERSON.

"*William Rogers—Medium.*

"I AM well pleased that I am permitted to express my thoughts to those who remain on earth. I can but render thanks to our Father, God, for the great blessings He has conferred upon my beloved

country. The anniversary of America's birth is now being observed by millions of happy people, who enjoy the greatest blessings of any earthly nation. These blessings were won by a thorough and impartial investigation of the various theories of government, one of which was carried out in practice by a class of men who were not afraid of truth. In all of its affairs (the Government) it is as near the intended of God as its founders could, at that time, adopt, and at the same time consolidate the States. But, with all its blessings, it was not perfect; nor is it yet, and, probably, never will be. The Union, as it is, is worth preserving, and I pray my country will not destroy it; for, as sure as they do, civil war and carnage will assuredly follow. Better permit *one evil* than to destroy all that is good. From this fire of Liberty the sparks of freedom are flying across the waters, and have already kindled fires beyond the seas. These will burn wherever the winds of thought and education blow, until tyranny, bigotry, superstition, and all the curses which afflict man, are consumed.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

"4th July, 1851."

"CALVIN.

"(On the Laws of the Spheres.)

"*D. G. Green—Medium.*

"IN regard to the question which I promised to answer, I will state what I feel I can be clearly and fully sustained in saying. The laws which govern us in the spirit-land, in some respects, are not dissimilar to those which govern men upon earth. Yet we have greater facilities for acquiring knowledge, by far, than you who are yet in the body. And so it is with those in the higher spheres; we can the more readily learn, the nearer we approach to the goal to which we are all tending,—the great harmonial circle of God's more immediate presence. And although those who are in the lower spheres can operate powerfully upon those on earth, they cannot give us such correct ideas in regard to the working of the great plans of our Father, as those above them. When you fully realize that a spirit can accomplish in one moment, by the mere effort of the will, more than a mortal can do in a number of days,—I mean, in regard to passing from place to place,—you will not be astonished to learn that we can as readily comprehend the language as we can the thoughts of those with whom we wish to converse. And as I have said, we are, in a degree, subject to the same laws as yourselves. Yet, instead of being obliged to study for a long time to obtain a knowledge of any particular language, we are enabled to receive it as by intuition. And it is just as easy for me, when I wish to converse with one on earth, to impress the thought upon his mind, in his own language, although I never understood it when I was on your earth, as I could in my native tongue.

"JOHN CALVIN."

—Pp. 144-148.

People who will believe *that*, will believe any thing; and although our explanation of the trick upon which rapping depends, does not apply at all to these communications, nor to the mysteries of men suddenly lifted in the air, we are not in the least dismayed by these marvels; they do not at all shake

our incredulity; and we insist upon their being kept separate from the more credible statements, which we are willing enough to accept, but all of which can be explained under the supposition of the questioner's unconsciously furnishing the answer.

We must also keep separate from this spirit-rapping the latest cognate delusion of table-moving. In every street,—one might almost say, in every house,—people are busy moving tables, or hats, or basins, and believing that a new agent is thereby revealed. Here again we meet with a necessity of distinguishing *fact* and *inference*. It is idle to doubt the fact that the table does move, and move without *conscious* effort on the part of those forming the chain around it. But the inference, that it is moved by electricity, is altogether gratuitous, if not entirely fallacious. It may not be easy to explain how it is that the unconscious obedience of the muscles to an expectant emotion moves the table; still less, how it is that a table raps its answers—nay, not only raps, but prophesies! But we must again repeat that our not being able to explain these things, is no ground for our belief in the existence of a new agent. In Germany, where this table-moving first began, it has been pushed to the extreme of absurdity. At Bonn, in presence of Dr. Karl Simrock, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Schade, and some others the table not only moved, but *rapped replies* to various questions put to it, all of which replies were correct, with the exception of one, when a lady's age was asked, and the table replied, "Thirty," she being forty years of age; although, as Hoffmann and Schade naively confessed, they never thought she was older than thirty. The table also *prophesied*; and, on being asked what it, the table, originally cost, declared, it cost two thalers; and when asked how much it was then worth, answered one thaler. Doctor Schauenburg, who reports this, wrote to Karl Simrock to ask him to substantiate it; and this is the letter Simrock wrote:—

"How can I be persuaded that the experiments which we witnessed were not all delusions? It is true, they were not vulgar imposition. Of that we are *not* assured. But are we sure we were not the victims of an hallucination? Who can believe that an inanimate table has the power of reading the future? If the prophecies and replies had not been dragged into the matter, one might have explained the movement of the table as the result of magnetic force; but the *speaking destroys the phenomenon*. A table which replies to questions can only do so in virtue of some illusion. From our experiments there is, at any rate, one important result,—namely, that our limbs are very capricious agents of our volition."

Hoffmann von Fallersleben does not, however, express any doubt. He says, "Of all that Dr. Schauenburg has written about the table-moving and table-rapping, I have been the eye-witness."

and confirm every thing he says." Dr. Schade certifies in the same way. But to them and to all others we would say, as a question of mere probability, Is it more probable that the table should be moved by an unconscious muscular action, than that it should be moved by an agent, the existence of which you have yet to prove? for there is *no proof whatever of any such fluid* passing from our hands to the table, and then saturating the table with electricity. Moreover, we ask you whether you can suppose the table, previously unconscious, inert, ignorant, to be suddenly endowed with motion, consciousness, intelligence, and volition, by a few people placing their hands upon it; for the table must be conscious and intelligent to *hear* and *understand* what you ask it; it must have its volition to reply according to its intelligence. Now this, we say, is *not* credible; nor will all the signatures of Germany suffice to make it credible.

Since the foregoing was in type, the *mania* or *maniæ* have considerably abated in London, although still raging in the provinces. Table-moving had a semi-scientific aspect, which has acted as a fascination upon minds slightly tinctured with science; and endless theories, all more or less ingeniously absurd, have been propounded, with a view to explain the operation of this "new agent." Some persons start the hypothesis of a "rotatory fluid," which pervades nature, thus connecting table-turning with "gravitation" and with "cell force." Others are copious in illustrations of electricity and animal magnetism; few of them taking the trouble to ascertain what are the laws which regulate electricity,—none of them pausing at the fact, that a galvanic battery would *not* make the table turn round: it would sooner shatter it. The phrase "electricity" covers a multitude of possible operations; and men, seeing daily the marvels performed by electricity, naturally attribute to it every thing marvellous.

Professor Faraday has effectually silenced all these electrical hypotheses; and, although his explanation of the phenomenon is the same as that previously given by various independent inquirers, it has the incalculable advantage of being endorsed by his eminent authority, so that the vulgar bow and acquiesce. Since his published condemnation, table-turning has been rapidly discredited. In a little while it will be forgotten, or remembered only as one of the many Popular Delusions.

- ART. VI.—1. *Official Report on the Mortality of Cholera in England.* 1848–49.
 2. *Weekly Returns of Births and Deaths in London.* Published by Authority of the Registrar-General.
 3. *Quarterly Returns of the Marriages, Births, and Deaths, registered in the Divisions, Counties, and Districts of England.* Published by Authority of the Registrar-General.
 4. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Registrar-General.*

It is probably unknown to great numbers of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, that England and Wales are mapped out into divisions, counties, and districts, and every birth, marriage, and death, is duly registered in the locality in which it occurs. This registration is not simply of name, date, and place; there are other circumstances recorded at the same time, as to the cause of death, the age, sex, &c.; so that when a general or statistical *summary* of the facts contained in this national record is drawn out, various deductions can be made as to the moral and physical condition of the people. In London, that summary is made weekly; for the rest of England and Wales, it is quarterly; and for the entire country, annually. From time to time special circumstances arise in the national life, which have a special influence on the national well-being. Of this kind are remarkable variations in the weather, fluctuations in trade and commerce, important legislative changes, the outbreak of epidemical diseases. These circumstances each leave their indelible trace on these summaries, and some have a special consideration. The elaborate report of Mr. Farr, on the cholera of 1848–49, is one of the latter; it shows the nation suffering (and suffering unnecessarily) a grievous loss of valuable life. The quarterly report before us, for the quarter ending March, 1853, is a chequered return. Never before were there so many *families* created; or, in other words, the marriages greatly exceeded in number those of any previous return. In the *year* 1852, there were 158,439 marriages, or one person in fifty-seven of the population was united to a mate. In the year 1842, just ten years ago, there were only 118,825 marriages. Great as was the increase in the year 1852, the increase was greater in the last *quarter* of that year; for, during that time, the marriages were at the rate of one person married in forty-eight of the population. These happy and important events increased most numerous in London, where 7,101 marriages were celebrated in the last quarter of 1852. In the south, midland, and eastern counties, the bliss of newly-wedded life was below par; for in them the marriages were less numerous than usual.

With increase of marriages, there was, of course, an increase of births. The annual proportion of births, since 1843, has been

one in thirty.* In the winter quarter of the present year, it has been at the rate of one in twenty-eight. But although there was so great an increase in births, the population was not proportionately increased: on the contrary, owing to the greatly increased mortality of this winter, the increase was less, by 12,000, than in the winter quarter of 1852, and amounted only to 13,357.

The Registrar-general's Report is not limited, however, to these dry matters of births, and increase of population. He tells us, that "the tide of emigration stills rolls on; and, in the winter, 57,729 persons left the ports of the United Kingdom, at which there are Government Emigration Agents." Of these, 13,493 (principally Irish, perhaps) sailed from Liverpool, 7,249 from London, and 2,129 from Plymouth. The price of provisions advanced. Wheat, in the winter quarter of 1852, was 40s. 10d. per quarter; last winter, it was 45s. 7d.; and, worst of all for the health of the people, potatoes rose from 70s. per ton in 1852 to 127s. 6d. in the winter of 1853. A *tabular* view of the prices of consols, wheat, meat, and potatoes for the seven quarters ending March 31st last, is given. From this it appears, that consols and wheat, which averaged 96½ and 40s. 7d. respectively, during the quarter ending September 30th, 1851, rose to 99½ and 45s. 7d. during the quarter ending March 31st, 1853.

The number of DEATHS was greatly increased during the last winter; none has been so fatal, except those of 1847 and 1848, when influenza and cholera prevailed. The principal causes of this aggravated mortality were small-pox, scarlatina, typhus, influenza, bronchitis. Concurrently with this increased mortality were remarkable atmospheric changes. The spring of 1852 was singular for its dryness, the autumn for its wetness and warmth. All atmospheric changes are duly chronicled in these quarterly returns, there being *fifty* meteorological observatories scattered over England and Wales. The daily changes in the barometer, thermometer, hygrometer, anemometer, are in these watched and recorded; the falls of hail, rain, and snow, measured; the appearance of meteors, auroræ, zodiacal lights, and the occurrence of fogs, thunder-storms, and lightnings, chronicled. So we find, that the mean temperature of January last *exceeded the average of eighty years* by nearly 7°, and that the mean temperature of the three months ending January last exceeded the temperature ever recorded of those months. On February 1st, weather just as much below the average temperature set in, continuing until March 4th, and thousands perished from the effects of the cold on the health. On March 15th, the cold weather recurred again. The ratio of mortality was increased by this weather more in the country than in the towns; but THE TOWNS,

* It may be as well to remark, for the information of those not versed in statistical phraseology, that estimates of this kind are always based upon the number of persons *living*; thus, during the years 1843 to 1852, inclusive, there was a child born for every thirty persons living in each year.

the Registrar-general observes, still maintained their fatal pre-eminence, "DESTROYING, BY THEIR DIRT AND IMPERFECT SANATORY ARRANGEMENTS, *out of the same population, five lives to every four who die in the open country.*" We will pause upon this fact. For every four that die in the country, five die in the towns, the numbers living being the same in each. Inquiring into it, we find, that while all ages suffer from this increased mortality, childhood suffers most. In the insalubrious districts, the mortality of children under five years of age is more than doubled,—it is raised 124 per cent. Or, to put the waste and destruction of infant life, in towns, in another form:—supposing there are 100,000 boys, and 100,000 girls, under five years of age, in each of two districts, the one district being salubrious, the other insalubrious; in the salubrious district, 7,983 of the 200,000 children would die; but in the insalubrious, 18,083, being an excess in mortality of 10,100, *solely* chargeable to unnatural and unnecessary causes. It must be remembered, that this is really an under-statement. So also, if we look at the mortality of youth and manhood in the two classes of districts respectively; of every seventeen *men* who die in towns, seven die by unnatural causes. Of 1,000 living at the age of forty, *seven* die from the same causes; at the age of fifty, *eleven* die prematurely; at the age of sixty, *seventeen*; at the age of seventy, *twenty-six*, out of every 1,000 living at those ages. Thus, every age suffers in the insalubrious districts. To use Mr. Farr's expressive language, they are real "valleys of the shadow of death," where the population is sickly, feeble, short-lived,—where thousands of the infants are convulsed, the children's brains inflamed, tuberculous, distended with water,—where small-pox, measles, and scarlatina, instead of being light eruptions, destroy the structure of the skin, putrefy the throat, inflame the lungs,—where the natural process of teething is often fatal to the child, child-bearing to the mother,—where typhus, pneumonia, bronchitis, asthma, and consumption, destroy thousands of lives, bereaving families, and leaving multitudes of widows and orphans. The suffering and loss thus inflicted, looked at in all their bearings, are immense, incalculable. How, indeed, can they be estimated? The influence of morbid states on the passions and morals is unquestioned by the philanthropist, and acknowledged by the philosopher: how is it possible, then, to weigh and measure the sins which are *indirectly* thus caused,—the drunkenness, debauchery, immorality,—theft,—cruelty? How can the value of time wasted, of great plans perishing unmaturing, of works cut short by death, of men taken from the service of their country and of mankind before their time, be estimated? And—more than all—how shall the value of all those immortal souls be reckoned when the great day of account shall come?

The Christian man must not shut his eyes to those evils, because they are set before him in a light which appals him. He

cannot dismiss their consideration to a more convenient season, without incurring sin. He cannot say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and rid himself thereby of blood-guiltiness; he cannot pass by on the other side, and neglect to bind up the wounds of that poor suffering brother who has fallen, while on his earthly pilgrimage, amongst those thieves and robbers of his health, and peace, and means of salvation,—the *removable causes of disease*. The command of his Lord and Master is upon the Christian, and he must work for the salvation of his brethren. To him the inquiry only can be, "What can I do? what must I do?" These inquiries we will endeavour to answer.

What we can effect, is amply illustrated by what has been done already. According to the latest observations, England is the healthiest country in the world. In every 1,000 living, two die annually in France more than in England; five in Prussia; eight in Austria; fourteen in Russia. While twenty-two per 1,000 die in England, thirty-six per 1,000 die in Russia. But the mortality in England is still too great, probably, by one-half. In the healthiest rural districts, (Glendale, Bellingham, Haltwhistle, in Northumberland,) only fourteen per 1,000 die annually; and this rate of mortality is capable of reduction. The people perish, even now, for lack of knowledge, just as they perished in the middle ages; and it has only been by the spread of knowledge that England is in the position she now holds amongst the nations of the world. A short historical review of the sanitary condition of the nations of Europe will help us to appreciate the abyss of misery from which the people of this land have been preserved.

The knowledge of what is injurious to the health, and of what is best calculated to preserve it, is included amongst the arts and sciences, under the term *HYGIENE*. This science is treated of in two great divisions, according as it refers to the people, (public *hygiène*,) or to individuals, (private *hygiène*.) All that concerns the health of the people generally, is beyond the powers of the individual to do, and devolves upon the constituted authorities. Now, the science and practice of both public and private *hygiène* were well known to the civilized nations of ancient times. In the *most* ancient, hygienic regulations constituted, indeed, part of the ceremonial of religion. *PURITY* of persons and things is the great aim of hygiene; purity of persons and things was an essential requisite in the religions of the East. Amongst the Greeks, great sanitary reformers received divine honours. The hundred-headed hydra, which Hercules slew, was a pestilential marsh; the fable of the Augean stable, that he cleansed by flushing, indicates the nature of the work he did. The sites of Etruscan cities, whose foundation is lost in remote antiquity, still exhibit gigantic works of sewerage and drainage. During the culminating point of Roman civilization, public baths were numerous in all the towns and cities of the Empire, and were accessible at a very low charge,—less than a farthing. In con-

nexion with these baths, there were temples, academies, and gymnasia, or places for athletic exercises; so fully were the means of hygienic art supplied to the people. With the fall of the Roman Empire, hygiene declined with the other arts and sciences, and the populous cities of Europe became in consequence the prey of frequently recurring pestilence. There was no system of sewerage, or drainage; the streets were unpaved, and uncleansed, and so narrow, that ventilation was almost impossible. The houses were also constructed with little regard to health, and the domestic arrangements were of a very imperfect character. Population continually increased, especially within the fortified cities, where life and property were safest, and where the arts, commerce, and manufactures flourished. But the same circumstance which protected life from violence, endangered it. The ever-increasing crowds, cooped up in a narrow space, added to the danger of epidemical outbreaks in a geometrically increasing ratio, until at last the "visitation" came, and swept away a fourth, a third, nay, not unfrequently a half, of the population. It was when mediæval civilization was at its culminating point in Europe, and large and flourishing commercial cities were in the full zenith of prosperity, that a terrible epidemic, termed "the Black Death," burst forth, and, by its fearful ravages, (with the mysterious permission of Divine Providence,) threw back the entire of European civilization. This epidemic (in the words of its historian, Hecher) was a convulsion of the human race, unequalled in violence and extent. It fills a page of history that speaks of incredible disasters, of despair, of general licentiousness, of unbridled demoniacal passions. It appeared first in 1348, when it raged chiefly amongst the poor; it re-appeared in 1360, and was then more prevalent amongst the wealthier classes. It was as universal, but exceedingly more fatal than the Cholera pestilence of modern times. Sailors found no refuge in their ships, and vessels were often seen driving about on the ocean, and drifting on shore, whose crews had perished to the last man. The epidemic was ushered in, and accompanied, by states of the weather, (as droughts and floods,) and terrestrial and atmospheric changes, (as earthquakes and meteors,) closely similar to those which have recently occurred. Nor were the concomitant diseases dissimilar from those now prevalent. Boils and carbuncles have of late been remarkably common. In the last Quarterly Return, (quarter ending 31st of March,) it is observed, "Carbuncle has been unusually fatal; the deaths in the last five quarters have been one, two, three, seventeen, twenty." So it was also during "the Black Death." Now, also, and lately, fevers are, and have been, unusually destructive; the yellow fever in the West; Cholera, influenza, dysentery, typhus, scarlatina, small-pox, in Europe: such, also, was the case at the epoch we speak of. But, although the great cosmic causes are now the same as then, (inasmuch as these are beyond the reach of man,)

and although epidemical fevers have been, therefore, more than usually prevalent, and deaths more frequent, yet the *removable* causes being incalculably less intense, the mortality is proportionately smaller. Herein is fully shown what an improved system of hygiène has done for modern society. The Cholera of 1818-19 slew 53,293 men, women, and children, in the whole of England; if it had been as fatal as "the Black Death," at least 1,000,000 would have perished! That pestilence destroyed in the then London, with its limited population, not fewer than 100,000; in Norwich, 51,100. In the whole of Europe, *twenty-five millions* died of it, or about one-fourth of the population.

A succession of pestilential epochs continued in Europe during the succeeding centuries, and in England to the last great plague in London, in 1665. In the following year, (most fortunately for this country,) a great fire destroyed a large part of that city, and so ushered in an improved system of street architecture, as well in London as in all the principal towns of the kingdom. The mortality still remained high, nevertheless,—being more than twice the present rate,—and febrile diseases of a bad type were very prevalent; but nothing like the destruction of the periodic pestilential epochs again happened. When the Black Death had ceased its ravages for a century, a new and very fatal pestilence appeared in England, which was termed "the Sweating Sickness." Chroniclers say that, of those attacked, hardly one in a hundred escaped. The first great outbreak was in 1485, in London, immediately after the battle of Bosworth: by the end of the year, it had spread over the whole of England. The humidity of that year was remarkable; throughout the whole of Europe, the rain fell in torrents. The previous years had also been remarkable in this respect; an inundation of the Severn caused immense destruction in October, 1483, as it did just 369 years subsequently (last year). During the whole of this period, Europe suffered from plague, putrid fevers, and various pestilential diseases. The summer of 1504 was very hot and dry; of 1505, was very wet: in 1506, there was an eruption of Vesuvius; in the same year, the Sweating Sickness again broke out in England, while a new form of pestilence, the petechial fever, (a spotted typhus,) devastated Southern and Central Europe. This epidemic period continued for five years, the influenza being one form, the bubo-plague another, and a murrain destroying the cattle, as in previous pestilences. Here, again, we trace a similarity between the then meteorological conditions, and those of the present time. The Sweating Sickness broke out for a third time in England, in 1517, and caused great destruction of life in London, during the summer of that year, amongst all classes. This outbreak was comparatively local, and was attributed to the unclean habits of the English. Erasmus, describing the "truly Scythian filth of the English habitations," says, "The floors of the houses, generally, are made of nothing but loam, and are strewed with rushes,

which, being constantly put on fresh, without a removal of the old, remain lying there, in some cases for twenty years, with fish-bones, broken victuals, and other filth underneath, and impregnated with the urine of dogs and men." Although the Sweating Sickness did not prevail on the Continent of Europe, other pestilential diseases were present contemporaneously therewith. The same coincidences were observed during the fourth outbreak of the Sweating Sickness in England, in 1528. This was emphatically designated "the great mortality" by the historians of the time. The autumn of the preceding year was remarkable for the continuously heavy rains; and, in Upper Italy, the astrologers announced a new deluge. In the subsequent years, also, earthquakes, meteors, floods, &c., were unusually frequent; so that this outbreak occurred, likewise, under meteorological conditions analogous to the present. In 1529, the Sweating Sickness appeared in Hamburgh; spread thence throughout Germany, and, reaching the army of Soliman, then besieging Vienna, caused the siege to be raised. It was introduced, July 25th, by a ship from England, commanded by one Captain Hermann Evans. It afterwards spread over the Netherlands, and the North of Europe. During its fearful prevalence, the Reformation was struggling into existence, and the faggot and the stake added to its horrors. Erasmus, in one of his Epistles, concentrates in a few words a description of affairs: "*Nusquam pax, nullum iter tutum est, rerum charitate, penuriâ, fame, pestilentia laboratur ubique, sectis dissecta sunt omnia; ad tantam malorum lernam accessit letalis sudor, multos intra horas octo tollens e medio,*" &c. The Papists attributed the pestilence to the anger of heaven against the Protestants, or "Martinicans," as the followers of Luther were called at Lübeck.

The fifth and last visitation of the Sweating Sickness commenced on the 15th of April, 1537, at Shrewsbury, where nine hundred and sixty persons died of it in a few days. It ravaged England until the autumn of the same year. It spared neither rank, age, nor sex, lasting in each place not longer than fifteen days. During this epidemic, the first English sanitary publication appeared; it was a "Booke or Counsell against the Disease commonly called the Sweate, or Sweating Sickness. Made by Ihon Caius, Doctour in Physicke, very necessary for every Personne, and much requisite to be had in the Handes of al Sortes, for their better Instruction, Preparacion, and Defence against the soubdein Comyng, and fearful Assaultyng of the same Disease. 1532." Dr. John Key, or Kay, thought it necessary to explain that the reason why he did not write in Greek or Latin, (as was his wont,) but in English, was, "the necessity of the matter, and good will to his country friends and acquaintance;" for the destructiveness of the disease was to him "a heavy and pityful thing to hear or see." His description of the suddenness and violence of the disease is singularly graphic. It "immediately

killed some in opening their windows, some in playing with children in their street doors; some in one hour, many in two, it destroyed; and at the longest, to them that merrily dined, it gave a sorrowful supper. As it found them, so it took them; some in sleep, some in wake; some in mirth, some in care; some fasting, and some full; some busy, and some idle; and in one house sometime three, sometime five, sometime seven, sometime eight, sometime more, sometime all; of the which, if the half in every town escaped, it was thought great favour." This remark shows that the mortality of those attacked was about the same as that of the Cholera. His instructions for "the preseruacion" are very sound. The diet must be moderate and good; and to this end he would have "certain masters of health in every city and town, as there is in Italy," to examine all articles of food and drink. As to the air, he advises the "taking away the causes of infection," regarding which he is very specific. "Take away the causes we may in cleansing ditches, avoiding carrions, letting in open air, shunning such evil mists as before I spake of, not opening or stirring evil breathing places, landing muddy and rotten grounds, burying dead bodies, keeping canals clean, sinks and easing-places sweet, removing dung-hills, box and evil-savouring things; inhabiting high and open places, close toward the south, shut toward the wind, as reason will, and the experience of M. Varro in the pestilence at Coreyra confirmeth." One or two sound maxims he clinches in a good old English way: *e. g.*, "And for so much as cleanliness is a great help to health, mine advice is, that all your clothes be sweet smelling and clean," &c. And, again: "Good means to fet out the evil stuff of the body be two,—abstinence and avoidance;" or, "For making our bodies lusful, galliard, and healthful, I do not a little commend exercise."

The Sweating Sickness was replaced from this time by "the Plague," several epidemics of which occurred in London and elsewhere, until the last great Plague of 1665. Mr. Farr, in his Report on Cholera, gives diagrams of the mortality in London during five of these outbreaks; namely, during the years 1593, 1603, 1625, 1636, 1665. De Foe has made the horrors of these "visitations" in London familiar to the English reader. Amongst the Reports to the Health of Towns' Commission, there is a Report by Dr. Laycock "On the Epidemics of York, especially those prevalent in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth Centuries, and on their Connection with deficient sanatory Regulations." In this there is an account, together with others, of the occurrence of "a great Plague" in York, in 1604; during which, from *data* taken from the parish registers and municipal records, it is shown that from one-half to one-third of the population of the city perished. From the repeated recurrence of the same name in the parish registers, with the degree of relationship, it is manifest that whole families were carried off. Thus, three daughters and

two sons of William Porson, a goldsmith, are registered in one parochial register, as interred between the 21st of August and 1st of September inclusive; the goldsmith being interred himself on the 7th. Richard Cararte, the apothecary, two sons, and a daughter, are buried between the 2nd and 18th of September; his wife, Cicelly, follows them on the 4th of October. These details, as is remarked in the Report, need no comment. "Simple as they are, they sufficiently exhibit the domestic distress and desolation caused, not only by this epidemic, but also by those oft-recurring pestilences of the previous centuries."

To what circumstances is due the immunity from "great plagues" and "visitations" experienced by the United Kingdom during the last two centuries? They are very various. In the first place, medical science has been much extended and popularized. An intelligent layman of the nineteenth century is far better acquainted with the practice of medicine, and the *materia medica*, than was the most learned physician of the fifteenth. This knowledge has had an imperceptible, but most powerful, influence on the health of the people, by bringing the daily minute circumstances of life under the control of an unexpressed but all-pervading hygiene. Secondly. The contagious and infectious class of fevers are better understood, and, therefore, treated much more successfully; while, as to one of them, the small-pox, an efficient means of prevention has been discovered in the practice of vaccination. Thirdly. It is of essential importance that fresh vegetables should constitute a part of the diet of man: cereals alone, however abundant, are not sufficient for health; and when used unmixed with fresh vegetable food, there arises a condition of the system very similar to that of sea-scurvy, if not identical with it; a condition which strongly pre-disposes the individual to suffer from all kinds of fevers. In the general use of the potato, the people of modern times possess an incalculable advantage over their ancestors in protection from epidemic diseases. Perhaps no circumstance was so generally unknown to the public during the months succeeding to the destruction of the potato-crop, as the relation between an imperfect supply of that fresh vegetable, and the greatly-increased mortality from typhus, noted at that time. Fourthly. The development of the textile manufactures, especially of linen and cotton, has placed the means of personal cleanliness within the reach of classes to which they were previously unattainable; while the more equal diffusion of wealth, consequent upon the rapid extension of trade and commerce, has led to the construction of better dwellings for the people.

Concurrently with these advantages, as regards individual hygiene, a knowledge of the wide-spread malignancy of overcrowding, and of marsh and sewer emanations, became more diffused amongst the medical profession, and passed from their ranks to those of the political economists. Long after the evil

effects of these poisonous effluvia were recognised, the means to obviate them were entirely wanting. Howard's labours checked the development of jail-fevers; army and navy surgeons energetically diminished the mortality from ship and camp fevers, and from scurvy; but it was not until very recently that the sanitary condition of the poorer classes was thoroughly investigated, with a view to the amelioration of their sufferings. It would be invidious and prolix to mention the names of those physicians, surgeons, legislators, and political economists who have devoted their energies to the elucidation of this question, and to the enactment of suitable measures of protection; but we may refer especially to some of these. The reports made to the Poor-Law Board, and the result of the investigations and inquiries which were carried on by Mr. Chadwick the Secretary, take the first rank. In 1838 certain physical causes of fever and of sickness and mortality in the metropolis were investigated by Dr. Neil Arnott, Dr. James P. Kay, and Dr. Southwood Smith. Their reports led to an extension of the inquiry to the country generally; and the "Local Reports," and "General Report on the Sanitary Condition of the labouring Population of Great Britain" of 1842, followed. The appearance of these volumes constitutes an era in economical legislation. They may be said to be the basis of a new charter, which the working population in all civilized countries, as well as in Great Britain, have had conferred upon them by the State; for in them the State is seen, for the first time, grappling in earnest, and in a spirit of true science, with the weighty evils which had long degraded and destroyed the mass of the people. The information thus accumulated aroused public attention to the gigantic magnitude of the evils, while it demonstrated them; but a public *opinion* was hardly formed, and Government felt itself unable to grapple with them by legislation, until a further inquiry into the existing condition of the law, as applicable to the removal of these evils, had been instituted, and the evils themselves further investigated. This led to the appointment of the Health of Towns' Commission, and to a still more searching and extended inquiry. Very elaborate Reports, Local and General, embodying an amount of hygienic knowledge never before collected so accurately and so extensively, was the result. The Reports were widely circulated; Health of Towns' Associations were formed; public opinion was concentrated on the Legislature by public meetings and petitions; and, after some delay and much difficulty, the Health of Towns' Act was passed, and a General Board of Health established. By that Act, the execution of all works of public hygiène was intrusted to local corporate bodies, acting under the control of the General Board. Some of these have already commenced operations; others are about to commence. This, then, is the position of England at the present moment with regard to public hygiène; these are the means that have been used, and will

be used. What must be its future? and how can the people attain a reduction to that rate of mortality which is the will of Divine Providence?

We have already seen that it is by KNOWLEDGE of the means to health, and of the causes of disease, that we have been, and are, so singularly blessed as a people, and saved from those fearful ravages of the destroying angel which we have briefly sketched. It is by knowledge only that the primal curse can be further alleviated, and suffering and sin, disease and death, so far as they are dependent upon *removable* causes, removed. That this knowledge must be applied and directed in a different way than heretofore, will appear very obvious from a simple consideration of the duties of Local Boards of Health. They have the same position in relation to the local communities which they represent, as the legislature holds to the people at large. They are legislators for the health of the people. But they are more than this; in many points they are the executive also. Now, even as legislators, it is not possible for men to enact wisely or well, without a knowledge of the subject-matter of legislation; but in men acting as judges and the executive, such knowledge is absolutely imperative for the ends of justice and truth. Have, then, the members of Local Boards of Health that knowledge of their subject-matter, *hygiène*, which will fully qualify them for their important duties? We fear that the unhesitating reply to this question must be in the negative. They are intelligent men, for the most part; not a few are educated men; but it must be acknowledged, that hardly one in a hundred has studied *hygiène* as a science or an art. That study has hitherto been limited to the medical profession, or rather, to a limited number of the more active minds of that profession. *Hygiène, as a science*, has certainly been much more cultivated in France and Germany than in the United Kingdom. Chairs of *Hygiène* are found in the schools and universities of the former, but not in the latter; and while French and German literature abounds in special works on *hygiène*, they are few, and of an elementary character only, in English literature. *Hygiène, as an art*, has, we think, been more developed in England, of late years at least. Perhaps, on some points, as the interment of the dead, the prevention of small-pox, the repression of quackery, the detection of mischievous adulterations in food and drink, and some minor points, we are behind the Continent; but in sewerage and drainage, supply of water, ventilation, warming and lighting of workshops and dwellings, diet and personal cleanliness, and the like, we may fairly claim to be somewhat in advance. These advantages have been gained independently of a system, and simply in virtue of that practical quality of the English mind which induces the individual to grapple with an evil when it is fully demonstrated to exist.

If, then, knowledge be so necessary to success, and if the pro-

ple of England have grappled so successfully with the causes of disease and death, with an unsystematic culture of public and individual hygiène, what may not be expected to result from making *the art and science* A PART OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE? And this brings us to the principal object we have had in view in this article, namely, the advocacy of that measure.

The reasons for making the theory and practice of hygiène a part of the national system of education, are very various. Some are obvious enough; others require elimination. Let us take *individual* hygiène first. Nothing is more obviously true than the proposition, that whatever knowledge will enable the youth of this country to possess sound bodily health, should be communicated; and it may be said, that the proposition is universally acted upon, so far as the knowledge of parents and teachers carries them.* But the information communicated is often of the most imperfect character, and is sometimes no knowledge at all, but error. The practised eye sees in these efforts only the blind leading the blind. It is a primary requisite, therefore, to a national system of *individual* hygiène, that the study of its principles and practice should be systematic, and constitute a part of the training of school-teachers. When once this class is duly indoctrinated, the further steps will be easy. In the first place, the general *practice* of individual hygiène will become systematic. It will be a part of school routine; and, being constantly so adopted, will form finally the *habitual* practice of the adult population. Another important reason is, that the *moral* effects of personal cleanliness are very great; corporeal purity is constantly associated with high mental and moral culture. Hence it is proverbial, that "cleanliness is next to godliness." The entire doctrines and practice of hygiène have, in fact, PURITY as their sole object. The science teaches the principles whereby that purity may be obtained; the art, the mode in which those principles may be carried out. Let our reader take *purity of the atmosphere* as a starting-point, and to how many important doctrines and practices will he not be led! The *ventilation* of all places in which the atmosphere is confined, is necessary to the purity of that atmosphere, and is a most important part of hygiène. All localities where the people congregate, whether for business, or pleasure, or religious duty, must be ventilated; that is, have the atmosphere constantly changed. The Courts of Law and of Parliament, camps, churches, chapels, public rooms, school-rooms, work-shops, factories, mines, ships, hospitals, asylums, workhouses, dwellings, are special instances. Now, *the laws of motion* of the atmosphere

* As these sheets are passing through the press, we learn that the Clergy of Leeds are directing public attention to the *physical* education of the children in the National Schools.

must be taught, before the *principles* of ventilation, under the most ordinary circumstances, can be understood. Ventilation implies that the replacing atmosphere is pure,—that is, unmingled with foreign matters; but it is constantly liable to be rendered impure from numerous causes, and thereby becomes more or less deadly. The emanations from the skin and lungs of living beings, as well as the abstraction of the oxygen by the respiratory process, deteriorate the air. When these accumulate, and no provision is made for a replacement of the atmosphere, so as to dilute them, or carry them off, a class of fever is caused, of which *Typhus* is the type. Such a fever was generated in the Black Hole at Calcutta, and is even now produced in workhouses, &c. Emanations from the *excretions* of living beings render the atmosphere impure: if these accumulate, and are breathed in sufficiently large quantities, they induce another class of fevers, termed the *Typhoid*, in which diarrhœa, cholera, or ulceration of the bowels, are leading symptoms. The *sewerage* of houses and towns is the means whereby the sources of these emanations are carried off; and as there is a daily and hourly production of the excretions, equally, constantly, and uninterruptedly available must be the system of removal. Hence it is, that a knowledge of the laws of movement of fluids, or semi-fluids, is necessary in forming a complete system of sewerage for any given locality. The emanations from decaying animal and vegetable matter are deadly fever poisons. The interment of the dead amongst the living is, therefore, utterly inadmissible; and the question of *public cemeteries* becomes, consequently, of great public importance to all large towns and cities. In the metropolis, one thousand human bodies have to be disposed of every week. The emanations from decaying vegetable matter cause ague, in all its forms, “jungle-fever,” &c. They require moisture for their production; and are, therefore, most largely developed in marshes or marshy ground. Works of *drainage* for a large district are often necessary to render a given locality healthy in this respect. The influence of imperfect drainage on epidemical disease is admirably demonstrated in the “Report on Cholera.” A diagram shows the population of London as if living at different levels, or on a succession of terraces. The deaths on the lowest terrace, namely, 20 feet above the Thames level, were 102 per 10,000; on the highest terrace, or 340–360 feet above the level, they were only 7, or one-eighteenth of the lowest. If 102 be divided successively by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, it gives the progressive diminution of mortality as we ascend from terrace to terrace, the elevation being 10, 30, 50, 70, 90 feet. The same principle operated throughout the entire kingdom during the cholera epidemic.

These are large and comprehensive facts as to the impurities of the atmosphere, simply as to their influence on the animal economy, and as to the means of removing them. It was impurities

from these sources which were the primary and principal causes of the epidemics of the middle ages. Science was not then developed so as to enable mankind either to grapple with them or detect their true relations to disease. Such is not the condition of society in modern times; the mystery is almost wholly unraveled; the true causes, modes of development, and the sources of the mortality of pestilences are almost wholly known, and the means of their extinction indicated. Whether these means shall be rightly used or not depends mainly upon the action of Boards of Health. The right use of the means requires a scientific knowledge of the whole subject; but how can this be brought to bear in practice, unless that necessary knowledge be possessed by the individuals constituting those Boards? Hence arises the necessity for public hygiène being made a part of the educational system of the people. In no other way than this general diffusion of the necessary knowledge can the Boards of Health be reached, so long as they are constituted by popular election. Every English youth, therefore, who may be expected to take a part in public affairs in after-life, should be as prepared by previous instruction for applying the principles of public hygiène, as he is prepared for trade and commerce.

There is another and not less important reason why teaching of hygiène should be made a part of educational routine. The highest standard of health of a people can never be attained, unless the people themselves co-operate in an enlightened spirit with the efforts of the authorities. It is especially in free countries that the conviction, in the minds of the people, of the necessity of sanitary measures must accompany all legislation; otherwise the law will be a dead letter. With the judgment of the people enlightened by instruction, there will be no difficulty in carrying out measures of medical police; if the people be ignorant, the difficulties will be almost insurmountable. Hence, whether we look on the one hand at those who have to be local legislators and executors of the law, or on the other at the people over whom their authority extends, instruction in the laws of health, and the means of preserving it, is alike necessary to both.

Sanitary measures have been ordinarily advocated on economical grounds; that is to say, the pecuniary interests involved have had a chief place in the arguments. We have gone a step farther than this, and said something of the desolation and death caused by removable diseases. We might have gone a step farther still, and placed the question on a religious basis. A people can never attain to the *highest* degree of moral and religious development so long as the physical health is imperfect. It is the law of Divine Providence, that a sound body is necessary to a sound mind, and that both a sound mind and body are necessary to combat successfully with the ills of life. "The people bred on marshy coasts," Mr. Farr observes, "and low river mar-

gins, where pestilence is generated, live sordidly, without liberty, without poetry, without virtue, without science. They neither invent nor practise the arts; they possess neither hospitals, nor castles, nor habitations fit to dwell in; neither farms, freeholds, nor workshops. They are conquered and oppressed by successive tribes of the stronger races, and appear to be incapable of any form of society except that in which they are slaves." These are Truths stamped on the page of universal history; Truths weighty with good to man, if acted upon; Truths which must be acted upon, if Christendom would fulfil its mission. The Gospel of Christ Jesus must go forth, not alone, but with the blessing of physical as well as moral health, of corporal as well as of spiritual regeneration. That Heavenly Wisdom should bear length of days in her right hand: "For by me," she hath declared, "thy days shall be multiplied, and the years of thy life shall be increased." He who healed all manner of diseases, set us thereby an example that we should follow in his steps. To them that literally walk in the valley of the shadow of death, we must make *the* Light to shine; to the enslaved and the oppressed, because physically weak, the blessed Gospel must be sent, with healing, literally, in its wings. To educate a whole Christian people in hygiène is, therefore, a work as glorious and divine as it is useful and economical.

It may now be asked, How is this educational work to be done? We answer, according to the ordinary methods of instruction. All that is wanted is a series of school-books adapted to the different classes of learners. The PRINCIPLES of hygiène are really most simple, and can be made easily intelligible to very young minds. If those simple principles be inculcated as moral truths are inculcated, and at the same time the daily routine of school-duty be made a practical commentary on the principles so taught; the rising generation would be readily indoctrinated with the leading truths of hygiène, and habituated to the daily practice of its precepts. The fundamental truth should be, the *necessity of corporeal purity and vigour*. From this great truth, all minor doctrines and practices would necessarily flow. The details of public and individual hygiène, and the purely scientific facts and doctrines, would be no more difficult to teach to the senior classes of schools, than those of any other practical science. It is true, that as yet there are no suitable class-books; but we can only say as to this point, that we will ourselves guarantee the supply of such books, so soon as the managers of a few schools call for them. Practically, the difficulty would be in the commencement; but this difficulty would be overcome very easily, by constituting a knowledge of the simpler principles of hygiène part of the qualifications of the trained schoolmaster. Emulation in masters, and the competition between scholastic establishments, would soon complete the work.

- ART. VII.—1. *Christianity and Secularism: Report of the Public Discussion between the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., and Mr. G. J. Holyoake.* London: Ward and Co.
2. *Secular Tracts.* By the REV. J. H. HINTON, M.A. Nos. 1–5. London: Houlston and Stoneman.
3. *Modern Atheism; or, the Pretensions of Secularism examined. A Course of Four Lectures, delivered in the Athenæum, Thornton, Bradford.* By the REV. J. GREGORY, REV. G. W. CONDER, REV. J. A. SAVAGE, and REV. E. MELLOR, A.M. London: Partridge and Oakey.

THE publications at the head of this article limit our view to that particular phase of infidelity which appeals more especially to our artisans, and which has been recently christened, “after a re-inspection of the general field of controversy,” by the very wide—if not very high-sounding—name, SECULARISM. There is much, after all, in a name. Men hand down their names from sire to son, and it generally requires no small consideration to induce them to change them. Societies are still more tenacious of their old designations; and it must be a very weighty inducement indeed that will bring them to submit to a re-baptism of their principles. Our free-thinkers, if we take their own account of the matter, have made a virtue of necessity. “Skin for skin; yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life.” The eye of Owenism had become dim,—its strength had very much abated; instead of going on conquering and to conquer, it has, for some years past, been losing ground. A change, therefore, became necessary. It was “do” or “die” with it. If one is apt to lose caste in his old clothes, it is not bad policy to exchange them for new ones. If a system is likely to be crushed to death under an ugly name, self-preservation would dictate the course of throwing it off, and assuming a fairer one. Secularism is more inviting than atheism. The sunlight may play about the one; the shadow of death rests on the other. A bad sign keeps customers away from the shop: have recourse, then, to the expedient of getting it newly lettered and painted. Such is the grand result of the re-inspection of the general field of controversy.

Having looked at the sign, we enter the shop-door and inspect the wares. This is what we now purpose doing in regard to Secularism. That black term, “atheist,” by which the public understand, “one who is without God and without morality,” no longer meets the view. It is effaced; and to revive it, would be followed by an indictment for defamation of character. Not even the word “infidel” is to be heard, because our conscientious free-thinkers are faithful to what they consider the truth,—a reason urged by all sceptics; so that the word, if allowed to stand in our dictionaries, might be marked “obsolete.” People, however, in spite of all such protests, will call things by their

appropriate names; and if our Secularists hold by their old atheistical and infidel principles, (and they warn us against supposing that they have abandoned them,) they must expect either to be called atheists and infidels, or to find Secularism looked upon as atheistical. It is a change of tactics; not a change of principle. We will not taunt them with abating a jot of their hatred to Christianity, simply because they have not done so; nor will we charge them with an increase of their enmity, because that is impossible. The banyan tree, in their estimation, is the symbol of religion. The belief in a God, distinct from nature, is "the great trunk." The Secularist axe has been long hewing at it, but it remains as steadfast as ever. The woodman has left the trunk only for a season, and is levelling his blows at the outer branches; but he looks all the while to the destruction of the great trunk, in order to effect the fall of the tree. In short, Secularism is to enlist sappers and woodcutters of all characters, and from every quarter. The tree has many trunks, and sends many independent roots into the soil. They may take their choice. Those who are not prepared to lay the axe at the great trunk, can cut through some of the branches. Demolition is the chief thing, no matter where you begin. Secularism has standing-room, and full employment, for sceptical gentlemen of all grades. All men, in short, are tolerated; some at the trunk, others at the branches; excepting always those who bear the name and badge of a Christian.

Secularism is the child of Owenism; and the child, like the parent, has been well steeped in atheism. The pretensions of the one are as big as ever were the pretensions of the other. It is held out as the lever to elevate the working-classes. It has long been familiar to our artisans in the metropolis, and in large towns in manufacturing districts. Societies have been organized, in many places, for its propagation. The itinerant lecturer declaims on it, week after week, to congregated workmen. It has its cheap periodical literature also. No system acts more on the principle of becoming all things to all men, in order that it may win some. Persuaded that its pretensions need only to be unmasked in order to discover its wretchedness,—that its principles need but be looked at in order to our seeing their shallow and unphilosophical nature,—that its destructive tendencies need only be pointed out to convince our artisans that it is the enemy of all their interests,—we, of the London Quarterly, would claim a hearing from our intelligent workmen, while weighing the claims of Secularism.

Secularism is the philosophy of the things of time. Its first dogma is, "*Nature is the only subject of knowledge.*" Other philosophies have embraced the spiritual world in their speculations, and have had regard to the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of man; but Secularism shuts them quite out at one entrance, and would keep our thoughts pent up

beneath the skies, interdicting to its disciples all inquiry beyond. This is vaunted as a philosophy, founded in the nature of things, and in the constitution of man, which is to re-cast and elevate humanity ! We may expect, then, to gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles. Most assuredly, it has no foundation in man's conscience and moral instincts. It is built on the mere outside of humanity, and practically ignores man as a being possessed of heart and soul, of thought, and imaginings, and longings, which wander throughout eternity. But let us look at the dogma itself, and in its relations. Here our first inquiry is as to its truth. Supposing that this position had been reached by what seemed a chain of close and indissoluble links of argumentation, there would still have been room left for this inquiry. Our moral instincts, in such a case, would have put us on our guard against the illusions of logic. It has been well said, that "the best-reasoned is not always the most reasonable conclusion ; and when, from any logical conclusion, the soul and conscience recoil, we may well believe that there is some real, though latent, error, either in the basis on which we have argued, or the superstructure of argument which we have erected upon it."* But here is no argumentation whatever. The first dogma of Secularism is nothing more than a naked assertion,—an unsupported assumption, which conflicts with the general experience of the race, and contravenes the indestructible principles of man's moral nature. Neither savage nor sage, neither philosopher nor peasant, has acted on the belief, that nature is the only subject of knowledge. Man, in the strength of his moral instincts, notwithstanding all his mental aberrations and perversions of conscience, has passed beyond the seen and temporal, and felt, that within the sphere of the knowable lay the unseen and eternal. On the principle, that instincts imply the existence of their objects, there must be something beyond the nature which we know ; else, human nature were a compound of errors and absurdities,—of adaptations without ends,—of instincts without objects,—of hopes and aspirations without realities on which to rest. In short, man's body would far excel man's soul ; for in the organization of the one we see a system of exquisite adaptations, having their corresponding objects ; whereas, on the supposition in question, the constitution of the other were an anomaly,—an ever-acting system of illusions.

The adherents of Secularism are expected, by their great master, practically to ignore the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state, on account of their alleged uncertainty ; and to concur in giving a primary, if not exclusive, attention to the things of sense and time. Questions which, in all ages, have had an extensive influence on practice, and which men, in spite of all teaching to the contrary, have brought to bear on human

* Sir James Stephen's "Lectures on the History of France," vol. ii., p. 235.

affairs, are to be shelved as theoretical, and “not settled.” We look with amazement at the position which Mr. Holyoake himself occupies; but our amazement increases when we think of the position in which he would place his followers. His own opinion is, that there is no Personal God, and no future life. His oft-repeated axiom is, “The nature which we know, must be the God which we seek;” and in nature he recognises but the properties of matter. The eternity of the universe is considered by him to be a less mystery than the eternity of a First Cause as its originator; and he wishes to halt in the former, and not to trouble himself about the other. We look, we say, in utter astonishment at the man who, in view of the wondrous manifestations of nature, talks of its being a degradation to assign it the second, instead of the first, rank;—to regard it as created and presided over by a Supreme Intelligence, instead of being self-existent and self-controlled. It would not surprise us to hear him, when looking upon some of the pictures of Raphael, or when moving among the statues in the British Museum, maintain, that it discredits the paintings and the sculpture to regard them as the productions of great minds. No doubt, St. Paul’s Cathedral, which so frequently meets Mr. Holyoake’s eye, would have been a vastly more wondrous structure than it is, had it arisen out of the earth, like an exhalation, instead of its being the effect of the genius of Sir Christopher Wren. Matter degraded, when viewed as the product of an Infinite Mind! This is a complete reversal of the general judgment of mankind. It is a violent interdict, placed upon the outgoings of our moral instincts and feelings. Consistency requires the man who holds it to fix himself in the position, that intelligent design is no proof whatever of an intelligent designer. And if nature, or matter, with all its wondrous properties, is to be elevated from the second to the first rank, the result will be the substitution of material idolatry, or objective pantheism, for the worship of an All-perfect Mind.

No arguments for the existence of a God distinct from nature, will satisfy our Secularist expounder, because they do not give him certainty. It is in vain to tell him that moral evidence is the appropriate proof of moral truth, and that, just because the evidence is moral, it is not irresistible. The absurdity in his case is, in demanding evidence of a kind or degree that the subject, from its nature, does not admit. Such a man, indeed, is not to be reasoned with. He puts himself *hors de combat*. Besides, what certainty has he that nature is the only subject of knowledge? that the nature which we know, must be the God which we seek? None whatever. It is a mere assumption. He cannot be certain that there is nothing above and beyond nature. Men in all ages—some few sceptics excepted—have felt and acted as if they were morally certain that there is. Demonstrative certainty on the subject is unattainable. It were

inconsistent with our condition, as moral and accountable agents. Our intellects may crave for entire certainty, both in reference to the existence of a God and a future state. But we must, after all, be content with our lot. Here, then, is our choice: Partial satisfaction to the intellect, in regard to the belief in a Divine Being distinct from nature, is, at least, attainable. Not a whit more than partial satisfaction to the intellect (if even so much) can be claimed for the dogma, that nature is the only subject of knowledge. But man has a heart as well as a head. His conscience and moral instincts recoil from accepting the nature we know, as the God we seek, and demand, as their satisfying portion, the existence of a Supreme, and absolutely perfect, Intelligence. The man who rests in nature as the only subject of knowledge, accepting the nature we know as the God we seek, and repudiating all arguments for the existence of a Personal God, because they do not give him absolute certainty, is guilty of two things. In the first place, he is chargeable with absurdity in rejecting, because of its alleged uncertainty, a proposition which mankind in general have received as true; and in adopting an opposite proposition, for which he has no greater certainty, and which men almost universally have disowned as false. In the second place, he is guilty of thwarting his conscience and moral instincts, and of repudiating a truth which is absolutely necessary to the moral perfection of man. "Atheism," as Dr. Arnold remarks, "separates truth from goodness, and scepticism destroys truth altogether; both of which are monstrosities, from which we should revolt as from a real madness. All speculations of the kind are to be repressed by the will." Intellectually and morally, the individual is in a very false position, who halts in the assumption, that the nature we know is the God we seek; and we cannot refrain from looking in utter astonishment at the man who deems the eternity of the universe to be a less mystery, than the eternity of a Supreme Intelligence as the originator of the universe.

Still more amazing, however, is the position in which the leader of Secularism would place his followers. He is not careful, in certain circumstances, to conceal his own atheism. But, coming before the public as the apostle and expounder of Secularism, he maintains "a discretionary silence" on this point, and *merely* asks, that we practically concur in preferring the present and temporal to the spiritual and future. He does not insist upon it as a *sine quâ non* of Secularism,—that we hold, theoretically, that nature is the only subject of knowledge; that we disbelieve in the existence of a future life and a Personal Deity; but, that we think, feel, and act as if we did. We can understand a man, however much we may condemn his argumentative, and commiserate his moral, position, who, disbelieving in the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state, gives an

exclusive attention to the seen and temporal. But it baffles us to comprehend how, on the supposition that there may be a God and a future life,—yea, how, short of the certainty that there is no God and no future life,—men can reasonably be called upon to live as if there were no God, and as if the present scene were the whole of man. If an individual avow there is no God, then his is a desperate consistency,—but consistency it is,—who turns to the world the practical side of atheism. But if a man cannot go so far as this avowal,—if he has the idea that there may be a God and a future life,—then, we say, it is unpardonable recklessness to ask men to act the part of atheists, while their conscience and moral instincts withhold them from the position of atheism itself; as it would be a moral crime, on their part, did they practically deny God and futurity, give the preference to the seen and present, while feeling that they had no certainty of the non-existence of a Supreme Being, to whom they must hereafter give account. Like some unresolved question in physics, it is required of all would-be Secularists, that they put aside the doctrines of the divine existence and the future condition of man, as not settled. Men can breathe the air and enjoy the light without having any settled opinions, or any opinions at all, about the transmission of the sun's rays through the atmosphere. Their belief or disbelief in the matter does not, in the least, affect their breathing or their seeing. They may move well enough through the world, ignoring all such questions, leaving them open to the solution of intelligence and time, and say, in reference to them, "Not settled." But human nature, from its very constitution, cannot do this in regard to such awfully momentous moral subjects as those now before us. Man's conscience and moral instincts point to the being of a God and to a future life; and, unless our Secularist reformer can fall on some expedient of tearing conscience from the heart of humanity, or of keeping down these instincts as with a dead weight, men will continue to be influenced by them, as questions that are sufficiently settled for operating on their hopes and fears. We must be certain that there is no God to whom we are hereafter accountable, before we can rationally be expected to ignore his existence, to shut up our thoughts and aspirations between the material earth and heavens, and to give the preference exclusively to the seen and temporal. Not only is there no certainty for such negations, but everything points in the contrary direction. The constitution of the world, and the constitution of individual man, independently of that sure word of prophecy, which has "brought life and immortality to light," direct us upward, from the seen to the unseen, from the creature to the Creator, from time to eternity. Thus it is that, both by the strength of our moral instincts, and by the right exercise of our intellect, we arrive at the conclusion of its being settled that nature is *not* the only subject of knowledge. The appeal is made neither to a

man's understanding nor to his conscience ; neither the light of his reason nor of his moral sense is invoked ; but the passions and depraved inclinations are enlisted, when men are asked, practically to concur in preferring the present and temporal to the future and spiritual.

A second fundamental principle of Secularism, and one which necessarily arises out of the first, is, that *science is the providence of man*. This is the basis on which Mr. George Combe has reared his "Constitution,"—that great storehouse from which Secularism has derived so much of its ammunition,—that wonderful book which our Secularist apostle would carry across the seas, and distribute on the banks of the Ganges ; every single copy of which is to do or undo on the Indian mind the work of a hundred New Testaments. We wonder why the mission has not been begun, why there is not a *Reasoner's* fund for this object ; and why the apostle, not having succeeded to his heart's wish at home, should not long ago have taken ship, and, with a package of "the People's Edition" of the "Constitution,"—the New Testament of Secularism,—have instilled into the minds of listening Hindoos the great regenerative truth,—that science is the providence of man.

But, leaving the banks of the Ganges as an open field to the great Secularist trio,—Owen, Holyoake, and Combe,—let us look at this dogma which is to be instrumental in effecting the world's salvation. The first thing which strikes us is, that there is some truth in it. But the truth is there, just as the food is in the poisonous dish. It is overborne and destroyed by the error. Nevertheless, the little element of truth is necessary, as a sugar coating to the big pill of falsehood. Science does much for man. It unlocks the great magazine of divine contrivances, and unfolds to our view the wondrous works of God. It furnishes man directly with means for promoting his material well-being. Science, rightly applied, enables us to take care of our health, to ward off danger, and, not unfrequently, is instrumental in rescuing us from peril when involved in it. Every miner who carries with him a Davy's safety-lamp into the atmosphere of fire-damp where he labours ; every life-boat that makes its way, like an angel of mercy, to the sinking ship, and rescues the crew from a watery grave ; every railway-passenger that carries in his pocket a life-insurance ticket ;—all such expedients as these are illustrations of the truth, that in science there is a providence for man. It was not left to our Secularists to discover this, nor is it a principle peculiar to their teaching. Every sick person who has sent for a physician, every householder who has taken the precaution to guard his dwelling against the lightning's stroke, has, in the sense of science supplying us with means for securing material well-being, acted on the belief, that in science there is a providence. But the Secularist principle is something different

from this. It usurps the place of Divine Providence, under whose control are all the providential means of science; and it assumes the monstrous untruth, that science is the *sole* providence of man. To a man who does not believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, distinct from nature, this position is a necessary refuge. It is not so, however, with the enlightened theist. Science conducts us into the region of material laws; but it does not take these laws out of the hands of the lawgiver. They are the means by which God ordinarily carries on his providential government. The existence of law does not more naturally imply the existence of the lawgiver, than does the continued operation of law imply the agency of the law-controller. It is altogether an assumption,—an assumption which leaves inexplicable much in the world's history, and from which our moral instincts, in proportion to their strength, recoil,—that this glorious universe moves on in its march of evolution, and that man fulfils his high destiny, under the providence of no higher power than pre-established laws, or the rules of methodized science. It is agreeable neither to the light of the intellect, nor of the conscience, that science is the providence of man. It is difficult, indeed, to see how any man, unless it be with a view of excluding Him from His moral government, can take up a position that excludes God from His providential agency. And to the natural judgments of mankind, it is much more mysterious to conceive of this world as self-guided, than to conceive of it as upheld by the power, and governed by the wisdom, of Him who called it into existence.

As a sort of corollary to this proposition, it is added, "spiritual dependence may lead to material destruction." Here is truth, also; but not the truth which our Secularist designs to convey. His meaning, as first stated by him, is, that *absolute* spiritual dependence may lead to material destruction. But, as if conscious of exaggeration,—feeling it to be too palpable, that absolute spiritual dependence is not the doctrine of Scripture, nor of any body of Christians,—he afterwards modifies the expression, while he argues according to its original form. If a man expects the accomplishment of certain ends, without using the appropriately prescribed means, that is spiritual dependence,—absolute spiritual dependence,—and it may lead, yea, in certain cases, infallibly will lead, to material destruction. Let a man, for example, pray ever so long, and with ever so much seeming fervour, "Give us this day our daily bread," while doggedly refusing to work; and the likelihood is, that his spiritual dependence will involve his material destruction. But no man of common honesty will hold this forth as the doctrine of the Bible. The Great Teacher sent from God, when tempted in the wilderness to exercise such absolute spiritual dependence, repelled the temptation with all the strength of his holy indignation. Scripture precepts, which always link human duty and divine promise

together, thus embodying in their connexion the truth of Solomon's saying, "The hand of the diligent maketh rich," disown the doctrine. Never was it believed or acted on by any who, according to general consent, have been distinguished for Christian excellence and benevolent enterprise. The choicest spirits of our race—the true regenerators of the world, the great Reformers of the Church, as well as individuals illustrious for their private worth and benignant doings—have habitually exercised spiritual dependence, but never absolute spiritual dependence. The Secularist expounder knows very well, that the perversion of a doctrine is no proof against the doctrine itself; but it serves his purpose, when mounted on the back of the corruptions of Christianity, to run a tilt against Christianity itself. Were an individual to throw himself down from the London Monument, pretending to trust in the promise,—a promise applicable to no such circumstances,—“He shall give his angels charge over thee; they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone,”—the halls of Secularism would forthwith resound with it; and working-men would be pointed to it, as an illustration of the dogma, that spiritual dependence may lead to material destruction. The objection, as thus urged, might be levelled against every kind of dependence. It might be argued, that a child should place no dependence in his father, because an idle son, contrary to all precept and promise, trusting to his father's resources, was left in abject poverty. We have no controversy, then, with Secularists as to the truth of the abstract proposition. We believe that spiritual dependence, in a certain sense, may lead to material destruction; just as we believe that, in another sense, it may not.

But we have an irreconcilable objection to the inference which they draw from it. On this ground, they declaim against prayer as mischievous and useless; and consider themselves entitled to conclude, that there is no Divine Providence in the world. Prayer cannot be useless, since it is one of our moral instincts. It has a foundation in the very constituent principles of human nature. Men may live without it when their mountain stands strong, when the sky is bright above them, and all is peaceful around them. But, unless a very decided thwarting process has previously been accomplished, there is no instinctive impulse of man's heart that more readily manifests itself, than the cry for help from above, in the season of suffering or peril. Like all our other moral instincts, it is liable to be perverted, manifested in a wrong way, or misdirected in its objects; but the instinct itself is as common as humanity. Its workings are seen in all religions. And on the very reasonable principle, that universally diffused modes of feeling cannot be factitious, but must be natural, do we maintain, that prayer has a firm footing in the moral nature of man. Should it, moreover, be affirmed, that prayer is useless, because it pre-supposes mutability

in the divine purposes, we deny the implication; and deem it sufficient to reply, that it is among the fixed purposes of God, that men must ask for good things in order to obtain them; that in this way we must acknowledge God's supremacy, and our dependence upon Him; that the duty of praying on man's part, as well as the act of giving on God's part, is embraced in the counsels of Him with whom is no variableness, nor any shadow of turning. "For these things will I yet be inquired of," is the immutable decree of Heaven.

But the inutility of prayer is farther alleged on account of its being often unanswered, and the uncertainty, in other cases, whether it be answered or not. These are certainly not very formidable objections. There is not a single passage in the Bible, rightly understood, which warrants the expectation that all prayers would be answered; and no enlightened believer ever prayed under the conviction that all his specific petitions would be answered in a specific way. The general promise is, that God will withhold no good thing from those who petition in a right frame of mind, and in the divinely-appointed manner. It is dependence on this promise that the enlightened believer manifests, in all the special calls for help which he addresses to Heaven; and not dependence on any promise of his particular petition being answered in a particular way. Confidence in the divine wisdom and goodness, and devout submission to the divine will, enter into the very spirit of prayer. "Thou, Father, knowest what is best for me. Not my will, but thine be done." This is the pervading sentiment, uttered or unexpressed, of all true prayer at the mercy-seat. And we appeal to the experience of every man who has led a life of piety, if, in the non-fulfilment of many of his specific petitions, and in the inward help which he received to drink the cup which he prayed might pass from him, his general welfare has not been more truly promoted, and he has not had a richer experience of the truth, that the Hearer of prayer is faithful to His promise, of withholding no good thing from them that ask Him. It were impossible that all specific petitions should be specially answered; and, were it possible, evil in many cases, instead of good, would be the result. We certainly do not hold that prayer is exclusively reflex in its influence, though in that reflex influence we acknowledge part of the blessing; but, on the broad principle which regulates the divine procedure in making all things work together for His people's good, we hold that there is an objective fulfilment in denying as well as in granting. It were just as valid an argument for a child to place no dependence on his father, because that father, from a regard to the child's well-being, refuses him certain things solicited, as it is for a child of God to exercise no spiritual dependence on his heavenly Father, because that Father, in fulfilment of the promise of withholding no good thing, withholds certain things specially prayed for.

The practical argument, however, in this case, as in other

cases, is the true one; and that is, that notwithstanding the metaphysical difficulties which encompass the subject, prayer places us in the attitude best fitted for enduring trials and improving our condition, for resisting evil and aspiring after good. A false spiritual dependence may check human exertion, just as any other false dependence may; but a true spiritual dependence—the attitude in which a man is placed by prayer—stimulates and strengthens it. It is not to the monk in his cave, nor to the nun in her convent, that we look for the practical influence of the Scriptural doctrine of spiritual dependence; but to men of enlightened faith, who have stood forth and battled with the world's vices, and have been chiefly instrumental in carrying on the world's regeneration, or to those who, in private, are shedding noiselessly a hallowed influence around them, and, like their Lord and Master, going about doing good.

But, after all, what does the Secularist objection to the doctrine of Divine Providence amount to? Simply to this,—Interpositions do not take place, and help does not come, at the time and in the way which it is imagined they should. That is to say, a short-sighted mortal, whose view is limited but to a point in a universal system, sits in judgment on the divine procedure, as if he knew the end from the beginning, all the reasons for so acting towards that point, and all its relations to the entire system of which it forms so small a part. The highest human intellect is as sure to err here as a child, accustomed to its cabinet of toys, were that child to give forth its judgment as to the course which, in every case, should be pursued by a cabinet of princes. Doubtless, we would wish that ships should never take fire at sea; that railway accidents should never happen; that Poland, Hungary, and Italy were rescued from the grasp of civil and ecclesiastical despotism; and, had we possessed the means, we would have saved the “Amazon,” and have driven back the armies of Austria and Russia; just as, if we had the power, we would dispense with ships and railways altogether, and take to ourselves wings, and never suffer a despot to sway the sceptre, nor even suffer a despot to be made. But because we would have done this, it is certainly not very wise to say, that Divine Providence would have done it, and then to leap to the conclusion, that because it has not been done, there is no Divine Providence. It is an atom arraigning the moral administration of a world! The Castilian who ventured to declare, that if he had been admitted into the divine counsels, he would have suggested some improvements in the affairs of the universe, is not a personage whom we are wont to admire for his wisdom, but to pity for his weakness, and to condemn on account of his impiety. The weakness and impiety in the case before us are just as pitiable and execrable. In opposition to the Secularist preconception, we would place another, which we deem much more legitimate, *viz.*, that if God exercises a providence in the world, the ways of that providence must, in

many respects, be to us inexplicable. It were just as rational to expect, that we should be able fully to comprehend the divine existence, as to comprehend the divine procedure. We know enough of the wisdom and goodness of the divine dealings to warrant us to conclude, that if we knew them all, we should be convinced that they are worthy of Him who is the best and greatest of all beings. Alphonso's improvements in the physical system would not more certainly have proved destructive blunders, than our Secularist's improvements in the moral system. Like Miranda, he would have sunk the sea within the earth, rather than that the ill-fated “ Amazon ” and her helpless crew had been swallowed up ; and he would sweep oppression clean from the face of the earth on the morrow. Be it remembered, that the magnanimous philosopher who thus speaks is he who objects, that the New-Testament doctrine of spiritual dependence leads to material destruction, and checks human exertion ! If the sailors and crews of Amazons had such interposition as this to trust in, why take precautions against danger ? Dismiss the sailors and let go the ship, and Secularism will take care of her, even though it be at the expense of sinking the sea within the earth ! Secularism—benevolent Secularism !—would at once level the mountains or exalt the plains of this world. It would put individual man in possession of material wealth, and nations in possession of civil liberty, without making them pass through any preparatory process of discipline. There would be no pages of patriotism,—no deeds of heroic valour,—no patience and fortitude manifested under sufferings,—no occasion for showing sympathy to the distressed ; the moral world, in short, would become a dull level plain under the government of Secularism. The hills of difficulty up which nations and individuals have to struggle,—the sea of storms through which our frail barks have to pass,—affording, as they do, occasions for calling forth our best energies and cultivating the moral virtues, bringing us at last to the clear top and the peaceful haven,—are in themselves sufficient, notwithstanding all mystery, to enable us to

“ Assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.”

Whether it be consistent with fact, or not, Secularism is at least consistent with itself, and with its two former positions, in maintaining that *morals are independent of the New Testament*. The three tenets may be said to constitute the A B C of the system, and to lie at the basis of a sound Secularist education. If nature be the only subject of knowledge, and if in science be all the providence which man needs, then the New Testament is either useless as a guide, or impossible, in the sense of its being a revelation from heaven. But the last position is as baseless as the two former ones. Bring it to the bar of experience, and it vanishes like smoke. If all that is done in the name of Chris-

tianity were to be taken as the legitimate fruit of Christianity itself, then it might be maintained, not only that morals are independent of the New Testament, but that the New Testament is opposed to morals. This, however, would be just as honest a trick as to judge of good guineas from bad ones, or to estimate the pure waters of a fountain by the streams which have been corrupted in flowing from it. The broad fact, that immoral professing Christians are reproached by the world with inconsistency, is in itself a proof that the New Testament, in general estimation, is not unfavourable to morals. As to morals being independent of the New Testament, the proposition may be fairly tested, by considering what was the moral state of the world before the New Testament appeared, and what is the moral state of nations and individuals, generally speaking, who are either ignorant of it or uninfluenced by it. It would betray no little hardihood, to assert that Greece and Rome, even in the height of their intellectual refinement, could bear comparison, in a moral point of view, with the present social condition of England, where, though the artistic skill of the Greeks is wanting, the presence of the New Testament is felt. The wretchedly vicious and degraded portion of our fellow-subjects, living in towns and villages, are not generally regarded as persons living under the influence of the New Testament, but as those who need to be brought under it, in order to reach a sound morality. The South Sea Islands, prior to the introduction of Christianity, were reckoned among "the dark places of the earth," which "are full of the habitations of cruelty:" those of them that have come under the influence of the teaching of the New Testament have, in a great measure, verified the prophetic description of the wilderness and the solitary place becoming glad, and the desert rejoicing and blossoming as the rose. It may, indeed, be laid down as an incontrovertible fact, that individuals and communities rise in the scale of morality, in proportion as they are leavened by that anti-Secularist book, the New Testament, and that they are morally low without the Christian influence, or in the presence of its corruptions. Our Secularists, it is true, look over the nations, and to particular individuals, for proof that morals are independent of the New Testament; but what is the proof? It is not derived from the actual moral state of the Hindoos, the Chinese, the Greeks, the Persians; but from some stray sentiments in the ancient Hindoo literature,—from some solitary saying of Confucius,—from some isolated parcels of fine fruit which are to be found in the writings of Plato,—or from some beautiful Persian maxim, inculcating the duty of forgiving and blessing enemies. These simply prove the existence of a moral sense, and that men often see the good, though they follow the evil. It has been said of some of the ancient philosophers, that they talked of virtue like angels, while they lived like brutes. The question is not, Were there any fine moral sayings in

heathen literature? but, Was Heathenism capable of renovating man? History, written in many cases by men who had no great love to the New Testament, declares that it was not. And why? Its teaching, viewed as a whole, notwithstanding the few grains of good that here and there appeared, was miserably imperfect. It had no perfect model of virtue to which it could appeal. It wanted a higher than human authority. It was destitute of influences to sound the depths of human depravity,—to raise man up in the moral scale,—and to transform him from earthly to divine. These elements of moral grandeur are the exclusive property of the Sacred Writings. In vain do we look for them in Plato, or in Confucius, in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, or among the maxims of Persian poets. The lever of moral elevation being wanting, the communities to which these philosophers and poets belonged continued, age after age, occupying the same low level, if not sinking lower and lower. Christianity, with the lever, has come among peoples who could boast of no such philosophers, and has raised them to a pitch of moral excellence such as Greece and Persia, with all their literary resources, never reached, and to which they never aspired. In the view of the world's history, it is idle to talk of making the human race moral, independently of the New Testament.

A very natural inquiry here is, What guarantees of morality does Secularism then possess? The first, we are told, is to be found in human nature itself,—in the sum of its natural passions and qualities. No higher view of human nature than this could well be given. If true, then assuredly it is a libel to speak of our nature as sinful and depraved; and it would evince an unwarrantable want of faith in it, to distrust its spontaneous impulses. A self-governing body, and yet needing for its government external impulses and correctives, is something like a contradiction. Yea, more;—if human nature has such guarantees in itself, we may wonder how it has everywhere followed devious courses, so that Secularism, and many other philosophies, have been wanted in order to set it right. But Secularism here is not consistent with itself. It has taken a high position, but, feeling the footing untenable, it involuntarily descends a little lower. It reminds us of some sermons, in which the young preacher takes a lofty and long flight, by way of introduction, thereby leading his audience to expect a magnificent and highly-sustained sequel; but the wing soon lowers, and sweeps somewhat heavily and tamely a little above ground. It seems to us like a house, by which we frequently pass, the porch of which might betoken a palace of princes, the after-part of which would intimate a cottage of peasants. Secularism, after an introductory flourish about human nature being in itself a guarantee of morality, becomes meek and lowly, and tells us that it does not mean to say, without qualification, that we should follow our bias. The

state of society, notwithstanding the sufficient guarantee of morality in human nature, has gotten so much out of order, that were we to say "to the young, without qualification, 'Consult your aptitude, follow your bias,' the sordid might lay their vulture-claws on their neighbours, and the immoral and unprincipled might victimize their fellows." This is virtually giving up the question, and is a practical acknowledgment that human nature is not itself a guarantee of morality. Some other guarantee is needed, to reclaim human nature from its wanderings, and to guide it on the right path. Secularism, however, does not abandon its position. The preacher to whom we referred, not unfrequently, re-mounts on eagle-wing in the peroration ; and thus throws a link over the dead level, so as to connect the magniloquence of the end with the magniloquence of the beginning. In like manner, our Secularist apostle, after having, by his qualifying statements, descended from the mount of assumption, soars to the high ground again, and descants about many persons who hardly ever sin, and the passion for goodness naturally possessed by some men and women ; and then, with an ineffable degree of complacency, concludes the position to be proved,—that human nature, without New-Testament teaching, is itself a guarantee of morality.

We remember, in our school-boy days, a very dull but ambitious fellow, who was always promising to do great things, and who always failed in his undertakings. There was, in fact, in him about as well-balanced a mixture of presumption and imbecility as could be imagined. Invariably he was taunted with his failures, and as invariably he blamed his fellows, or the state of the school-society. It was no fault on his part. He could do the thing ; but how could he be expected to do it in such circumstances ? Secularism presumes to make men moral, to elevate humanity, to set it and keep it on the right path, independently of the New Testament. When we ask our Secularist philosophers why they do not do it, and why, since a Secularist philosophy has ever been in the world, the thing has not been done long ago ; the failure is thrown upon "this half-nurtured, half-trained, doubtfully-conditioned state of society." The New Testament takes for granted, that man is wrong individually and socially ; and it brings to bear upon mankind elements and influences of moral renovation, and in thousands of instances it has re-cast and elevated humanity. Secularism fails in putting human nature right, because human nature has gone wrong. "The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." If the same disease which the physician Secularism fails to cure, is cured in multitudes of cases by the physician Christianity, the warrantable course is, to denounce the former as a quack, and to accept the latter as the tried and true restorer. The reason of failure is always the same with such benevolent philanthropists. They would lead the masses to El Dorado, but there are so many

barriers in the way ; they would rescue humanity from the ills "which flesh is heir to," were it not that so many ills prevent them. The ground is wanting on which to place the Secularist machine, otherwise they would move the universe. Owenism failed, even after it got to Harmony. Cabet led men to ruin, in leading them to Icaria, instead of bringing them to the land of promise. Secularism also fails in its efforts of moral regeneration, because of the unfavourable state of society ; and so would it, were society any thing short of a conditioned state in which it would need no remedial interference.

It is no very great objection to a system, that to all its rules there are some exceptions. It is otherwise, however, when the exceptions cover fully as much ground, if not more, than the rule itself. The broad general principle laid down by Secularism is, that in the well-balanced feelings of human nature is to be found, independent of New-Testament teaching, a guarantee of morality. But this guarantee, after all, is confessed to be but a small and feeble shield. Instead of being a wall of defence to human nature, broadly considered, it guards only a certain "order of persons." There are two other "orders" besides, in whom the "well-balanced feelings" inclining to morality have no place. These are, first, the "less-happily constituted,"—the vicious, but not dull ; and, secondly, those who are both dull and vicious. These certainly constitute no small portion of humanity as now existing ; at least, the portion is large enough to denounce it as a great untruth, that in human nature itself is a guarantee of morality. Does Secularism give up these, or hand them over to some other system ? Not it. Secularism is the grand panacea. It has eyes for the blind, feet for the lame, ears for the deaf, and tongues for the dumb. The guarantee to the first of these large exceptional orders is to be found in knowledge ; being misdirected by error, they are to be governed aright by ideas. The guarantee to the second of these orders is utility, or an appeal to the sense of interest ; cases in which appeals to the intellectual beauty and harmony of the thing have been vain, are to be won over to virtue on the low ground of calculation.

Who doubts the dominion of ideas ? Man everywhere is under their influence. Secular or anti-Secular ideas, earthly or heavenly ideas, govern the human race. Mr. Holyoake—in his efforts to keep human affairs free from the notions of a God and a future state, and in his practical development of his objectively-panteistic tenet, that the nature we know is the God we seek—exemplifies the power of ideas. Mr. Grant, too, exemplifies the power of ideas,—ideas of a different kind, indeed,—in arguing that the Gospel of Christ is the only effectual means of morally regenerating man. The question is, What are the ideas under the dominion of which men must be put, in order to have their errors corrected, and their moral sense rightly cultivated ? It is true, that bad machinery is an object of abhorrence to the

accomplished mechanic, that the fine-eared musician cannot endure false notes, and that a bad painting is apt to put a good painter in a rage. Not less true is it, that vice is hideous to the man whose moral sense has been properly cultivated. The right inference from the whole of which certainly is, that as the way to make men accomplished mechanics is to teach them right principles of mechanics, and to set before them true models, so the effectual method of making men virtuous is, to teach them what is good, and to exhibit to them a perfect human example. When the Great Teacher said, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent," he asserted the dominion of ideas, and indicated that knowledge whose majestic influence would lead men to virtue and happiness. It is pointless to talk, as our Secularists do, about appeals to "the artistic moral sense." It is merely beating the air, and flourishing the trumpets, vaunting aloud on high ground, and refusing to come to close quarters in the plain. We call for proof that Secularism, during the long period and under the many forms in which it has existed in the world, has regenerated any portion, however small, of the human family. To what reclaimed moral waste can it point? what hills of error has it levelled? what streams of pollution has it diverted or dried up? Christianity, with its dominion of ideas, has cultivated the moral sense, silently, gradually, but not the less efficiently, in almost every human tribe living under heaven; so that the powerful influence of Christian intelligence "rules a million of men now, whom lust, rage, and rapine would have ruled in a former age." It has done this, not by the mere cultivation of knowledge and refined feeling, but by the regenerating influences of God's Spirit accompanying the truth, and bringing it to bear on the hearts of men. The close connexion between crime and ignorance is too palpable to be denied. Every statistical return from our prisons demonstrates it. We heartily join in the cry, "Educate the people." But it betrays the want of a deep acquaintance with the human heart, and an unfair overlooking of the broad evidence of history, to think that mere intellectual cultivation is all that is needed to rectify man's errors, and to overcome his perverted bias. Greece, when at the very height of intellectual refinement, was sunk in the depths of immorality. Her poets, her painters, her statuaries, her orators, her philosophers, had the most perfect sense of artistic beauty. They appealed to it, and endeavoured to cultivate it in other men; while they themselves, and those to whom they appealed, were living in a state of gross sensualism. Secularism, in its deviations, has only brought us round to the same point, and enables us to reiterate, with greater faith and fervour, that we have as yet found no "order" of persons attaining to a high morality independently of the New Testament.

Driven from one refuge, Secularism resorts to another. Some men, it is confessed, are not good, but vicious, by nature ; consequently, human nature itself cannot be a guarantee of morality in their case. Others, it is admitted, cannot be controlled by the culture of the "artistic sense ;" they are both vicious and dull. But Secularism has a special appliance for this large class of the human race. It promises that their dulness will brighten, and they will repair to the fountain of purification, at the sound of utility, or an appeal to the sense of interest. The conclusion, doubtless, is drawn from analogy, and the analogy, probably, is this :—at the announcement of the discovery of the Australian gold mines, thousands left their homes in search of the great treasure ; so, when Secularists go among those who have no "well-balanced" feelings inclining them to morality, and no "artistic sense" capable of being cultivated, and tell them of the mines of virtue to which Secularism leads, the slaves of vice will break their bands asunder, the sons of dulness will become children of light, and, for the sake of interest, all will relinquish vice, and follow after virtue. It is amazing with what complacency our Secularist expounder says, "*We* will show the dull, vicious man, that no other course will profit but a course of virtue." As if this were an expedient left for Secularism, upon which the ends of the world have come ! The expedient is as old as the creation. And though Mr. Holyoake will not admit that any of the bars of gold in the Bible are comparable to the little gem of a saying of Confucius, it may be well to remind those who take the law from his lips, that the Book of God not unfrequently appeals to men's sense of interest. This is but a specimen : "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money ; come ye, buy, and eat ; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread ? and your labour for that which satisfieth not ? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness." No book abounds in such impressive representations of the folly of vice, and the profitableness of virtue, as the Bible. Prophets and Apostles, the Great Teacher himself, and those who speak in his name every Sabbath,—all appeal, in the enlarged acceptance of the term, to the sense of utility. The test of efficiency, as regards the appeal on both sides, comes to be considered. In thousands of cases, where Secularism of every name has failed, the teaching of the New Testament has enlightened the dark souls of the dull, and thoroughly reformed the vicious. As to other cases, where the teaching of the New Testament has been resisted, we ask, where, in them, are to be seen the lovely transformations of Secularism ? The Secularist's new moral world is like the philosopher's stone,—almost every body has heard of it, though nobody ever has seen any thing of it. It is all existing in big expectation. Not even

so much as an earnest of the inheritance has been realized. The new moral world of Christianity is like the golden regions beyond the seas. Vast quantities of the precious metal have been brought to light, and thousands have been enriched by it,—an indication of the great wealth of the whole territory. That “godliness is profitable unto all things,” is a truth to which millions of our race in both worlds could bear practical testimony. But it is like seeking the living among the dead to ask, Where are the morally profitable results of Secularism?

Men, however, must become virtuous, and be strengthened for a steady course of virtuous action, on some higher ground than the calculations of expediency. It will not do for a man to be always looking at the moral balance-sheet. He must, in thousands of instances, respond to the claims of virtue without coolly reckoning the probable results, as when he invests his money, or transacts business at the Exchange. “We want virtue,” as Mr. Binney, in his very valuable work,* remarks, “we want virtue to spring from something that shall secure *it*,—independently of the thought of what *it* is to secure. We want men to have within them a principle of obedience, which shall prescribe and enforce morality, on other grounds than its present beneficial results. Men must be virtuous without everlastingly thinking of what virtue is to do for them.” Such a security Secularism has not. It is only to be found in the faith of *the* truth,—a believing regard to the revealed will of God. The principle of religious faith becomes in the heart of man a well of living water, out of which flow, readily and constantly, streams of holy obedience. It, to use the expressive language of Scripture, works by love, purifies the heart, and overcomes the world. “The mind, brought under the influence of feelings and motives inspired by what is distinct from all that lies within the circle of mundane and temporal things, is subjected to a law whose voice is clear, resolute, and uniform; which prescribes the right, not the expedient; and which opposes the power of *a principle* to the impulse of passion, and the plausibility of appearances;—a principle rooted in religious faith,—that faith which connects the present with the future, the throne with the judgment-seat of God. This law, however, which secures virtue by motives drawn from a higher region and another world, will, *as a matter of fact*, be found to work beneficially in relation to this lower sphere, and to man’s present temporary life.”

It is not to be expected that those who think to make men virtuous and happy independently altogether of the New Testament, will, however, let the New Testament alone. Jesus might have had a place in the Pantheon of the ancients, and his religion would have been tolerated at Rome, had he, instead of

* “Is it Possible to make the Best of both Worlds?”

claiming supreme and exclusive homage, submitted to divide it with other gods, and had he taught Christianity as *a* system of regenerating the world, instead of exhibiting it as *the* only system adequate to that end. No man can serve both Secularism and the Gospel. They pull opposite ways, and give contradictory commands; so that "he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will cleave to the one and despise the other." Hence the New Testament is not simply a book that our Secularist regenerators can do without. It meets them, in all the vigour of life and immortality, at every point in their progress, frustrates all their great efforts, and threatens to silence all their oracles. No wonder, then, that its character is hideous, and its condemnation sealed, at the Secularist judgment-seat.

There are three grand things in the New Testament, which our Secularist assailants, in common with others, cannot endure. These are the character of Christ, the doctrine of the atonement, and the necessity of faith to salvation. One general remark applies to all the objections urged against them. They are derived from a very contracted view, they are raised on the ground of petty, not to say carping, criticism, and they are resolvable into a wilful breaking up of perfect harmonies. Part is wrenched from part, and the one is set over against the other, so as to give the appearance of discord to what, when properly viewed, forms one harmonious whole.

Take the character of Christ. It has some very marked contrasts. There are, what may be called, its gentler and severer aspects, which, as exhibited in the evangelical history, constitute its perfection; but which, as rent asunder and held up to the world by Secularism, constitute a character double-faced and incongruous. Mr. Holyoake insists, that there are two Christs in the New Testament, because our Lord unites in himself qualifications apparently opposite; and, on the very foolish assumption, that Christ did nothing, or should have done nothing, but what we may imitate, asks, with great apparent simplicity, "Which of the two are we to imitate, the mild or the severe?" He tells an audience of sensible Englishmen, that he could not trust Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me," because He also said, "He that believeth not shall be damned;" that he could have no confidence in Him who said, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you," while he thought of Him saying, with not less emphasis, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." The warnings of woe terrible as the thunder, and the words of consolation gentle as the dew-drops, could no more have fallen, it is maintained, from the lips of one perfect Christ, than a fountain can send forth, at the same place, sweet water and bitter. The appeal here is not to men's judgment, but to their feelings; not to men's reason, but to their passions. We love gentleness, we dislike severity. But every man of judgment sees

that there are thousands of instances in which the gentleness would be misplaced and destructive of all right government, and in which the severity is absolutely necessary for the ends of righteousness and truth. Were our Secularist apostle to believe in a God, he must, on the principle that he asserts the existence of two Christs in the New Testament, maintain that there are two Gods in nature,—God the gentle, and God the austere. He must say, “I could not trust Him who is said to be love, and to make his sun to rise on the evil and on the good; while I thought of Him inflicting, in his providence, such judgments on men and nations.” Even on the supposition of the truthfulness of his own dogma, that the nature we know is the God we seek, still there are the two aspects,—nature the gentle, and nature the austere,—nature invested with sun-light, and shedding down benignant gifts on the children of men, and nature wrapped in storms, and scattering desolation over the earth. “Which of them,” might our nature-worshipper ask, “am I to imitate?” The great God, who made and commands all things, is at once a Father and a King,—two aspects of character in no wise irreconcilable; but, did we assume the paternal aspect to be explanatory of the whole, we should find much in the government of the world to belie the assumption. The paternal and the regal aspects are twin glories, which blend most harmoniously in the divine character. Both are illustrious and perfectly consistent manifestations of the one glorious God. He does much, in the one relation, in which we may well be imitators of him. He does much, in the other relation, in which it would be an invasion of his prerogative to attempt to resemble him. So is it with the character of Christ. There are in it two aspects,—that of the Parent, or Saviour, and that of the King, or Judge. In the one aspect, he is, in many respects, an example for our imitation; in the other aspect, he is, in a great measure, imitable,—invested with prerogatives that belong to no created intelligence. “I am a King,” said he with conscious dignity; “to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.” He stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, “Behold my mother and my brethren.” In the latter case, we see Christ in all his gentleness; in the former, we see Christ in something of his stern dignity. Not only is there no contradiction between them, but they were manifestations essential to the full exhibition of his transcendent character. His gentleness was always consistent with his unbending integrity, and faithfulness to his high mission; and his severity was always in keeping with his compassion and benignity. None but a Secularist teacher—one who wished to pick holes in the fairest of characters—would have fastened an objection on the faithful denunciations which Christ uttered against the Scribes and Pharisees, the perverters of the truth, the oppressors of the helpless, the evil leaders of the people.

Christ gentle to such men ! This would have been an abnegation of his character as a witness to the truth. It would have placed him in the position of a man, whose tenderness had degenerated into connivance at evil. It would have disqualified him for the great work of reclaiming and regenerating the world ; for he, who was so complaisant as to be unable to reprove men for their vices, could not be a very efficient agent in effecting their regeneration. Nothing is so abhorrent to every rightly-constituted mind, as hypocrisy. Anger is not evil in itself ; it is a principle inherent in our very nature ; and an appropriate object of it is malignity cloaked under the assumed garb of superior sanctity, such as was manifested by the Pharisees. To describe men who were strangers to every feeling of piety or benevolence, while making great pretensions to both,—men who strained at a gnat, and swallowed a camel, men who made long prayers for a pretence, and devoured widows' houses,—to describe them as wolves in sheep's clothing, sepulchres painted without, and full of rottenness within, and to denounce them as a generation of vipers, was only acting according to the real nature of things, and in a way becoming Him who is at once the Judge and the Deliverer of mankind. Is it for such masked oppressors that Secularists reserve their sympathies, while none is expressed toward the multitudes who had been left by these false guides, as sheep without a shepherd ? Is there not a word of sympathy for that Holy and Benignant One whom these Pharisees maligned, and endeavoured to ensnare, while He was going about, like the embodied spirit of benevolence, continually doing good ? Then, we say, it comes with an ill grace from such men to talk, as they do, of the oppressors of Hungary, and to pretend to sympathize with the people of Italy. Had Christ only manifested a soft, silky sentimentalism towards these Pharisees, had he, instead of firmly denouncing their guilt, and justly characterizing the perpetrators, dealt in gentle names and fine feeling expressions, what an outcry would our Secularists have raised against him ! The generation of Secularists is "like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced ; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented." They reproach the Bible, because, as a faithful record of the world's history, and the warning voice of Providence, it contains some narratives of crimes. Doubtless, more formidable objections would have been urged by them against the Book, had these narratives been wanting, than are now urged on account of their presence. The character of Christ, in its sublime harmony, and mighty influence for good on the human race, stands far above all such vile and stupid assaults. Not a few of the antagonists of Christianity, in past times, have done it homage. The more closely we inspect it, the higher does it rise before us in its majesty, the fairer does it shine in its spotless purity, the nearer does it carry us to the pure light in which dwells the living God. "It

is," to borrow the words of a German writer, "it is the jewel of humanity; and whoever knowingly tarnishes or disfigures it, commits an outrage against the majesty of the heaven-born soul of man, in its most beauteous manifestations. . . . As a saint who knew Christianity from the life once said, in his heart-winning way,—'One might well consent to be branded and broken on the wheel, merely for the idea of such a character as Christ's; and if any one should be able to mock and deride, he must be insane.'"

The bitterness and unfairness of infidelity are never more strikingly displayed, than in relation to the great Bible doctrine of the *atonement*. Secularism, in these qualities, lacks nothing. The doctrine is either culpably misunderstood, or grossly misrepresented, and we confess it requires no little patience to bear with the ignorance, or to endure the dishonesty, accompanied, as they are, with all the confidence of affected knowledge, and the semblance of candour. The atonement is that work of self-moved divine benignity, on the ground of which the moral Governor of the universe can, in perfect consistency with the holiness of his character, and the rectitude of his administration, bestow on believing men a free and full forgiveness, deliver them from the state of the condemned, and form them to the character of the holy. It implies man's guilt, and depravity, and liability to punishment, and it illustriously and impressively manifests the "just God and the Saviour." Men of the largest minds, the choicest spirits of our race, the world's regenerators, have been disposed to say, in proportion as they understood and felt the influence of this doctrine, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross!" But the Secularist objection is, that the Christian atonement is unsatisfactory as a scheme, and immoral as an example. These are grave charges. We shall see whether or not, like some of the other well-rounded propositions of Secularism, they do not turn out "great swelling words of vanity." The universal sinfulness of man is implied in the atonement, just as the disease is implied in the remedy; and this our Secularists cannot away with. "It snaps the sinews of moral effort, whereas the doctrine of the elementary goodness of human nature is a powerful inducement to purity and perseverance in wholesome development." Now, the first question is, not what the doctrine does, but whether it be true? Doubtless, the sinews of moral effort are not so strong and elastic in sinful beings, as in holy beings. The Apostle Paul acknowledged and mourned over this. It was the agony of his soul that, in consequence of the presence of evil, he could not do the things that he would. To say that sin, or human depravity, impairs moral effort, is something like saying that a fever impairs physical effort. In other words, the ground on which an objection is alleged against the evil, is just a phase of the evil itself. The inquiry, in the one case, is not as

to the depressing influence of the fever, but as to whether the man be suffering under it. The inquiry, in the other case, is not as to whether men, in a state of elementary goodness, or in a state of depravity, will put forth most moral effort, but which of these two states is the situation of the race, as now existing. Come out of the region of abstract theory, down to the world of broad, palpable realities. And here we ask, Is that world, or is any section of the humanity it contains, such as we should have expected it to have been, on the supposition of the elementary goodness of human nature? or is it not the exact counterpart of the doctrine, that mankind is under the depraving influence of sin? To us it seems just as reasonable to deny the prevalence of disease in a hospital, as to deny the universal sinfulness of man. It is a vain charge to bring against the atonement doctrine, and a somewhat curious test of its unsatisfactoriness as a scheme, that it implies the prevalence of moral evil in the world. It is just as if an individual were to condemn pathology as a science, because it is founded on the supposition, that the race is physically diseased. It is a question of fact, not of theory. And the fact is not to be thrust aside, by talking about the elementary goodness of human nature, and asserting that there are some persons who hardly ever sin. We must have evidence of the existence of human beings who never sin, and who never manifest any sinful propensities, before we can give up the scriptural statement, that "all have sinned." Secularism, in failing to find guarantees of morality in human nature independent of the New Testament, and in having recourse to other expedients for reclaiming the vicious, and awakening the dull,—the viciousness and the insensibility being manifestations of the inherent disease,—has virtually acknowledged the truth, implied in the atonement doctrine, of the universal sinfulness of man. The thing exists in the world as independent of Christianity as of Secularism. The difference lies in the mode of treating it. Christianity recognises the mountain in all its size, strength, and deep-rootedness, and sets to work, most effectually, in order to remove it. It opens its eyes, and fairly looks on the wilderness, and goes on reclaiming and converting it into a fruitful field. In other words, it supposes the universality and virulence of the malady, and professes to have in itself the only sure remedy. These professions, like all other professions, are to be tested by deeds, and to this standard Christianity appeals. Secularism speaks as if it would deny the thing, and yet cannot do so. It is ever calling it by soft names, half doubting its existence, yet ever baffled by it, and doing nothing but promising to counteract it. We humbly submit that, to talk to men, conscious of the existence of depravity, about the elementary goodness of human nature, is not only to ridicule the species, but to "snap the sinews of moral effort." It is calling upon them to act the fallacy of being strong and healthy, while they are weak and

diseased ; and, instead of furnishing them with restoratives, telling them that their weakness is but imaginary. Such is the encouragement to moral effort given by Secularism ! It is Christianity, in its recognition of man's sinfulness, and in its ample provision for overcoming it, that furnishes the "powerful inducement to purity and perseverance in wholesome development."

But, says our Secularist apostle, eternal punishments are the insuperable objection ; and these constitute "the central fact of the theory of the atonement." It served his purpose, as a disputant, to make this assumption. Punishments of any kind are not very popular in mixed audiences ; and especially punishments administered under the moral government of God. On this subject, men, who are weak on other points, grow eloquent. It affords a fine theme for declamation ; and the declaimer is almost sure to carry along with him a large part of a popular audience, if, as was the case in the London Secularist discussion, the audience is very much composed of persons prejudiced against the subject. How often have we seen men hard pushed in argument, and about to become speechless, make an *ad captandum* bound to the doctrine of eternal punishments ! But does it serve the cause of truth to declaim on such an assumption as this ? We trow not. The doctrine of eternal punishments is no more a part of the atonement theory, than the Lisbon earthquake, or the London plague. It is only from the Bible—the solitary book which reveals it—that we learn what the Christian atonement is. We challenge our opponents to produce a single passage from the inspired volume, in proof that the doctrine of eternal punishments is the central fact of the theory of the atonement. It might as well be said, that the sufferings occasioned by broken bones and dislocated joints are the central fact of the theory of the art of healing. It is true, that, as the disease and its consequences have called forth the remedy, so sin and its consequences have occasioned the atonement. Had there been no bodily wounds and bruises, and no physical suffering, surgery, as a science, would have had no existence. These are implied in the healing art ; but it were wrong to say that they constitute the central fact of it, because they exist quite independently of it. Had there been no sin in the world, or no penalty connected with it, no atonement would have been provided, as none would have been needed. The atonement is based on the supposition, that man is a sinner, and, as such, exposed to everlasting destruction ; but as the sin and the penalty existed before the atonement itself, and are altogether independent of it, it is either a want of logic, or a want of fairness, to represent the penalty as an essential part of it. Sin, no doubt, is a gloomy thing, and very fearful is the penalty connected with it ; just as is the prevalence of disease and its consequent suffering. But it would be deemed a great injustice, or a great absurdity, to charge the physical disease

and suffering upon the physical remedy that had been devised for their removal. It is no less unjust or absurd to object to the atonement doctrine, as if it originated the evil, and proclaimed the penalty, from which it brings effectual deliverance.

If, then, eternal punishment be a fact,—and we certainly are not among those who doubt it,—it is a fact in the moral government of God, and not a central fact in the theory of the atonement. The objection, therefore, if reasonable ground there be for an objection, turns against the divine government. Here the mind is thrown upon the most insoluble of all mysteries,—the existence of moral evil. It is in the train of it that the punishment has come, and without it the punishment would have had no existence. Both are facts lying in the world without, acknowledged and met by Christianity, but forming no part of it. And when man stumbles on the fact of the existence of moral evil, it becomes him to recognise human ignorance as in itself the one true knowledge, and to manifest, what has been considered its first-fruit, humility. But, leaving this undeniable, though mysterious, fact, man is conscious of the guilt involved in his personal transgression, and his reason assents to the justice of the consequent penalty. Our opponents appeal not to men's reason, but to their passions and prejudices, when they speak (in not very refined terms) of "the warnings of woe,—the superadded punishment of the sinner,—the wrath to come,"—denounced in the New Testament against transgressors. We have always one simple question at hand to turn aside the appeal. Is there not a punishment superadded to the sinner here? Does not wrath come as the consequence of wickedness now? There is no fact in God's moral administration more palpable than the established connexion between sin and suffering. If the New Testament makes men sad because it recognises this connexion, and utters its warnings on the ground of it; the world should throw a shadow, not less dark and gloomy, over their path, because the connexion which the Scripture recognises is there actually existing. In the constitution of nature, there is enough of light and benignity to lead every rightly constituted mind to say, with Paley, notwithstanding the sin and misery that prevail, "It is a happy world after all." And in the constitution of the Gospel,—in its illustrious manifestation of divine love to the world,—in its "glad tidings of great joy,"—the elements of happiness so superabound, that if the New Testament leaves any of its readers "sad" and "powerless," it can only be accounted for on the principle of men's loving darkness rather than light.

Our Secularists know well, that the most effectual way to excite men's abhorrence, is to give a horrible description of what they themselves hate. The scriptural doctrine of future punishments is grossly caricatured by Secularism; and certainly, as misrepresented by the Secularist apostle, it is "coarse damnation."

The rude antagonists of Scripture generally make fearful havoc of its figurative representations. One simple rule of exegesis guides their feet in this field. The figurative representations are to be understood literally, and the literal representations are to be understood figuratively, when, by so doing, Christianity can be damaged ; a rule acted on in common life by some persons who wish to do evil to their neighbour, and to take up a reproach against their neighbour. The most terrible and impressive figures employed by Scripture, when treating of this subject, are the undying worm and the unquenchable fire. No enlightened and candid reader of the New Testament believes that these physical terms are descriptive of physical suffering merely, but that they are rather used to denote moral punishment ; consisting in the disapprobation of God made sensible to the soul or conscience of the sinner, even more than to the body. If these and similar terms have been dwelt upon by some Preachers in such a way as to convey the idea that they are to be strictly limited to a simply literal interpretation, with such representations we have no sympathy, and for them Christianity is not responsible. Men who are disturbed by a sense of unpardoned guilt, can readily explain to themselves what is *particularly* meant by "the worm" and "the fire." There is something in every man's bosom which proclaims, that God hates sin, and will punish it, as well as that he loves righteousness, and will reward it. Let men object as they will, it remains true, that in the inmost recesses of the soul troubled with conscious guilt, there is "a certain fearful looking for of judgment," that confirms the truth of this doctrine, which, though not an essential part of the atonement, is implied in it.

As to the duration of future punishment, this, as Mr. Hinton, in one of his well-timed and valuable Secular tracts, has remarked, is a thing not to be determined by itself, but as rising out of that permanent state to which punishment and reward alike belong. In so far as the exegesis of Scripture is concerned, the endless punishment of the wicked seems to us to be as clearly asserted as the endless happiness of the righteous. It is not, as is alleged, a doctrine peculiar to the New Testament. We find it embodied in the mythology of the Greeks and Romans. God has made men's habitual conduct now, to be productive of permanent results hereafter. This is an established principle in his moral government, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The beginnings of the operation of this principle are experienced here. Men who live in the habitual commission of known sin, and in the habitual neglect of known duty, suffer the consequences all their lives long. The present state comes to an end, the future state does not. It is only in accordance with the principle of permanent results proceeding from temporary conduct, that moral retribution for moral offences is eternal. The objection, then, is not only shifted from the atonement to the

doctrine which, though implied in it, exists independently of it; but it is thrown farther back still, and rests on the principle of the divine government alluded to. There we leave our Secularist to deal with it.

A thrice-slain fallacy supports all the objections urged by sceptics against the atonement doctrine, and the implied doctrine of future punishment. We have an endless iteration of the assumption, that the paternal character must exhibit the entire aspect of God towards men. Some persons make up in boldness what they lack in argument. Let them be driven from their position ever so often by the missiles of logic, they will return again, and set all argument at defiance. The appeal is made, not to men's reason, but to their passions, not to men's judgment, but to their feelings, when it is asked if human parents would make such exactions of their children, and inflict such punishments upon them, as God is said to do in reference to his erring children. It is altogether a one-sided view of the divine character; and, consequently, very much in the world before us conflicts with it. The procedure of the God of nature, as well as the procedure of the God of revelation, is inexplicable on the assumption, that the paternal aspect is comprehensive of the whole character of God. The assumption cannot, for a moment, stand the test of facts. We challenge any man to account, on the faith of this theory, for the moral condition of the race as now existing,—its failures in respect to intelligence, its defection from virtue, and its consequent state of unhappiness and restlessness; or to explain how special visitations, in the form of pestilence and war, of earthquake, famine, and flood, have come upon men and nations. If there be abundance of natural phenomena to make it manifest that we all have "one Father," who daily loadeth us with his benefits, there is abundance also to convince us "that there is a God who judgeth in the earth." It would not be a greater fallacy to assume that the regal character is comprehensive of the entire aspect of God towards men, and, on the ground of one class of phenomena, to argue against the manifestations of the benignant Parent; than it is to assume that the parental embraces the entire aspect, and thus come into collision with another class of phenomena. We acknowledge that the atonement is indefensible on the supposition that God is only a Father to mankind; but it is not more so than the constitution and government of the world. As moral Governor, God superintends the concerns of the universe, gives forth laws, which, like himself, are holy, just, and good, for the obedience of his intelligent creatures, and enforces them by powerful sanctions. To this system of moral government belong the atonement and the doctrine of future punishments. They could have had no place on the supposition that God was only a Father, any more than could the moral and physical evils and sufferings which prevail

in the world. In the atonement itself, the two aspects of the divine character are harmoniously manifested. It is a bright exhibition of the just God and the Saviour. The adversaries of the doctrine are as dishonest in representing it as entirely a display of vindictiveness on the part of the moral Governor, as they are fallacious in assuming that it should have been only a display of kindness on the part of the Father. The glories of the parental and the judicial aspects are here illustriously manifested. God is seen as the defender of moral right, upholding the law in all the integrity of its claims, and demanding full satisfaction for its injured honours; while, through this channel of moral mediation, he comes forth, in all the benignity of a parent, and bestows the richest blessings on his returning children. The atonement has not, as infidels with a bold impudence are ever alleging, made God merciful to the human race; but it is his own appointed way of manifesting his love to man, consistent with the holiness of his character, and the honour of his law. It solves the otherwise insoluble difficulty, how God can be just, and yet the justifier of the ungodly. It upholds the cause of moral right, and manifests the divine displeasure against sin; while it shows God pitying us, "as a father pitieth his children."

We had thought the coarse blasphemy and vulgar impudence of the days of Paine had been passed; but in Secularism, as now advocated, we have a revival of them. The author of the "Age of Reason" never uttered coarser and more offensive things regarding the punitive dispensations of Providence, than does the editor of "The Reasoner." Wilfully overlooking the obvious distinction between a sovereign Ruler and a private individual, he argues, as absurdly as impiously, that God in punishing transgressors violates his own rule of forgiving those who trespass against us. The Creator and the creature, the moral Governor and the subjects of moral government, are placed upon the same level; man's claims and God's claims are assumed to be equal; and he has the "moral audacity" to say, that, if the Supreme Being would not be less honourable and merciful than his frail creatures are required to be, He cannot pronounce upon them a condemning sentence; and he has the still greater moral audacity to defend his statement as "a logical and legitimate application" of the maxim of not doing to others what we would not wish done to ourselves. "Logical and legitimate application!" It is a piece of raving impiety of the worst sort. We tell our Secularist philosopher, that he durst not openly utter such a sentiment in reference to his own earthly Monarch. Society would resent the insult; and the majesty of violated law would take knowledge of the offender. The most merciful Magistrate on earth is doing almost every day what it is necessary for the welfare of society he should do, but what no private individual can or ought to do. Conceive of our Secularist going up to the

Chief Justice of England, when he was about to pronounce a severe but legal sentence on a great criminal, and thinking to arrest the arm of justice by his "logical and legitimate application" of the golden rule! The Magistrate, if he deigned to notice the logic of folly, would say, "I act not in a private but in a public capacity, as the guardian of the law and the rights of society: that law and these rights have been violated in the person of this criminal, and the well-being of the state demands that he suffer the punishment." Were the governments of this world conducted on the same silky sentimental principle as some would have the moral government of God conducted, what a pretty lawless world should we have! Every man, as once happened when there was no King in Israel, might do what was right in his own eyes. Our Judges, if we had any, would only be sorry for the criminals, clap them on the back, and tell them to behave better in future,—which is just what they would wish to have done to themselves, were they placed in similar circumstances. We wonder how any of our intelligent working-men, however great their indifference or enmity to Christianity, should suffer their strong common-sense to be overborne by such dead logic as is ever and anon addressed to them by the author of "The Logic of Death."

Another point here, in which a wretched logic and a gross impiety meet, is the maintaining that God must be the most miserable of beings, because the atonement, and other doctrines of Scripture, represent him as being angry at sin, and, in the manifestation of his displeasure, punishing the transgressors. All the punishment inflicted by law on law-breakers in our country may be said to be manifestations of the Monarch's displeasure; does it then follow that the Monarch is miserable? It is true that the head that wears a crown is often not the one that lies easiest; but the uneasiness, we imagine, does not arise from the righteous administration of law. Besides, the objection goes on the grossly false assumption, that language borrowed from men, descriptive of God's moral disapprobation at sin, must be taken exactly in the same sense in which it is applicable to man himself,—a rule of interpretation that would have justified the ancient Heathen in changing "the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man." Our Secularists are unhappy when they are angry at transgressors, and their inference is, that God must be also. There is, and, from the very perfection of his nature, must be, in God, moral disapprobation at sin; but that disapprobation is manifested in perfect harmony with his character, as "blessed for ever." It is from a low, anthropomorphizing view of the Creator that such an objection is urged. The man who urges it thinks God to be such an one as himself, and associates with his conceptions of the Blessed and Only Potentate his own infirmities and imperfections. Had the

Bible contained no expressions declarative of God's displeasure at sin, what a charge in the mouth of Secularists would this have been against the Book ! A God without any manifestation of moral disapprobation at moral wrong, or without any judicial administration regarding it, is not, and cannot be, the moral Governor of the universe. Disapprobation in Him is not identical with resentment among men ; were it so, there could have been no such display of mercy as is made in the atonement.

But the secret of all this hostility to the Gospel doctrines lies in the fact, that man is held *responsible for his belief*. Our Secularists would wish to wander at their own sweet will, and to be saved in their own way. When the Naaman of Secularism comes to the Gospel, and finds that it has but one sovereign exclusive prescription, he gets wroth, and goes away, and says, "Behold, I thought," &c. "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" It is the uncompromising nature, or, as some would say, the intolerance, of the Gospel, that excites in some men enmity towards it. Why only one way of salvation, and the denunciation of endless destruction to all who refuse to follow it? "This is the immorality," says our Secularist, (as if he were clinching the nail,) "against which we protest." Now, we think he might, with perfect consistency, go farther than this, and say, "Why only one object of supreme worship?—why only one code of moral laws?—and why are penalties attached to idolatry and to disobedience to these laws? It is against this immorality that we protest!" And if we are to have more than one way of salvation, why not a thousand ways? or rather, why not leave every man to follow a way of his own? Then, if this be the model of Heaven's government, let it be copied by all the governments and communities of earth. Imagine our Secularist going up to the College of Physicians, and lodging his protest of immorality against the one exclusive way of curing this and the other disease. Follow him to the courts of law, and, ultimately, to the foot of the throne, and hear him indignantly lifting up his voice against the immorality of their exclusive enactments,—their modes of redressing grievances and affording protection. Then look at him standing up before high Heaven, and lifting up his protest against the immorality of the one way of salvation! A man acting thus before the world would be regarded as under a strange hallucination, and be pitied for the aberration of his intellect. The aberration in the case before us is more moral than intellectual; and so is the illusion. Mr. Holyoake's illusion is, that *we* Christians have laid down one exclusive way of salvation; and that, under pain of endless destruction, *we* require everybody to believe it. And then he turns boldly round, and says,—a thing which, it seems, Mr. Grant unpardonably overlooked,—“If I require faith in my system, I do not propose to

damn those who do not concede it." We would say, "Stop, friend, stop! The Gospel way of salvation is not our system, but God's own system; and, instead of proposing to inflict any penalty on unbelievers, we simply declare what is God's revealed will in the matter." We will concede to our anti-Christian apostle, who obviously has not overmuch of the clothing of humility, the right to legislate for those who have elected him to the government of the diocese of Secularism; and, perhaps, we might hint that he can only recommend faith in his system, it being idle presumption to talk of his demanding it, and not proposing to visit men with penal inflictions for refusing it. But we will not concede to him the right of placing the Secularist throne by the side of the throne of Heaven, and of exalting his little *I* to an equal supremacy with Him who has created and commands all things. Our Secularist expounder has here forgotten his own rule of "discretionary silence," and overleaped the restraints which he himself had imposed upon atheistic folly.

The Bible not only clearly reveals the hidden springs of unbelief, tracing the absolute rejection of its truths, or their feeble influence on the lives of those that profess to receive them, to a rooted aversion of heart, a stupid insensibility to its high and holy doctrines, its strict and uncompromising requirements,—but the Bible, with a majesty and firmness befitting its origin, pronounces the unbeliever a heinous criminal in the sight of Heaven. There is nothing strange or unreasonable in this, on the supposition that the Bible is a revelation of the mind and will of God, for the obedience of men, His rational and intelligent creatures. The Creator of the universe has a right to be its supreme lawgiver. He that made man must, in the very nature of things, claim the homage of his heart and the obedience of his life. If the Bible be a law, it must, like all other laws, have its sanctions. The Ruler of the universe were less mindful of His authority than the Prince of some petty province were of his, did He suffer His laws to be trampled on with impunity, or His invitations to be rejected and despised. But the Bible is not merely a law: it contains the only means of mercy for a lost world. It exhibits a scheme of redemption every way suited to the wants of man, as a guilty, depraved, helpless creature. It makes known a free and full salvation, of which every one may participate who believes the record which God has given concerning his Son, and who rests his hopes on the atoning death of the Saviour. This is just the Gospel,—the good tidings of great joy which are to all people. Now this Gospel finds man in a state of condemnation, lying under the sentence of that just and good law which he has dishonoured; and, in coming to man, it offers to change his state and to renew his character,—to transfer him from the state of the condemned to the state of the justified, and, by the influence of its truths on his mind, to render him meet for both worlds. This is the end of divine revelation; and the means

towards its accomplishment is, believing. No man capable of understanding the Gospel, and living within the reach of its joyful sound, has a right to expect the benefits of its deliverance without a firm faith in its great truths, and an humble submission to its dictates. It is to as many as receive Him that the Saviour gives power to become the sons of God. It is faith, the end of which is the salvation of the soul. Here, then, is the difference between faith and unbelief, when viewed in reference to the Gospel revelation. The former justifies; the latter condemns. The Bible tells man what his own conscience tells him,—that he is a sinner. The Bible tells him, what no other book tells him, that Jesus Christ is the only, the all-sufficient, the Divine Saviour; and it assures him that, on the ground of the great atonement, the moral Governor of the universe is able and willing to blot out his transgressions, to deliver him from the condemning sentence of the just law, to make him eternally holy and happy. Now, when a man heartily and practically believes these declarations, there is for him no longer any condemnation. The law, which aforetime condemned him, can do so no longer, because its demands have been fully satisfied in the person of Christ, his Surety. He has, by faith, become united to Him; and, by virtue of this spiritual union, his life is secure,—in the profound language of the New Testament, it is “hid with Christ in God.” But if, on the contrary, a man exercise no faith at all in this revelation of mercy, it is evident that he can receive from it no benefit. If he were under condemnation before the Gospel sounded in his ears, he must be under condemnation still. So that unbelief involves, in its very nature, present condemnation; for, as faith in the Gospel is just an act of the sinner laying hold of God’s method of deliverance, so disbelief, or a rejection of the Gospel, keeps him in subjection to the common sentence; while, in his case, there is a superadded guilt, and, consequently, a superadded punishment, in the very rejection of the Gospel itself. The turning-point of a man’s salvation is thus made, in accordance with the philosophy of man’s nature, as well as with the philosophy of heaven, to depend on a man’s belief or faith.

It is a naked fallacy, running broadly through Secularism, and all other anti-Christian *isms*, that we have no control over our belief. Let this be proven, and the requirements of the Gospel may be set at defiance, and the threatened penalty for non-compliance may be derided. Let the fallacy of this be proven, and infidelity is driven from its refuges. And there is no fallacy we deem more palpable. Man’s responsibility for his belief is not a truth arrived at by processes of reasoning, nor does it rest simply on scriptural assertion; it is a matter of consciousness,—a fundamental fact in our moral constitution. We hold men responsible for the formation of opinions under the influence of which they shape their conduct in secular matters; and why should it be otherwise in religious matters? No judge on the bench

would, for a moment, listen to the plea of a sane-minded man, that he could not help the belief which led him to a course of criminal conduct. And no such plea will serve the unbeliever, either in the court of conscience, or at that higher tribunal to which it points,—the judgment-seat of heaven. Christianity comes before men accompanied with a large amount of moral evidence; it demands no blind obedience,—no unwilling faith. It says, “Attend to that evidence,—look at the seals,—search the document,—examine the witnesses.” This you can do,—this you must do, honestly and impartially; and for the result you are responsible. Every man is conscious that, in moral subjects especially, his belief is very much as he would have it to be. Men’s feelings are continually swaying their beliefs in religious matters; and if men withhold the attention over which they have power, or if they examine the subject carelessly, or under hostile feelings,—for this, God, to whom they are amenable, will hold them responsible. It will not do to say, “Show men the right faith, and they will instinctively follow it.” Secularism, in the estimation of its apostle, is the right faith, and yet comparatively few have any faith in it. The cool reception which Secularism has met with in the world is a practical refutation of this Secularist assertion. If anything were wanting to show that the cause of unbelief, on the part of our Secularists, is more ethical than intellectual, we would only appeal to the unfair representations which they give of the Gospel, and to the desperate spirit of malignity in which they speak of Christianity and its Divine Author. So long as men are led by inclination, and are not the subjects of an irresistible impulse, will it appear an evident fallacy, to say, that those who are punished for rejecting the Gospel are punished for what they cannot avoid.

We have, as yet, found no fair evidence of the truth of the Secularist proposition, that the atonement of Christ is immoral as an example. If a doctrine be immoral in its tendency, men in proportion to the strength of their faith in it should be immoral characters. This test is not to be evaded by saying, that immoral principles are often counteracted by more genial influences. Other influences may weaken a man’s faith in a doctrine, and thus prevent his manifesting the real tendencies of the doctrine itself. But we speak of firm believers in the atonement doctrine. It is not like the belief in a theory about the moon, which exerts no influence on the springs of human conduct. No man can really believe in it—bearing powerfully, as it does, upon the highest human interests—without manifesting in a great degree its native influence. We challenge contradiction in asserting, that the strongest believers in the scriptural doctrine of the atonement have been among the best of men, and the greatest benefactors to the race. Our Secularist opponent would doubtless have produced evidence to the contrary, had he been able.

Where, then, lurks the immorality? The Secularist, in his last refuge, says, "Here it is! The New Testament teaches, that the wrath of God abides on the unbeliever, and, in imitation of this, the wrath of man will be laid there also." The logic here is, that since God has denounced punishment against unbelief, should men take the punishment into their hands, therefore the Bible teaches persecution! Admirable! Irrefragable! Most admirable! There is, throughout the whole of the Secularist discussion, a wretched confusion of ideas with regard to the respective positions of God and man. At one time it is impiously assumed, that God ought to do what He requires man to do; and this is paraded as a "logical and legitimate application" of the golden rule. At another time it is very fallaciously argued, that whatever God, in his capacity of moral Governor, does, man may lawfully imitate. Apply the logic to human affairs, and the absurdity is manifest. Queen Victoria, in the right administration of law, is every day inflicting deserved punishment on public offenders; but were Mr. Holyoake, as a private subject, to do this, and to plead the Monarch's example, he would find the plea unavailing. The Book of God is not to be held accountable for every thing done in its name. It was in the name of Bible religion that Pius IX. very recently presented a tooth of St. Peter to the Emperor of Austria; but *that* religion resents the imposture, and disowns the Pagan foolery. The fiercest persecutions, and the most enormous crimes perpetrated in Christian lands, have taken place under the pretended sanction of that much-dishonoured book, the New Testament. The base coin cannot pass, unless it assumes the King's image and superscription. It is a desperate shift of infidelity, to charge upon the Scriptures the persecutions practised in their name. It is true, that the moral Governor of the universe denounces punishment against the violation of his laws, and the rejection of his authority; but to every one, be he Priest or King, who would invade the Divine prerogative, and execute that punishment, He says, "Vengeance is mine, I will recompense." It must be confessed, then, that Secularism has completely failed in substantiating its charges against the Christian atonement; and we impeach it on the ground of wilfully maligning and slandering the innocent.

But we are apt to forget, like our Secularist himself, that the six nights' public discussion, of which the above is, in part, an analysis, was professedly on the question, "What advantages would accrue to mankind generally, and to the working-classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity, and the substitution of Secularism in its place?" It is amazing that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the metropolis of England, such a question should have been mooted by any man of common enlightenment. But strange things creep forth in sun-

light, as well as during darkness. An enlightened age is no hinderance, in the case of some persons, to the revival of absurdities. If the heavens were to fall, we should catch larks. If Christianity were removed, no doubt we should get Secularism. The "if" is as legitimate in the one case as in the other, and the question, as to advantages, is as reasonable. Never was a question more loudly vaunted at the outset, and more shamefully evaded in actual debate, than was the question before us, by the champion of Secularism. It stands, like a text, at the head of his discourse; but we see or hear little of it throughout the exposition. Most assuredly, it is not by laying down such unproven propositions as,—that nature is the only subject of knowledge,—that science is the providence of man, that morals are independent of the New Testament,—nor is it by maintaining the fallacy of eternal punishments being the central fact of the theory of the atonement, and grossly misrepresenting the atonement itself,—that we are to be converted to the belief, that the world would be advantaged by the removal of the Gospel of Christ, and the substitution of the Gospel of Secularism. The reader of Mr. Holyoake's part of the debate must either be in danger of losing sight of the question amid the irrelevancies into which he leads him, or he must be ever wondering when the Secularist advocate is going to enter into the bush, instead of beating about it. Mr. Grant, whose logic is very inconvenient to his opponent, not unfrequently arrests him in his wanderings by appropriately inquiring, "What has Secularism done for man? what has Secularism done for the people? or what does it propose to do?" And when thus called to a halt, and pointedly questioned, he is careful to give no small answers. Science and Secularism are, in his vocabulary, synonymous terms. The dwarf, at the touch of the magician's wand, rises up a giant. The question swells out to its "proper" shape, "What has science done for man?" And then it becomes "proper" to say, "Civilization itself gives the answer." When you are likely to be caught in a small circle, move to a larger one. When the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it, and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it, let him slip out and take possession of a larger, even though it has rightfully another owner. The distinction between *meum* and *tuum* is often felt to be an inconvenient one, in the field of argument as well as in the field of the world. Secularism takes under its wing all the discoveries made in the heavens above and in the earth beneath. It lays its hand on astronomy and geology, on chemistry and practical mechanics, on the Davy safety-lamp and on the gasometer, on the mariner's compass and the railway,—in short, on all those "material agencies which work together for human welfare,"—and says, "These are mine." Our Secularist chief walks through the kingdom of nature, casts a glance into all the departments of science, and into all the maga-

zines of art, and, like the Babylonish Monarch walking upon the palace, exclaims, "Is not this great Secularism?" It is not befitting to particularize the great things which it has wrought. "Civilization itself" is the sum of its doings!

These are the claims of a weak but bold pretender. Ridicule is the most appropriate weapon with which to meet them. Secularism=science! As well say, Holyoake=Newton, Watt, Davy, &c., &c.! The question, then, should stand thus: "What advantages would accrue to mankind generally, and the working-classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity, and the substitution of *science* in its place?" This is a question which no man durst have propounded without being prepared to encounter a storm of derision. The Secularism that would supplant Christianity, if it could, is in direct antagonism to it. He that loves the one must hate the other. The science wherewith Secularism covers its own nakedness is not only not the opponent of Christianity, but, in the light and under the auspices of Christianity, it has grown up and increased. A corrupt Christianity has opposed science, obstructed the progress of liberty, and played the part of a demon among men. But the pure Christianity of the New Testament is no more responsible for these things, than honest men are responsible for the doings of disguised thieves. It will not do in this age of the world, and in England, where "those material agencies which work together for human welfare" are so extensively patronized by Christians, to allege that Christianity has always opposed science. No doubt Rome was jealous of the telescope, and hostile to the doctrine of the earth's motion, just as Rome now is jealous of the printing-press, and opposed to the introduction of gas and railways; but we no more think of looking to Rome for pure Christianity, than we think of going to the Tiber for pure water. Science is no more the property of Secularism than the sun and moon are; and it is just as true that Christianity is adverse to their shining, as it is that Christianity is antagonistic to science. The giant, then, must return to his naturally diminutive stature. Secularism, for honesty's sake, must relinquish its claim to the empire of science. And our philosopher, instead of counting up the beneficial discoveries of philosophers, between whom and himself there is no relationship, and running away over the fields of civilization, must keep within the walls of his own school, and submit to be asked, not, What has science, but, What has Secularism, done for man? Civilization itself does *not* give the answer. The verdict of history in reference to our own and other civilized lands is, that modern civilization—a civilization immeasurably superior to any thing deserving the name among the ancients—has come in the train and very much as the effect of Christianity. It enables man to make the best use of both worlds. Secularism interdicts all preparation for the future, and has done nothing but utter promises for the present.

So that, overlooking the question of possibility, the proper answer to the question on which all our Secularist's arguments *should* have hinged, is *nil, nil*.

But Secularism, while *promising* advantages to "mankind generally," when it shall have been substituted in the place of Christianity,—

"Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace ;
Our country next, and next all human race,"—

proposes to take under its wing "the working-classes in particular." It wishes to be regarded as pre-eminently the people's system. Its appeals are made to the industrial mind. Our Secularists hang out the flag of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and summon the disaffected to its standard. Their professed practical aim is equitable legislation, and the correction of what is unjust and oppressive in the arrangements of society. Infidel principles assume a palatable form, when allied with a liberal advocacy of what are called "the people's rights." But for this, Robert Owen would never have gained for his new moral world the comparatively few disciples whom he was able to muster ; and the ranks of Secularism, though far from being formidable, would be much more lean and ill-favoured. This claim of Secularism to the people's championship cannot, by any fair mode of adjudication, be conceded. We ask, What has it done for the people ? And we are referred, by its great advocate, to the life of Owen for an illustration. This is more definite and recognisable than saying, "Civilization itself gives the answer." Well : what has "the brave old man," who "deserves to have a heaven to himself," done for the people ? It must be something on a scale of such magnitude, and productive of such beneficial results, as would indicate the advantages which would accrue to them by "the removal of Christianity," and the "substitution of Secularism in its place." The name of Owen, some thirty years ago, figured very prominently among the wonderful would-be regenerators of our race. Some of his projects of social amelioration were looked upon with respect by Governments and Corporations, by Statesmen and royal Dukes. The substitution of the spade for the plough, and the classification of the people in parallelograms, where they were to eat, work, and discharge every function, according to uniform rules, were to involve consequences of the highest concernment to the well-being of mankind. The present "irrational" system of society was to be superseded by the "rational system," in which every one was to be "equally provided, through life, with the best of every thing." All were to be educated, "from infancy to maturity, in the best manner." All were to pass through the "same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment." The "family formation of character," under which children are spoiled by the "silly affection" of their parents,

and rendered unfit for the membership "of a pure democracy," was to be supplanted by "the special care of the township in which they are born." The "barbarous" system of the rod—the infliction of punishment—should be unknown, since all individuals trained under the "rational system" are confidently expected "at all times to think and act rationally." True, there would be some exceptions: there would be the "morally diseased," as well as the "physically" and "intellectually" diseased; but for all such "the mildest treatment which can effect their cure" was reserved in the "rational" hospital. Such were some of the great and good things which Owenism, the parent of Secularism, promised to accomplish for the people. Religion, of course, had no place in it. Owenism had its "discretionary silence," also; but, as we have already said, it was well known to be steeped in atheism. We remember having heard the Socialist patriarch some years ago addressing an audience in Modern Athens, when, in reply to some inconvenient questions, he admitted the existence of a "Power," but deemed it as absurd for man to address prayers to "that Power," as it would be were the meanest reptile to make genuflexions to man himself. The bubble soon burst. Owenist promises remained non-fulfilled. The unfinished parallelogram at Orbiston disappeared. The society at Harmony resolved itself into its discordant elements. The "rational system" failed for the very reason why all such systems fail, namely, the existence of the present "irrational system." Owenism, like Secularism, had neither beam nor mote in its own eye. It threw its own failure on "this half-nurtured, half-trained, doubtfully-conditioned state of society." Much has been done of late years, and much is now being done, for educating, and morally and socially improving, the people; but the good has been effected under the influence of more profound and noble views of man than were developed in "The Book of the New Moral World," or embodied in the drill system of parallelograms. Owen's life has indeed been a life of "labour;" but the fruit has borne no proportion to the blossom: it has been a life of "patience" and of "love" too; for, in spite of all discouragements, he has clung fondly and perseveringly to his crotchets, and continued to indulge the dream that he has the cure for the old diseased world; but we must have some better illustration than the life of this old, good-natured visionary, before we can cease asking, what Secularism has done for the people? *

* The following testimony from New-Lanark,—once the field of hope for Owenism,—bearing date March 16th, 1853, is given in the cheap and excellent little volume containing the Thornton Lectures:—"When Robert Owen came to this village, he was drawn in his carriage by the people; but when he left it, the same individuals were ready to pelt him away. There seems to be only one opinion on the subject, which is, that Owen inflicted a very great evil on the villagers, by instilling into the minds of the children what he called the absurdity of parental restraint, the effects of which were disorder and disunion in families, numbers of illegitimate children, and many other

The men to whom we, as a nation, owe our civil and religious liberties, were far from being Secularists. It must, indeed, be admitted, that the richest forms of modern civilization, as they appear in our own country, have been very much the results of that Christian light and influence, which some among us would extinguish or nullify if they could. We maintain, on the broad basis of facts,—whatever Mr. Newman, one of Mr. Holyoake's oracles, may say to the contrary,—that Christianity is the greatest influence which has elevated womankind, extinguished domestic slavery, improved the character of our judicial code, and given rise to the manifold benevolent institutions which are the glory of the land. It was another philosophy,—it was a better faith,—than Secularism, that has made our people the richest inheritors and best guardians of freedom, and our country the home and refuge of liberty in Europe.

But, says our Secularist, casting a glance over to the Continent, "the struggling peoples of Europe are with us, and, in the hour of their danger, we are with them." Secularism comes forward as the champion of oppressed nationalities. Its shilling deeds, and loudly expressed sympathies, constitute its claim to this high distinction. Most of our readers, doubtless, will think that the foundation is too narrow for the pretension, and will be tempted, with us, to ask, What has it done for the cause of Continental freedom? Multitudes of intelligent and liberal-minded men, all whose sympathies were on the side of the oppressed, are of opinion that, but for the ungodly Secular elements that were mixed up with the people's struggles, the cause of Continental liberation would, in all likelihood, have triumphed. Atheistic Communism put back the dial of freedom many degrees. And, if ever the nations of the Continent are to possess civil and religious liberty, it must be under the leavening influences of other principles than Secularism, which would banish religion from the earth, and obliterate those social inequalities and distinctions which have as real a foundation in human society, as the hills and plains in material nature. We are very sanguine in reference to Italian freedom. The anti-Christ of Popery, and the anti-Christ of Secularist Infidelity, are its two great counter-actives. The New Testament, which both hate, will slay them both. A work is going on silently, but effectually, in Italy, which will one day manifest itself in smiting the twin demons which are ever playing into each other's hands, and keeping in thralldom the souls and bodies of men,—the demon of Popish superstition, and the demon of Atheistic Secularism. The

evils following in their train. It has been very difficult for parents to hold the reins of government: but there is a great improvement going on at present. There is not one in the village that professes to believe Owen's creed. There was one, a talented young man, who advocated Socialist principles; but, a few months since, he voluntarily came forward, and began to subscribe to the Bible Society; and he is now a constant attendant at the worship of the Independents, in the Hall of Science built by Robert Owen."

Papacy knows full well that, in proportion as the pure Word of God attains to a dominion over the Italian mind, does its own despotic dominion totter. Secularism, too, knows, that the Bible, which adapts itself to man as a spiritual, immortal, and fallen being, is an invincible barrier in the way of establishing a system which ignores God and immortality, cuts the link which connects earth with heaven, and the present with the future.

Attempts are accordingly made, by our Secularist apostle, to prejudice the working-classes against the Bible, by representing it as the enemy of all social and political reform; just as the Papacy interdicts it to the common people, on the alleged ground, that their unrestricted use of it would peril their salvation. Certainly, the one representation is as correct as the other,—the one ground is as tenable as the other. This, however, is a common mode of appeal from the Secularist chair. "Why I do not use the Bible as a book of advocacy," says Mr. Holyoake, "is, that I find in it so much that may be honestly quoted against all social and political reform, and that passages might often come up which would confound me." We have a strong persuasion that *his* ideas of social and political reform are not exactly such as it would be desirable to see realized among the nations; and we agree with him in thinking that, in his advocacy of these views, there are passages in the Bible which would come up and confound him. But when we are told, in unqualified terms, that "the Bible is the ruin of progress," and that it 'may be honestly quoted against *all* social and political reform," we ask, Where are the "passages," and what is the actual evidence? Know ye not, says our Secularist, that the New Testament is the "argumentative stronghold" of American slaveholders; that the serfs of Russia are taught from it to make no effort for temporal freedom; that the Catholic is as strong in its pages as the Protestant, and the tyrant as strong as the patriot? If this be so, how comes it that slaveholders are so zealous of the Bible and the Missionary? that the Russian Clergy offer it to speak to the serfs, only as it is distilled through the "Wilna Catechism?" that the Catholic Church cannot trust it, without note or comment, to the people, in the vernacular idiom? and that tyrants have found their most formidable opponents in Bible-enlightened people? It would not surprise us to hear, some day, that Secularism had found footing in its pages. We assure Mr. Holyoake, that the very same principles of interpretation which enable civil and ecclesiastical oppressors to quote from it to the ruin of all progress, would enable him to employ it in his peculiar advocacy. The Book has attained to such a position in the world, and is clothed with such majesty and authority, that it is deemed right, at the sacrifice of a little candour, to extract something from it in favour of any or of every system. In this way we would undertake to prove that the New Testament is as much the "argumentative stronghold"

of Secularists, as it is of slaveholders. Only part off passage from passage,—heed not the connexion in which they stand, nor the design for which they are given,—and the thing is done. The New-Testament writers, for example, suggest, on the one hand, such considerations, and lay down such principles, as would lead masters to emancipate their slaves, and thus ultimately to abolish the evil system; while, on the other hand, lest Christianity should have been made an element of social disorganization, they teach the bondmen, so long as the relation remains, to be gentle and obedient. The Bible is thus, indeed, though in a sense different from Mr. Holyoake's meaning, "a double book." It says, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal," as well as, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters." Wilna Catechisms, and slavery-defenders, and some other folks who would not like to be named with them, make it a single book. It is because "the poor negro" can cry "for deliverance in its language," and, in its name, demand that his master should give unto him "that which is just and equal," that the master with the lash tears it asunder. It was very much the influence of this "double book" that elevated the serfs of our own soil to the position of freemen; and that, in more recent times, abolished in our colonies the slave-trade and slavery. Like some of the great, but silent, elevating processes of nature, this book goes on, age after age, and year after year, gradually lifting up and bettering the masses of society among whom it comes. It will smite, with the breath of its mouth, American slavery, civil and ecclesiastical despotism in the Continental nations, just as it has smitten similar evils among ourselves. To its light and influence, allied with and fostering all that is true in science and art, in literature and legislation, we look for a true progress to the working-classes of our own and other lands.

But "the Bible," after all, "is the ruin of progress." "It has not," as Mr. Hinton remarks, "prevented the progress of science and the arts,—the invention of printing, of the telescope, of the steam-engine, of the photograph. The Bible is placing no sensible obstruction in the way of the gigantic steps which art and science are either taking or projecting at the present moment. The Bible is not impeding beneficial legislation." But "the grand scheme of Secularism is 'to effect the equalization of human condition in this world;' or, which is the same thing, to get up a crusade against property, to abolish all private rights, and to deny to every man a title to call any thing his own. Thus is Mr. Holyoake re-producing, but more stealthily, the pernicious doctrine of his friend and former associate, Mr. Owen, that the institution of property is one of the great plagues of human society; and we have before us only an old acquaintance in a new cloak, or decrepit Socialism dressed in swaddling-clothes and freshly christened Secularism. To progress thus understood, I admit that the Bible is an obstructive power; and I

thankfully take its patron's testimony, that the Bible will be the 'ruin' of it. Little way will be made in such a scheme, while men pay respect to the precept, 'Thou shalt not steal.'"

Of the utility of the public discussion which has passed under our review, different opinions will be entertained by different minds. Some good persons have an aversion to such debates; not from any fear of the might and mastery of Infidelity, but lest greater currency should be given to pernicious errors. In this feeling we do not participate.* Secularism is a monster that lives and is propagated in dusky alleys and lanes;—bring it forth to open day, and it sickens and expires. We augur much good from the public exposure to which it has recently been subjected. Too long has it been suffered to run riot in certain quarters, without being called publicly to account. It has gone among the working-classes, loud in its sympathies and liberal in its professions, and has thus procured a hearing for its irreligious discourse. We trust that such classes are becoming more and more generally convinced, that they can find elsewhere all the sympathy and liberality worth having, and much more to ameliorate their condition, without any of the ungodly mixture. The recent debate will have contributed something to this end. It had a special reference to them. Christian men of distinguished talents and public spirit manifested their interest in the working-classes by their presence. Secularism was fairly weighed in the balance and found wanting. No intelligent artisan, open to conviction, could have followed that debate, or can have since perused it in its printed form, without coming to the conclusion, that mankind generally, and the working-classes in particular, would have every thing to lose by the substitution of Secularism in the place of Christianity. Not the least valuable part of the discussion was the exposition given of Secularism by the Secularist advocate himself. That exposition is enough to secure its condemnation. Mr. Holyoake, we are persuaded, did justice to the system. Secularists have no reason to complain of their champion. If he was weak in argument, it was because his argumentative hold was not strong. If he laid down large and well-rounded propositions which dwindled down into nothing, it was because of the difficulty of maintaining, that profession is principle,—that blossom is fruit. A man may be blamed for

* On many accounts, however, we decidedly prefer the lecture system to that of platform discussions. Men come to the latter very much as they go to the hustings on the days of a contested election. Strong party feeling is manifested, appeals to party prejudices are made, and a party triumph is likely to be the great end sought after. Something of this, it is true, may attend a course of lectures, but by no means to the same extent. Men's passions are roused around the arena of the platform; men's judgments are more called into exercise in the lecture-room. There is a stronger temptation to indulge in personalities and irrelevancies in the one case than in the other. An individual, as remarkable for fluency of tongue as weakness of argument, may ask, "Why do the Clergy avoid discussion, and the philosophers discountenance it?" The answer to be given on behalf of the Clergy and the philosophers is *not*, that they dread Secularist logic.

adopting a bad cause; but he is not to be blamed because he cannot make it good. Mr. Grant is, unquestionably, a man of much more logical acuteness than his opponent; but he triumphed because Christianity's place of defence is, the "munitions of rocks;" whereas Secularism has no better footing than the shifting sand.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Public Education, as affected by the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council, from 1846 to 1852: with Suggestions as to Future Policy.* By SIR JAMES KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, Bart. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1853.
2. *The Educational Institutions of the United States: their Character and Organization.* Translated from the Swedish of P. A. SILJESTRÖM, M.A., by FREDERICA ROWAN. London: John Chapman. 1853.
3. *The School in its Relations to the State, the Church, and the Congregation: being an Explanation of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in August and December, 1846.* London: John Murray.
4. *Strictures on the New Government Measure of Education.* By EDWARD BAINES. London: John Snow. 1853.
5. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1852-53.*

IN one of his shorter Dialogues, Plato introduces Socrates as discoursing with two friends, who had applied to him for direction, as to the proper course to be pursued in the education of their children. The request itself may be held to have been sufficiently indicative of the earnestness of their desire for information. But, by an artifice very commonly employed in the commencement of these Dialogues, Socrates is represented as endeavouring to sharpen that desire by certain preliminary questions and remarks, tending to enhance their interest in the important subject to which their inquiry was directed. Amongst other pertinent and pithy things, he says to them, "Suppose you that you are now running a risk about a small affair, and not rather about that which is the greatest of all things belonging to you? For, assuredly, whether the sons of each of you shall turn out to be good or otherwise, so the entire family will fare, according as the character of your sons may be."*

To the mind of a Greek, the transition, by analogy, from the family to the city (or the state) was natural and easy; the πόλις

* *Ἡ περὶ μικροῦ αἰέσθε νυνὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τούτου τοῦ κτήματος ὃ τῶν ὑμετέρων μέγιστον ὅν τυγχάνει; υἱῶν γάρ που ἡ χρηστῶν ἢ τὰναντία γενομένων, καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος οὕτως οἰκήσεται, ὅποιοι ἂν τινες οἱ παῖδες γένωνται.—Platon. *Laches*, sect. 10.

being, in his estimation, simply an *οἶκος* on an extended scale. So strong, indeed, was the analogy, supposed or rather *felt* to exist, between the one and the other, that, by an almost necessary consequence, it impressed itself, to an extent which is remarkable, on many of the forms of their established phraseology. And so a considerable number of words, which in the first instance were strictly appropriate to family affairs, were early adopted and permanently retained, as being equally applicable to civil relations and affairs of state.*

It was evidently on the assumption of this general analogy, that the common interests and reciprocal duties, naturally growing out of the relationship subsisting between the head of a family and its members, came to be regarded as having their parallels in the common interests and correlative obligations, which cemented and bound together the *πολιτεία*, (or "republic,") and the *πολῖται*, (or "citizens,") of whom it was composed. And as, for the purpose of his own welfare and that of his whole family, it was alike the interest and the duty of the parent to make adequate provision for the proper education of his children, so it was supposed to be the duty of the ruling powers in the republic to concern themselves upon the subject of the due instruction and training of its youthful subjects.

The analogy suggested by the aphorism of Plato, above quoted, was fully carried out by his bolder disciple of Stagira, who, in express terms, expanded the application of that aphorism from the *family* to the State. "Since," says he, "every family is a part of a State, and these (the father, the wife, and the children) are parts of a family, and the excellency of the part should be subservient to the excellency of the whole, it is necessary to instruct both the children and the women, with a view to the advantage of the State; if, indeed, it be of any consequence, as bearing on the State's being good, that the children, also, and the women should be good; as in reality it must be."† And in conformity with this expansion of the original analogy, he says again, "No one can question but that it is the special duty of the *νομοθέτης* (or 'legislator') to concern himself about the education of young persons, inasmuch as the States, in which this is not done, must of necessity suffer."‡ He also contends, that "the instruction and training given to young persons should be *κοινήν*, ('public' or 'common,') as well as *ένα*, (or 'one,')" and not private, or varied, according to the will or humour of the parents. And he expresses his high com-

* See *οἶκος* and its derivatives in any Greek Lexicon.

† 'Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἶκος μὲν πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα δ' οἶκας· τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν ἀρετὴν, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέποντας, παιδεύειν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας· εἴπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σπουδαίαν, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι σπουδαίους, καὶ γυναῖκας σπουδαίας· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν.—*Arist., Polit.*, lib. i., cap. 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. 1.

commendation of the Spartans for their adherence to the former method, implying at the same time his strong disapproval of the practice of the Athenians, who had adopted the latter.*

With reference to the analogy on which Aristotle is thus shown to have constructed his theory of Public Education, we are disposed to admit, and even to maintain, that the principle which it involves is good,—far too good, to be classed amongst the things which ought never to have been thought of, and should now be forgotten; though, be it noted, we should be loth to follow either Aristotle, or any of his modern imitators in the art of framing republics, in their sweeping and wholesale application of it. The legislator, if he be a true patriot and a wise man, will not deem it unworthy either of his position or his character, that he should act on this analogy, so far as it may be possible for him to do so, consistently with the respect he owes to other and, it may be, higher claims and obligations. Nor will it be a recompense of small account, if, as the result of his pursuing such a course, the inscription, “*pater patriæ*,” should grace the marble or the bronze, which shall transmit his image and his name to future generations. But, few analogies are perfect. They require, therefore, to be very nicely watched and handled, or, instead of giving us assistance, as illustrations of the truth, they will betray us into error and absurdity. So, in the particular case in question, a general analogy, of admirable use in skilful hands and within proper bounds, has been strained by certain philosophers and legislators beyond the limits to which it can reasonably be permitted to extend, and so has been made the pretext of a system in which the correspondence between the original idea of a wise and generous state-paternity, and the paternity of private life, ceases to be recognised. We repeat it, the analogy itself is good. But theorists, too eagerly intent upon their object, to see the slipperiness of the ground beneath their feet, and overlooking, in their haste to arrive at their conclusion, the real meaning of the premises by which they sought to reach it,—have turned the analogy, which was assumed as the basis of their reasoning, into a pure absurdity. The Procrustean scheme of Public Education, which they have left as one of the results of their philosophy, in the very circumstance of its over-riding and ignoring *altogether* the earlier and more sacred responsibilities and rights inherent in the *true* parental relationship, renders the *state*-paternity, on the assumption of which it is established, an affinity to be repudiated and abjured rather than accepted. And so, except in countries governed by an arbitrary tyranny, it is, in fact, utterly impracticable.

The truth, as to the right and duty of a Government to interfere in the education of the people, is generally to be found just

* *Arist., Polit.*, lib. viii., cap. 1.

where the eminent philosopher last-mentioned was wont to teach that all the virtues may be found ; that is, in something like a *mean* between two widely separated and contradictory extremes,—namely, that of over-meddling, and that of not meddling at all. In other words, the two extremes are,—that of leaving the education of children, in all cases, solely to the discretion and ability of their parents,—and that of taking it out of the hands of the parents altogether. The Spartan practice was a remarkable instance of the last-mentioned of these two extremes ; and the theories of those who would repudiate, under all and any circumstances, any assistance from the State, are examples of the former. And, keeping in view the ethical theory of the Stagirite, the *juste milieu* will approximate to the one, or to the other, of these two extremes, as a *variable* point, according to the varying character and circumstances of the people and the government, in the countries where general education, as an affair of national interest, requires to be promoted.

All this, by way of introduction, and for the purpose of reminding some, who would appear to have forgotten, that national education, under national auspices, and at the national expense, is not to be reckoned amongst the *discoveries* of this inventive and improving age, as would appear to be implied in certain popular writings and public addresses on the subject. It is, in fact, simply the resurgence of an old, but, until lately, somewhat neglected, principle of political economy, the history of which might almost take rank with that of a “Forgotten Fact in Optics,” detected some years ago, by an old friend of ours,* in the “*Noctes Atticæ*” of Aulus Gellius. Other points of coincidence, in this matter, between the ancients and the moderns, may suggest themselves as we proceed.

Whatever diversities of opinion may have prevailed, as to the right or duty of the State to interfere, authoritatively or otherwise, in the education of the people, the fact has been, that comparatively little interference from that quarter was practised in ancient days, or even subsequently to the Christian era, until some time after the Reformation from Popery. According to Dr. Schmitz,† the first effort towards a *public* system of education at Rome “was made A.D. 99, by the Emperor Trajan, who, in that year, made a foundation, upon which free-born, but poor, boys and girls were to be educated.” And of Antoninus Pius it is said, with an emphasis which indicates that the practice had not been common with his predecessors, that “during his reign the interests of education and literature were promoted in all parts of the empire by the honours and distinctions conferred upon rhetoricians and philosophers, who were appointed every-

* The late W. G. Horner, Esq., of Bath :

“*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis ?*”——

† “History of Rome,” p. 614.

where, without any reference to sect or school, and received annual salaries of 600 sesterces." * We need the less to wonder that there should be so little evidence of public education, either in imperial Rome, or its dependencies, as we are informed by Suetonius, that the Romans thought the education of their children a business properly belonging to the parents themselves. And Plutarch, in the "Life of Marcus Cato," tells us, that as soon as his son was capable of learning, Cato would suffer nobody to teach him but himself, although he had a servant, named Chilo, who was an excellent grammarian, and who taught a great many other youths.†

For ages afterwards we look in vain for any traces of what might properly be called National or Public Education in the Roman Empire or elsewhere. It seems to have lain buried, or very nearly so, for a period, the long duration of which had well-nigh caused it to be utterly forgotten, or remembered only as something belonging to the antiquated records of a semi-barbarous age. But at length, under the genial influence of a reviving Christianity, it re-appeared in Scotland, like the fair snowdrop, which marks the opening change of winter into spring,—the omen and pledge of brighter suns and a less chilly atmosphere. As having been probably the first in modern times to re-assert, and carry into practice, the claim and obligation of the civil power—upon the occurrence of a clear emergency and under certain conditions—to concern itself and to take vigorous action in regard to the education of the people, Scotland has achieved a distinction which should be ever gratefully remembered and acknowledged. Lord Brougham speaks of having "seen a charter of King David of Scotland, granted in 1241, in which mention is made of public schools in Roxburgh; another, dated 1163, which speaks of the schools of Stirling; another, which, in 1244, notices the number of schools at Ayr; and a fourth, dated 1256, which makes honourable mention of the manner in which the schools of other districts were conducted."‡ The commencement thus made by the State in Scotland in the thirteenth century, was afterwards, with the energy and perseverance which have ever characterized the inhabitants of that country, vigorously carried out by the Kirk of Scotland, and also by the Government. It was enacted by the Government, in 1494, that all Barons and substantial freeholders should send their children to school from the age of six to nine years, and then to other seminaries. In 1615, an Act of the Privy Council of Scotland empowered the Bishops, along with the majority of the landlords, or heritors, to establish a school in every parish of their respective dioceses, and to assess the lands for that purpose.

* Schmitz, "History of Rome," p. 624.

† "Spectator," No. 313.

‡ Speech of Mr. Brougham in the House of Commons, June 29th, 1820, on the occasion of his moving for leave to bring in a Bill for the Education of the Poor in England and Wales.

And this Act of the Privy Council was confirmed by an Act of the Scotch Parliament, in 1683. In 1561 the Book of Discipline, adopted at that date by the General Assembly, declared it to be imperatively necessary that there should be a school in every parish, for the instruction of the youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue. It was even suggested that parents should not be permitted to neglect the education of their children, but that the nobility and gentry should be obliged to do so at their own expense; and that a fund should be provided for the education of the children of the poor who discovered talents or aptitude for learning. In 1688, this benevolent provision was not only re-established, but still further extended. And finally, in 1696, an act of (the Scotch) Parliament was passed respecting schools, realizing the great object which had been long and earnestly sought by the Presbyterian Church, and by no other Church in Christendom,—a school in every parish throughout the whole kingdom, so far supported by the public funds as to render education accessible to even the poorest in the community.

Amongst the continental nations, and in England, the re-awakening of an earnest disposition to promote, by special provision for that purpose, the general education of the people, appears to date from the new impulse which was given to piety and learning by the vivifying spirit of the Protestant Reformation, and which, in all the countries pervaded by its influence, led to the multiplication of schools in all directions, for the poorer, as well as for the middle and higher, classes. And that, not only on the part of Protestants, but on that of the Papists too, who deemed it necessary, in self-defence, to put into abeyance their favourite and well-known principles and general practice in favour of the popular ignorance, for which they had been wont to plead as “the mother of devotion,” and to scramble for their share in the general adventure. But it was not until the seventeenth century that the business of popular education came to be included in the scope of legislative interference. And, in the majority of instances, down to so recent a period as the close of the last, or the commencement of the present, century, it remained amongst the things supposed to be appropriate to, and sufficiently provided for by, the unaided resources and activities of the “voluntary principle,” as likely to exert itself in the dictates of parental conscience and affection, and in the generous and patriotic zeal of Christian benevolence and charity. At the earlier period to which we have adverted, as furnishing exceptions to this general statement, the interference which was practised was chiefly in the way of *school-compulsion*; that is, an obligation upon parents either to send their children to some school, or otherwise to show sufficient reason for their omitting so to do. “This obligation,” we are told by one of Mrs. Austin’s learned correspondents, (who writes on the authority of J. K. F. Schlegel,

in 1824,) "is at least as old as 1681 in the Principality of Calenberg, as 1689 in that of Celle, as 1663 in the Principality of Hildesheim, as 1752 in the Duchy of Bremen and Verden." An authority derived from other sources, the same correspondent says, that "it is at least as old as 1643 in Saxe-Gotha, as 1769 in Lippe-Detmold, as 1769 in Prussia." It may be added, that in New-England it was adopted as early as the year 1642; and in Scotland, even as early as 1494. And, further, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the Government in Prussia and Germany interfered, as will hereafter be more particularly mentioned, in the business of promoting the instruction, and regulating the appointment, of Schoolmasters.

And now, France and England alone, with few exceptions, lagged in the rear of other European nations; though in the general circumstances and internal condition of neither of the usually leading countries did there exist any just reason, why they should not have shown themselves amongst the very first to begin, rather than amongst the last to follow, in an enterprise so greatly needed, and, if only well and wisely undertaken, so richly fraught at the same time with every kind of advantage. France may be left to answer for herself in this matter. And she may also be allowed to make the very most of the honourable fact, of her having anticipated us, at the time of her commencement, in this great business; as well as of the farther circumstance of her having thrown her educational proceedings almost wholly into the hands of the disciples and agents of Rome. But on behalf of our own countrymen we will take leave to say, that their characteristic unwillingness to commit themselves to any movement of importance, which appears to admit of further delay and more exact inquiry,—the yet imperfect knowledge of the real state of education in this country,—the wide and irreconcilable differences of opinion which existed upon various points connected with the subject,—and the existence of no small amount of doubt and suspicion, as to the intrinsic value of the new Continental systems and the probability of their working to advantage, or even with safety amongst a people so widely different as we are, in sundry respects, from those nations in which they are said to have largely succeeded,—may be offered as a fair explanation, if not a satisfactory defence, of the tardiness with which the Legislature of our country may seem to have proceeded in this matter. For ourselves, we are not quite sure but that results will show, if those who complain upon this subject will only exercise a little patience, that, according to the law which obtains in mechanics, we have gained in *power* what we have lost in *time*. We are even inclined to think, that, as one result of the comparative slowness of our procedure in the case, the interests of public education in this country are in a stronger and more hopeful position, than if we had been in greater haste to copy

at once, and at all hazards, or even with less of caution and deliberation, the example either of France, or of any other of our Continental neighbours.

In the first instance, our countrymen were very slow to believe that the want of education amongst the humbler classes existed to any such extent as to require large general arrangements for its further promotion, either by private effort, or by legislative measures, such as those which had been adopted on the Continent. And when, from a more particular attention to the educational statistics exhibited in the Reports of the Education Committee,* and the Commission of Inquiry into Public Charities, the fact of a very serious deficiency in this department of our national economy became undeniably apparent, it was yet generally believed, for some time, that such deficiency might be very soon and easily supplied by voluntary contributions, with very little help, or even without any help at all, either from the public exchequer, or from local taxation. "In large towns," says Lord Brougham, in 1818,† "exceeding 7,000 or 8,000 inhabitants, there exist, generally speaking, sufficiently ample means of instructing the poor; not that there is almost any town where all can at present be taught, but that the laudable exertions of individuals are directed every where to this object, and are daily making such progress as will leave, in time, nothing to be wished for. Societies are formed, or are forming, of respectable and opulent persons, who, to their infinite credit, besides furnishing the necessary funds, do not begrudge—what many withhold who are liberal enough of their pecuniary assistance—their time, and their persevering and active exertion. Nor is it confined to the metropolis and larger cities. We find hardly a town of any note, in which some associations of this kind have not been formed; and there can be no doubt, that a sufficient number of schools to educate all the poor of such populous places may be maintained by the voluntary contributions of such bodies, if the obstacle be removed, which the first expense of the undertaking occasions. In parts of the country which are thinly peopled, and where the means of instruction are scanty, the poor are every where anxious for education, and are willing to make any sacrifice, within the bounds of possibility, to attain this object of their ardent and strenuous desire." In immediate connexion with these remarks, he says, "Where so powerful a disposition to carry on this good work exists in the community itself, we should be very careful how we interfere with it by any legislative provisions." The Committee of Education, however, of which he was the Chairman, went so far as to express its opinion, "that a sum of money might be well

* Appointed in 1816, and continued for three years.

† Speech on the Education of the Poor, delivered in the House of Commons, May 8th, 1818.

employed in supplying the first cost, (for building and outfit,) leaving the charity of individuals to furnish the annual provision requisite for continuing the school, and possibly for repaying the advance."

A somewhat glowing description this, upon the whole, of the condition and prospects of the country at that date, with reference to the means of popular instruction existing in 1818. But, unhappily, though not in the intention of its author, it was more resplendent with rhetoric than with truth. Accordingly, from evidence which, of course, it is not in our power to state exactly, but which we may fairly conclude to have been that which was beginning to convince all parties, except the *ultra*-voluntaries, that the story was "too good to be true," he appears very soon afterwards to have modified his views, both as to the extent of the existing want, and as to the means of its supply. In 1820, on the occasion of his introducing into the House of Commons a measure for the attainment of this object,* after a comparison of other countries with our own in educational matters, he pronounced Middlesex to be, "without dispute, the worst-educated part of Christendom." He farther stated, that, in England generally, "every fifth person was without the means of education; so that the condition of Switzerland was twelve times better than our own; and that there were about 12,000 districts in England, of which 3,500 had not even the vestige of a school; they had no more means of education than were to be found in the country of the Hottentots." Far be it from us to speak otherwise than in the most respectful terms, and with the most grateful feelings, of the distinguished nobleman, to whom the cause of education in this country is so deeply indebted. But, placing side by side the representation of 1818 and that of 1820, we ask our readers to "look on this picture and on that!" And we shall greatly wonder if their surprise at this bound—shall we say, from one extreme to another—do not exceed even that which some of them may have experienced on the memorable occasion of his passing, *per saltum*, from the Opposition benches of the House of Commons to the Woolsack!

For the purpose of supplying the deficiency which he described as being so disgraceful, he proposed that the ecclesiastical division of districts should be adopted; and that the building and maintenance of schools should be promoted, where they were required, under the authority of the Quarter-Sessions, who should have a discretionary power, on their being appealed to for that purpose by competent parties, to order the building of a school and the appointment of a master,—the public to be answerable for the sum expended in building the school,—but the salary to be defrayed by the county to the amount of £20 or £30, and the schoolmaster to depend, for the residue of his maintenance, on

* See Speech delivered in the House of Commons, June 29th, 1820.

the success of his exertions as a teacher. The rest of the details were framed upon the avowed principle, that "the burden"—we should rather say, the *advantage*—"of the whole measure must, of course, be thrown upon the Ministers of the Established Church; and that the system of public education should be closely connected with that Church." And so, bating a few saving clauses and exceptional provisions, intended to conciliate the Dissenters, it was an affair of the Established Church from the beginning to the end.

We find it difficult to persuade ourselves, that the author of the measure could have cherished any considerable expectation of succeeding, either with Parliament or with the country, in proposals so one-sided and suspicious as those which it embodied. But, in his connection with the Education Committee of the three preceding years, he had aroused, in certain quarters, no small amount of alarm as to the mischief which himself and that Committee were supposed to be preparing. To use his Lordship's own words, uttered in 1835,* there had been those who "thought that he was sowing, broad-cast, the seeds of revolution, and who did not scruple to accuse him of aiming at the *dictatorship*, by undermining the foundations of all property; and who also believed, that the Education Committee was pulling down the Church by pulling down the Universities and great schools, and that his only design could be, to raise some strange edifice of power upon the ruins of all our institutions, ecclesiastical and civil." Under this view of the suspicion and odium which he had incurred, taken in connection with the fact, that the Clergy in general were now disposed to look at his proceedings in a more favourable light, as was evident from the alacrity with which they had furnished him with the required Returns, the measure in question may be regarded as having been, at once, an "*amende honorable*" for the strange fright which he had so unwittingly occasioned, and a satisfactory pledge of his orthodoxy for the future.

The Bill was lost, of course; but it was not without other uses than that of setting its projector right with his friends of the Establishment. It had, further, the effect of stirring up the public mind from the condition of comparative stagnation into which—even upon subjects of the deepest interest—it is so ready to subside, and also of rectifying some of the *data* and conditions which are required for the determinate, or even approximate, solution of the educational problem which then was, and still appears to be, the master-puzzle of the country. And, on the supposition—which we incline to think the future historian will consider as a fact—that the introduction of this Bill was mainly a tentative procedure, intended to elicit and

* Speech on the Education of the People, delivered in the House of Lords, May 23rd, 1835.

exhibit conclusive evidence as to the policy or even practicability of creating in this country, at the national expense, a National School-system, cognate in principle, and commensurate in its extent, with the Church which, by general courtesy, is called "National," it was the means of virtually settling the two-fold question of possibility and prudence, in a manner which ought to have been sufficient to quiet all High-Church aspirings in the case, on one hand, and all apprehension of unfair dealing, on the other.

The general question was revived, at intervals, in various ways; but nothing very material was done until the year 1833, when, on the motion of Lord Althorp, an annual grant of £20,000 was made by Parliament, for the promotion of education in Great Britain. This money was applied, in the first instance, through the medium of the British and Foreign School Society, and the National Society, to aid their resources, and the voluntary contributions in each locality, in the erection of schools.

It still remained to be seen whether or not it was practicable to establish a general system for the education of the people, on the principle of recognising the equality of their civil rights in matters of religion. Accordingly, in 1839, under the auspices of Lord Melbourne's administration, an earnest attempt was made to carry an Education Bill constructed strictly on that principle. And in this attempt the Government was countenanced by the majority of the Protestant Dissenters, who, during the six preceding years, had supported the British and Foreign School Society, as one of the almoners of the Treasury in the distribution of the annual Parliamentary Grant, and who had also warmly encouraged the establishment of the Committee of Council on Education. But the High-Church party, as if still smarting from the discomfiture of 1820,—and some of them, at least, in a tone which reminded us of the *memorem iram*, and the *mene incepto desistere victam*, of "the sister and the wife of Jove,"—assailed the scheme with all the authority and influence they could command in the country, in both Houses of Parliament, and at the foot of the throne. This opposition on their part might have been described in gentler terms, but that, not satisfied with objecting to the measure on the grounds of its interference with the assumed prerogative and practical operation of their Church, and its positive encouragement of Popery, they rushed into the extreme of an exclusiveness which, had it not been that it was generally regarded as a subject for contempt and ridicule, rather than for serious alarm, would have made the furnace of the general contention seven times hotter than it was. A leading Resolution, adopted at one of the most numerous and respectable of the many meetings convened upon the subject, affirmed, that "national education, to be conducted on any sound and consistent principle, must be carried on in connexion with the Church of England, and under the superintendence of

the Clergy." And the *magnus Apollo* of the meeting maintained, that "to the Clergy, of right, belonged the education of the people, and he must protest against its being taken away from their superintendence." "We," (the Clergy and laymen of the Church,) said he, "would establish and endow scriptural schools for all who are willing, or whom we could persuade, to come to them; and *we would endow no other*. If other persons set up schools, we would say, Let such persons alone, except so far as you can persuade. If this, the highest ground, cannot be taken, the next best course is, to do nothing." By the Wesleyan community, and by very many others, the measure was opposed, on account of the mischievous latitudinarianism of its basis, its violation of the Protestant principles of the British constitution, and its tendency, in practice, to make public education irreligious. The promoters of the Bill were thus driven by the storm from their immediate purpose, with reference to the establishment of a National Normal School; and on the 4th of June it was finally abandoned. The Committee of Council, however, which had been appointed in the month of April of the same year, persisted in the prosecution of their general object, by securing an enlargement of the Parliamentary grant for educational purposes, and by the establishment of a system for the periodical inspection of all schools receiving assistance from the same. They also succeeded in their recommendation,—first, that the sum of £10,000, granted by Parliament in 1835, towards the erection of Normal or Model Schools, should be given, in equal proportion, to the National Society, and to the British and Foreign School Society; and, secondly, that the remainder of the grants of the years 1837 and 1838, yet unappropriated, and any grant that might be voted in the current year, should be chiefly applied in aid of subscriptions for building, and, in particular cases, for the support of schools connected with these societies. In addition to this, they adopted measures for the development of a system of apprenticeship of pupil teachers. With a view to this, they directed Forms of Apprenticeship to be prepared; and these were published in the first volume of their Minutes, together with a brief account of the Dutch School organization, and farther information with respect to plans of school-buildings and arrangement of classes, calculated to remove all *practical* obstacles to the adoption of the system.

For the purpose of removing the *theoretical* objections growing out of an extensively-prevailing suspicion of the evils which might come in, with the adoption of continental fashions in so grave a business, the Norwood School of Industry, and other schools of pauper children, had been carefully organized on the Dutch plan. Assistant teachers were placed under the direction of the master. Pupil teachers, selected from amongst the most proficient scholars, were apprenticed to him; and Lord John

Russell, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, appropriated £500 per annum to the promotion of these new arrangements, so that the experiment might be fairly tried.

“As soon as the system had received a sufficient development, it was thrown open for public inspection every Friday, and visited by all who took an interest in the progress of Public Education. The vague apprehension of the introduction of a foreign innovation was thus effectually dissipated. The Schools of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, of the Juvenile Prison at Parkhurst, and of other public establishments, were subsequently organized in the same manner.

“The exorcism of this prejudice, however, was an easy task, compared with the difficulty next to be encountered. Not only were the Pupil-teachers to be apprenticed, but they required daily instruction in a much higher class of studies than the scholars of elementary schools. The existing race of masters was, for the most part, incompetent for the discharge even of this lower class of duties; and to have apprenticed Pupil-teachers to them would have been to insure the failure of the new plan of organization. The schools which were organized under the Poor-Law Commission, the Admiralty, and other departments, were supplied with masters chiefly selected from Scotland; but these were, generally, imperfectly instructed in method, and ignorant of the organization of schools. The Teachers of the National and the British and Foreign School Societies were then trained, for short periods only, in teaching in their Central Schools, and received little instruction beyond the opportunities of observation and practice thus afforded. The foundation of a Normal School was, therefore, indispensable.”—*Sir J. K. Shuttleworth*, pp. 61, 62.

But how was this great object to be gained? The Government had, very recently, experienced a severe defeat in their attempt to establish such an institution, and were not likely very soon to renew the hazards and the party-strife which would be probably connected with any new attempt, on their part, to meet the exigency of the case. And thus, as it respected any general improvement of the Teachers of Elementary Schools, matters seemed to have arrived at a dead lock. But the stream of general feeling on this subject, hemmed up on one hand, found an opening in another. The account is thus given by Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth :—

“To give an example of the constitution of a Training School,—to make trial of the peculiar difficulties of its discipline,—to develop a suitable scheme of study,—to settle the proper methods and course of instruction,—to determine the mode in which the teaching of the Training School might itself serve as an example to the future elementary schoolmaster,—and to settle the relations between the Training and Practising Schools, were all matters on which it was felt to be useful that experience should be obtained. But what was most important was, to discern and to develop the proper tone of thought and character among the students,—to send them forth under the influence of right principles,—and to give them a true insight into the responsibilities and rewards of their vocation. These were the objects which

the founders of the first English Training School proposed to themselves. The present Bishop of Sodor and Man placed his village-school (at Battersca) under their direction as a Practising School, and, with no little magnanimity, became the Religious Superior of the Training College. The founders commenced their labours in 1840, by removing from Norwood several Pupil Teachers, who had been pauper children in that school, and who are now successful masters of parochial schools. They published two Reports of their Proceedings, before they submitted the College to the examination of the Queen's Inspectors; and, after four years, when it had produced the effects for which it was established, they transferred it to the management of the National Society.

"The consequences of this step were soon felt. The vague apprehensions of evil, from the influence of such institutions, were converted into a general confidence in their tendencies, and a conviction of their necessity. The religious communions, by whose exertions the plan of the Government Normal School had been defeated in 1839, felt that, with this public example of the beneficial influence of such an institution, they could not justify that opposition unless they founded Training Colleges. Notwithstanding, therefore, the large amount of funds required for their erection, and for the charges of their maintenance, schemes for founding Training Schools were speedily formed. The Committee of Council encouraged these plans by grants of money; and, in 1844, framed a Minute, defining the conditions on which they would continue to grant such aid towards the erection of suitable buildings.

"Before the publication of the '*Minutes of 1846*,' *six* Training Schools for schoolmasters, and *three* for schoolmistresses, had been founded in England, and *four* in Scotland, all of which were under the inspection of the Committee of Council on Education; besides which, *two* Normal Schools, connected with the Congregational Dissenters, existed, which had received no aid from the Government, and were not under inspection. Thus, fifteen schools had been founded in six years."—Pp. 62–64.

The renewed struggles, occasioned by the educational clauses in Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, in 1843, and by the Minutes of the Committee of Council, of August and December, 1846, will be familiar in the recollection of our readers; and we need only add one or two extracts from Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, to show how the Minutes just mentioned have operated, both with respect to Pupil Teachers and to Schoolmasters.

"These Minutes confide the charge of the apprentice of the Elementary School to its managers, until he attains the rank of Queen's Scholar, when his education as a schoolmaster will be completed, under the direction of the Governors of the Training School. At any point of this career he may be dismissed by the Managers, without appeal. The conditions of his education are, that he should, as a candidate, and in every year of his apprenticeship, pass certain examinations before the Queen's Inspector, on subjects expressly prescribed in the Minutes; and that the Clergy and Managers, or, in Dissenting schools, the Managers only, should certify that his moral conduct, and his attention to his religious duties, have been satisfactory. During the appren-

ticeship, the Committee of Council support the Pupil Teachers by stipends, rising from £10, in the first year, to £20, in the last; and also reward the Master for the instruction which he gives them, by an annual addition to his salary, proportionate to the number of his apprentices. Not only is the Elementary School thus rendered more efficient, without any additional charge to the Managers, but it provides a systematic education for carefully-selected apprentices. And a general examination determines who are worthy to enter the Training Schools as Queen's Scholars. For every Queen's Scholar admitted, the Government will pay from £20 to £25, towards the cost of his maintenance and education, during the first year; and, if he obtain a Certificate at the examination of the Queen's Inspector, at its close, a second contribution of £20 will be made. In the second year, a successful student will, by his Certificate, secure £25, and in the third, £30."—Pp. 75–78.

The following is a statement of the number of schools and scholars connected with the Church of England and the other religious communions, furnished to Sir J. K. Shuttleworth by parties officially representing each of them respectively:—

	Schools.	No. of Scholars in Attendance.
Church of England	17,015.....	955,865
British and Foreign School Society	1,500.....	225,000
Wesleyan Education Committee	397.....	38,623
Congregational Board of Education	89.....	9,000*
Roman Catholic Schools	585.....	34,750
Ragged Schools	270.....	20,000
Total...	19,856	1,283,238

In the Educational Returns of the Census of 1851, the number of Public Schools is stated to be only 15,584; that is, 4,272 less than above stated. But this discrepancy may be sufficiently accounted for by the circumstance, that "the number of Public Day-Schools (in those Returns) represents the number of entire and distinct scholastic establishments. Thus, a school for boys and girls, if under one general management, and conducted in one range of buildings, is regarded as only one school, although the tuition may be carried on in separate compartments of the building, under separate superintendence." The general practice, we believe, is otherwise.† The same Returns give 1,419,300 as the total number of scholars; being less by 134,062 than the number above given. This difference we can account for only on what we think a probable supposition,—that the Returns

* Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, in his Table, p. 148, states the number of Scholars to be only 6,839. The mistake is corrected by Mr. Baines, in his "Strictures on the New Bill," p. 21.

† See the Educational Returns, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, on the motion of Mr. Bright, May 23rd, 1853.

obtained by Sir J. K. Shuttleworth were less comprehensive than those which were obtained for the Census.

We are but little disposed, at present, to go farther into the general statistics of Public Education, either as to the past or the future, there being scarcely two authorities that agree upon the subject. Lord Brougham quarrelled with the statistics of Dr. Colquhoun; and, more recently, Mr. Baines has quarrelled with those of Lord Brougham; Mr. Richson and Sir J. K. Shuttleworth have quarrelled with those of Mr. Baines; and Mr. Baines, again, with those of Sir J. K. Shuttleworth. And we are not, by any means, ambitious of the hazards of a controversy on this matter. We proceed, therefore, to some general observations, suggested by the actual position of public education, on some of the most prominent of the results which have already appeared.

It has enlarged *the scale of school instruction*. At a period not more remote than the concluding part of the last century, it would appear to have been the theory, and the practice, too, to fix the scale of education for persons in humble life, not on the *positive* principle of what they ought to learn, but on the *negative* principle of the extent to which they should be suffered to remain in ignorance. A strange procedure, truly; but we have high authority for saying, that so in reality it was. "Concerning the portion of ignorance," says Dr. S. Johnson, "necessary to make the condition of the lower classes of mankind safe to the public and tolerable to themselves, both morals and policy exact a nicer inquiry than will be very soon or very easily made."* In this passage, one knows not which the most to admire,—the *verbal* solecism, which surprises us in the startling, and somewhat ghostly, form, of a "portion of ignorance,"—or the *moral* solecism, which, in the face of common reason and humanity, stands up for ignorance, be it much or little, as being "necessary," either for private happiness or for the public good. But, since that day, a wiser and more liberal mode of reckoning has been adopted; and the man who would now be bold enough to lecture on this subject as Dr. Johnson did, would for his pains have credit for being blessed with a "portion of ignorance" quite as great as that which the sage moralist, in the extreme either of his hypochondriacism or his benevolence, could have been disposed to imprecate upon "the lower classes" of the day in which he lived. Still, this advance has been accomplished with a tardiness as great as if we inherited, to some extent, the doubts and scruples of a former age, and were under the impression, that the effusion of a broader and more copious daylight of knowledge on the scene of general life, would serve no other purpose than to deepen and multiply its shadows. Down to a very recent period,

* Review of a "Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil."

it was assumed to be enough, and almost more than enough, that every child should learn to read, write, and cipher, just well enough to qualify himself for the most humble purposes of life. And this was the *ne plus ultra* of youthful education, not only amongst the poor, but also amongst many persons in the middle ranks of society.

But of late years, under the new and vigorous impulse given by the general feeling of the country and the patronage of Government, the scale of the instruction given in schools for the poor has been extended, so as to comprehend, in addition to the subjects previously admitted, Sacred and Profane History, Geography, Algebra, Geometry, Experimental Philosophy, and (last, though not least) Vocal Music and Drawing. Here, again, at least with regard to the two last-mentioned subjects, we find, not an introduction of any thing entirely new, but a revival of two subjects comprehended in the ancient theories of general education. For Aristotle expressly mentions music and drawing as being amongst the things in which the youth of his day were generally wont to be instructed.* And he insists on the advantages which they derived from an acquaintance with the former of these two sciences especially, as tending very greatly to improve their taste and habits, as well as to enlarge the means of their recreation and enjoyment.

Simultaneously with the enlargement of the scale of school-instruction, has come a corresponding *improvement and elevation in the character and qualifications of the schoolmaster, and in the modes of education*. We are not disposed to perpetuate, by any repetition of them in our pages, the terms of ridicule which have been so frequently employed for the purpose of describing the defects and infirmities, physical and mental, of certain of the humbler pedagogues and school-dames of former generations. *Requiescant in pace*. It was not their fault, but that of their betters, that their incapacity for other occupations should have been their passport to the office which many of them so ludicrously and often injuriously occupied. We would therefore leave them, as Christian charity requires that we should do, to slumber, with all the records of their too widely-celebrated imbecilities, in the concealment of the peaceful shade, into which their doings and misdoings have been thrown by the superior qualifications and abler services of those by whom they have been happily succeeded.

In justice, however, both to the one class and to the other, it ought to be remembered that the credit of the reformation which has taken place is mainly to be assigned to the comparatively modern establishment—in this country, at least—of *institutions for training teachers* to a proper knowledge and a skilful practice of the duties which belong to their profession. Such institutions

* *Polit.*, lib. iii., cap. 2.

began to be established on the Continent in the commencement of the last century, as appears from the following statement, which is given on the authority of Sir William Hamilton :—*

"Franke, the celebrated pietist, must be regarded as their originator. Beside his noble foundations of the Pædagogium and Orphan-House of Halle, stood a seminary for the instruction of teachers, whether of learned or popular schools; and under Steinmetz, and his successors in that abbacy, Klosterberge, near Magdeburg, was long a nursery from whence schoolmasters, trained in the principles of Franke and the spirit of Spenerian Pietism, were transplanted over the whole north of Germany. The education and the educator now became an object of general interest in Germany. From 1730, academical lectures on *Pädagogik* appear to have been regularly and universally delivered; and for philologists by profession, and those destined for teachers in the classical or learned schools, *special seminaries*, in which the stipendiary *alumni* were carefully instructed and exercised, gradually became attached to all the principal universities. Overlooking the *Seminarium Doctrinæ elegantioris* of Cellarius, in Halle, the *Philological and Scholastic Seminary* of Göttingen, which owes its origin to Gesner, in 1738, was the first regular institution of *this* kind,—an institution imitated in Jena, Halle, Erlangen, Helmstädt, Leipsic, Heidelberg, Kiel, Breslau, Berlin, Munich, Dorpat, &c. The beneficial results of the seminaries for learned teachers naturally directed the attention to the education of the inferior instructors. In Prussia, the meritorious Hecker, a pupil of the Frankean discipline, had supported at Berlin, from the year 1748, a sort of nursery of popular instructors, in which Frederick II. testified an interest. In 1752, a royal ordinance enjoined, that on the crown demesnes, in the New Mark and Pomerania, all vacancies in the country-schools should be supplied by pupils from Hecker's seminary. Basedow had the merit, at least, of concentrating public interest on the importance of improved methods of education; but the Canon von Rochow was the man who mainly operated a reform in the instruction of the people, and proved, by precept and example, the advantages of a more careful education of the primary schoolmaster. The school on his own estate of Re Kahn, in Brandenburg, and those on the adjoining properties, were organized under his direction. Hitler travellers, from all parts, flocked, to admire and imitate. In fact, from 1773, these became the model schools, to which young men, from every quarter of Germany, were sent, to be trained in the principles and practice of primary instruction. The good example operated. In Prussia, previously to the period of revolution, public seminaries for the education of inferior schoolmasters were established, at Halberstadt in 1778, and at Breslau in 1787, while similar establishments elsewhere were supported by private liberality. The other States of Germany have not, however, lagged behind the country in which these institutions originated; and the lesser States have been even more forward than the greater. Though far inferior to most of the German principalities in the education of the lower orders, Hanover has one of her seminaries, for the training of primary schoolmas-

* See Preface to Mrs. Austin's Translation of "A Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia, by M. Victor Cousin," p. 21.

ters, which dates from 1750. The Bavarian reform was more recent. The spirit of amelioration was communicated from Germany to the neighbouring states. Denmark became an early imitator. Russia has more recently followed the example. Switzerland has been tardy and partial in her adoption of these institutions."

Still more tardy, we may now add, was England to learn the educational lesson which, for three quarters of a century or more, the Continental nations had been teaching and carrying into practice with so much success. She was, in short, almost as little disposed to exchange old English for new Continental modes of education, as she would be to abandon her glorious and—would that we could say,—undamaged and imperishable constitution, in favour of any one of all the new-fangled constitutions, of which the Continent has been in modern times so abundantly prolific. But prejudice on this subject having been converted by fair experiment into approval, there was immediately kindled an enthusiasm in favour of the once-suspected innovation, which has ever since been proof against all objections, whether theoretical or practical. The Government, indeed, failed, in the first instance, as we have already shown, to embody the new principle in the form of a national institution. But, with the *vis insita* which is peculiar to recent and earnest convictions, the principle itself opened its own way to practical adoption, in the less questionable form of institutions originating in spontaneous charity, and assisted by the Government only upon special application.

To the whole tribe of elementary schoolmasters, this was the opening of a new dispensation. They ceased to be a class accounted little capable, and still less deserving, of the pains of culture, and worthy only of an estimate proportionate to their scanty garniture of knowledge, and of school-apparatus, and still more scanty gains. Their office rose at once to the dignity of a *profession*, inferior, it may be, to certain occupations which have hitherto monopolized that name, but still sufficiently elevated and important to have, under the patronage of the public and even of the Government itself, its Colleges, its *curriculum* of training and instruction, its Exhibitions and Scholarships, its formal Examinations, its Diplomas and Certificates of Merit, and its Calendar of fame. The schoolmaster is not remarkable as being less accessible than others to the attractions which connect themselves with fair opportunities of improvement and distinction. It would therefore have been an anomaly in human nature, if, with this new and powerful stimulus to the advancement of themselves and of their order, the more recent class of schoolmasters had not risen considerably above the schoolmasters of other days, both in character and in position. Some idea of this improvement may be formed from the following list of the subjects in which the students of one of the most recently-established training institutions were submitted for examination

by the Queen's Inspector, at Christmas, 1852, at the close of the *first* year after its establishment :—*

<i>Male Students.</i>	<i>Female Students.</i>
Arithmetic.	English History.
English History.	Geography.
Euclid, Algebra, and the higher Mathematics.	Natural History.
English Grammar, Language, and Literature.	School Management.
Geography and Popular Astronomy.	English Grammar.
Music.	Domestic Economy.
Languages (Greek and Latin).	Music.
School Management.	Cutting out and making a Front.
Drawing.	Gallery Lessons in the Industrial Drawing.
	Needlework.†

To these were added supplementary examinations, by means of papers prepared by the Committee of the Institution, on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, Scripture Doctrines, and School Teaching.

Of the *thirty-eight* students presented for examination, *twenty* obtained certificates of merit.

Amongst other objections laid against the Minutes of Council of 1846, it was urged at the time, that, "in practice," they would "produce a deteriorated article." ‡ Now, we profess ourselves to be utterly unable to discover how the quality of an article in the department of education is likely to be deteriorated by bounties to "those who display the highest qualifications for schoolmasters," any more than the quality of products in the various branches of art and manufacture are deteriorated by bounties to those who furnish the best specimens. Is it not the fact, that premiums to excellence tend very powerfully to evoke, and even to create, the excellence which they reward, in every department, from the highest walks of science and literature, downwards to the poultry-yard? And are they not the means of raising the *average* standard of the quality of products generally, by bringing out a competition, of which general improvement, not deterioration, is the natural and necessary consequence? Nay, do not all systems of encouragement by premium go ultimately to supplant that which is inferior, by the introduction of that which is superior in quality and use? Such, precisely, have been, "in practice," the effects of the Minutes of 1846. Both in the schoolmaster, and in the *matériel* and mode of his teaching,—instead of "a deteriorated article," we have an article greatly improved; and that which is inferior and

* Wesleyan Training Institution, Horseferry-Road, Westminster.

† For the papers used in the examination, see the Thirteenth Report of the Wesleyan Committee of Education, pp. 128-161.

‡ "Struggle for Freedom of Education," p. 17.

inadequate, has, in many instances, already given place to something better. With reference to these points, the following testimonies, from the most recent Reports of her Majesty's Inspectors, are very full and satisfactory :—

“The schools in which certificated teachers and apprentices are employed are, for the most part, in a very satisfactory condition, presenting a marked contrast to those which have not availed themselves of the aid afforded by the Minutes of 1846.”—*Rev. H. W. Bellairs, M.A., &c. Minutes of Committee of Council for 1852-3, p. 435.*

“The present moment appears to me well suited for duly considering the result already attained through the working of the Minutes of 1846, which may be deemed by this time to have had a fair trial. And I would state my experience with regard to their effect. In the schools much good has decidedly been effected by providing superior teachers for the several classes of children, and by raising the character of the instruction given to them. Upon the apprentices themselves the most marked advantages have been conferred. The reports given to me in private, as well as the statements made to me officially, are highly satisfactory, and speak well for the system, for the teachers, and no less well for the schools of the poor in which the apprentices have been trained. With our school-teachers the Minutes have produced a very great change: many have felt themselves obliged to vary their occupation, to resign the important charge with which they had been intrusted, and to leave their situations to be filled by persons more equal to the fatigue, anxiety, and mental labour, which must ever attach to a school-teacher.”—*Rev. E. Douglas Tinling. Ibid., pp. 575-577.*

“Whatever progressive improvement in the elementary education of this district (*Hampshire, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex*) it has been my pleasing duty to record, I find it in the present year to have advanced in a ratio beyond that of any previous interval. In discipline, in moral tone, in religious and secular acquirement, in intelligence, in the number of schools in which these improved features are discernible, I see nothing but the most encouraging results. I cannot but ascribe this mainly to the pupil-teacher system, and to that of certificates of merit.”—*Rev. W. H. Brookfield. Ibid., pp. 712, 713.*

“The operation of your Lordships' Minutes is acknowledged, on all hands, to have raised the general idea of popular education throughout the country; it has spread abroad new and improved plans, called forth a fresh and increasing pedagogical literature, and held out hitherto unknown inducements for men to enter into the labours of a primary teacher; it has presented, moreover, a standard of qualification to which every teacher now feels himself bound to aspire, and has furnished assistance in the schools themselves, by means of which these more advanced ideas and improved plans of operation may be carried into practical effect.”—*Mr. Morell. Ibid., p. 966.*

Another of the benefits connected with the recent growth of public education has been, the emphatic re-assertion and establishment of the great principle, that all education, to be availing to its proper and highest ends, must be *religious*. In the Dialogue which we quoted at the outset, Socrates distinctly intimates that the great object at which it ought to aim is, “that the *souls* (of

young persons) should be made as good as possible."* And Plato lays it down expressly, that religious instruction is the basis upon which it should be built. The materials for such instruction were, in his day, scanty enough: but he would use such as he had. And, discarding from the nursery and the school the childish and impure fables which disfigured and polluted the poetical and popular mythology, he would, from the earliest period, inculcate the notion of a God (or gods) incapable of trickery, or change, or falsehood, or impurity.† And it might be partly through the medium of fables, that this instruction would be given: but they would be fables carefully selected, and such as those which Lord Bacon so strongly commends in his remarks upon the "Wisdom of the Ancients." And that, with the little knowledge he possessed upon the subject of religion, he should have gone so far, affords presumptive evidence how much farther he would have gone in the application of his principle, if only he had enjoyed the advantage of something better than his own philosophy to be a light unto his feet, and a lantern to his path.

To a considerable extent it has been the tendency of modern times, to assign to religious teaching, as an element of education, less of importance than that which is attached to it in the theory of Plato. The secular has taken precedence of the sacred; and, in many instances, both in theory and in practice, the sacred has been excluded altogether, and that, too, upon the avowed principle, that sound morals are, or may be, the product of a simply intellectual education. Of the philosophy which thus confounds our moral with our intellectual nature, it is enough to say that it is not only at variance, *toto cælo*, with the scriptural truth that a religious faith is in reality the true and only basis of moral righteousness, but also with all true philosophy; and that it may fairly share the plume with the folly which would look for grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles. It is remarkable, however, that in almost every instance, along with the revival of Public Education, there has come in a revival of the principle which connects it with religion, as being essential to its proper character and just results; and, very generally, the supremacy, in education, of that which is sacred above that which is secular, is now admitted as an axiom. We say, very generally; for there are not wanting, even in this country, those who appear to speak and write as if they thought that the *great* value of Public Education consisted chiefly, if not entirely, in its efficacy as the means of social improvement, and particularly in its tendency to qualify the humbler classes of society to exercise, intelligently and to the public advantage, the *elective* franchise, and other privileges which the legislature has recently conferred, or may presently confer, upon them! The truth cannot ultimately suffer from the opposition by which it may be tested. On the contrary,

* *Laches*, sect. 12.

† *Plato, Polit.*, lib. ii. sect. 17-21.

the general result is, that it is the more firmly established. And so, in this case, the attempts which have been made in various ways to exclude the formal teaching of religion from the routine of Public Education, have had the effect of bringing out, in both Houses of Parliament and throughout the country, declarations in favour of religion as an element of education, much more strenuous and decisive than would otherwise have been given, and which settle it to be the practical rule of the *country*, as it is the doctrine of Scripture, that “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding.”

The trial of this rule in practice, in the public schools established within the last few years, has made it clearly apparent, that so far is religious instruction in the school from hindering, that it greatly assists both the Teacher and the pupil in the other departments of instruction. Our own views on this subject are very nearly expressed in the following extract:—

“With respect to the character of the *intellectual* training in ‘religious’ schools, what appears to be aimed at is this: that all secular truths and ideas shall, as far as possible, be presented to the minds of the children in connexion with those of a higher order, wherever any natural relation can be shown to exist between them; and that religious thoughts shall thus be made not merely to run parallel with, and give a colour to, the whole range of secular studies, but to serve, so to speak, as their basis and foundation. Thus, in communicating to children the first general notions of the science of *Grammar*,—a subject which, as usually taught, does not appear to connect itself very readily with religious ideas,—I have heard a gallery lesson given on different occasions, of which the following outline will show the general character:—Beginning with the simplest truth, that man alone possesses the power of speech, this faculty is explained, both as a distinct and eminent gift of the Creator, and as respects the uses to which he wished it to be applied. A skilful teacher will often so handle this subject as both powerfully to interest the class, and as a natural introduction to the explanation of words as symbols and representations of thoughts. It is then observed, that man was not only endowed with the power of speech, but that a definite *language* was given him to speak; that he received *one* language, and not many; and that it was human wilfulness which occasioned the introduction of new forms of speech, not as a privilege, but as a punishment. Truths, truths of a higher order, are employed, naturally and judiciously, to lend their own interest and importance to others of a different nature. This is the essential characteristic of the *instruction* in ‘religious’ schools.”—*Report of T. W. M. Marshall, Esq. Minutes of Council, 1852–3, p. 1052.*

With respect to “the discipline and formation of character,” Mr. Marshall emphatically adds,—

“In this respect, which evidently concerns society at large, far more nearly than any subordinate or technical details of school-statistics, I know no other class of schools, whether for girls or boys, which has even the slightest pretension to compare with those under the direction of religious communities.”—*Ibid.*, p. 1054.

On this subject it would appear, that, in the United States of America, the stream of general opinion has, of late years, been flowing in an opposite direction.

"In America," says Mr. Siljeström, "all positive religious instruction is banished from the schools. In a country professing perfect religious liberty, the exclusion of religious instruction from the schools becomes a matter of absolute necessity, if any general system of popular education is at all to exist. Were separate schools to be erected for the separate sects, this would, besides many other disadvantages, render the schools much more expensive, while at the same time they would degenerate in character."—P. 226.

This theory still finds considerable countenance; and it has been taken for granted, that the reading of the Bible for five or ten minutes daily, with a short prayer and a hymn, is the *ne plus ultra* of "religious" instruction in the day-school; and that the Sunday-schools make ample provision for any deficiency which might remain to be supplied. But, in the judgment of the generality of the evangelical religionists of that country, the "great experiment" has failed. The following is an extract from the testimony given to H. S. Tremeneere, Esq., in 1851, by the Rev. Dr. Edson, Rector of St. Ann's church, Lowell (U.S.):—*

"Seeing that the system of public schools established by law was the only one possible under the circumstances of the country, I have applied myself with all the zeal in my power to make it efficient; and I have endeavoured to cause the deficiency of religious instruction in the day-schools to be supplied, by encouraging Sunday-schools to the utmost of my opportunities. To the children of my flock I have given all the doctrinal instruction in my power in the Sunday-school, and by other means. I have interested myself generally in favour of Sunday-schools, seeing in them the only mode under our system to imprint on the minds of those who most require our teaching, the principles of revealed religion. My experience, however, of now nearly thirty years, as a Pastor, has, I am sorry to say, forced upon me the painful conviction, that our public-school system has undermined already among our population, to a great extent, the doctrines and principles of Christianity. That this evil is already nearly universally felt and acknowledged in this country, there is no longer room to doubt. From throwing off authority in regard to religious matters, and holding doctrines loosely, the step is easy to abandoning them altogether; and, accordingly, it consists with my observation here during several years past, that the great majority of those now growing up cannot be said to hold more than belongs to mere natural religion."

With such evidence as to the practical results of Public Education in America, we may be excused for withholding the admiration which has been so loudly claimed for it. And we may be thankful for the system which, as we think, the Government of this country has more wisely and successfully

* "Notes on Public Subjects in the United States and Canada," pp. 50-53.

adopted, of stimulating voluntary effort by public assistance, and of encouraging the utmost freedom of religious teaching, on the basis of the Scriptures, in connexion with all possible facilities for secular instruction. Some modifications of the system seem still to be required for the purpose of rendering it more comprehensive and effective in its application. But these modifications appear likely to be accomplished only by struggles and controversies similar in character, though gentler in tone, to those by which the cause of Public Education has advanced to its present position. One of her Majesty's Inspectors cheers us with the information, that, "in his intercourse with the principal supporters of schools in his district during the past year (1852), he has observed a very remarkable convergence of opinions on this subject." * And we are not without hope of those of the Non-conformists who are generally considered to be represented by Mr. Baines, that, though they may not be persuaded to abandon the *principles* which they profess on the subject of Government assistance to religious education, they may yet be induced to return to the *practice*, with which, up to the date of 1846, they judged those principles to be not entirely incompatible.

Meanwhile, in conformity with a law which very generally operates in well-compacted communities, the educational movement in this country in favour of the humbler classes is exerting, indirectly, an important influence on other classes besides those for whose advantage it was primarily intended. The upward bearing which has, of late years, been given to the education of those classes, and to the qualification of their teachers, is already acting very powerfully on the classes immediately above them. Hence the new royally-chartered "College of Preceptors," with its Examinations, its graduated classification of Certificates, its Scholarships, and Prizes, and its formal "Propositions" to the Committee of Council on Education, for the "compulsory examination of all professional teachers of the middle classes of society." Hence also, in part, the recent waking-up of our two leading Universities. "The Government Inspectors of Schools," said the Chairman of the last half-yearly General Meeting of the College, "were on the alert; so were the great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They felt that, if the College insisted on a high class of education, it behoved them to be awake, and make progress commensurate with the requirements of the age; and he should advise the members to be also wide awake and progressive, or they would find themselves thrown from their seats by the upward heaving of the education of the classes below them. But, being on the watch, they would not only rise themselves, but also elevate the Universities." †

* Rev. J. P. Norris, M.A. "General Report of Schools inspected in the Counties of Chester, Stafford, and Salop;" "Minutes of Council," 1852-3, p. 797.

† "Educational Times," July, 1853.

Better than all this, however, to the humbler classes themselves, there is *one* thing in particular connected with the new facilities for their instruction, which indicates a gracious purpose on the part of Divine Providence, to furnish them with an effectual protection against a mischief to which, in these days, *they* are more especially exposed. Disappointed of their hope of finding favour in high places, or even in the better classes of intermediate society, for their Pantheism, and other forms of infidelity, the apostles of these blasphemies against the truth are now plying their insidious vocation, through the medium of cheap and attractive publications and popular addresses, amongst the working and poorer classes. But, through the operation of a general school-system, which is avowedly intended to diffuse, and will, no doubt, be eminently successful in diffusing, amongst the rising generation of those classes an intelligent and heartfelt knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, as well as by other means, God is providing a counteractive and availing antidote. "The enemy cometh in as a flood," but "the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."

ART. IX.—1. *Historical Outlines of Political Catholicism : its Papacy, Prelacy, Priesthood, People.* London: Chapman and Hall. 1853.

2. *Paganism in Education.* From the French of *Le Ver Rongeur des Sociétés Modernes.* By the ABBÉ GAUME, Vicar-General of Nevers, Doctor in Theology, &c., &c. Translated by ROBERT HILL. London: Dolman. 1852.

3. *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Tome seizième. Paris, 1852.

4. *Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century.* By G. G. GERVINUS, Professor of History in the University of Heidelberg. From the German. London: Bohn. 1853.

ON the 24th of November, 1848, a private carriage was making its way from Rome as modestly as possible, so as to attract no attention: it bore the invalid lady of a foreign Minister, well known for her religious zeal. Obscure, in that quiet party, was an elderly man, the most downcast and unobtrusive of the whole: it was Pius IX., the Sovereign Pontiff, heir by special appointment of the Holy Ghost to the chair of St. Peter, successor to the Cæsars and the Popes,—who ruled the world, first by arms, and then by priestcraft, Kings the subjects of their rule. Now all was changed: bankrupt in exchequer, in political power, in *prestige*, the Pope was glad to escape in the train of a female devotee, and seek a doubtful asylum in the territories of one of his meanest retainers, the King of Naples. In the mean time, France is swept by revolution and counter-revolution,—her throne the sport of the populace, her republic at the mercy of an intoxi-

cated soldiery; anarchy, military despotism, confiscation, proscription, have shaken the land: but at length there is an interval of quiet; a great multitude is collected on the Champ de Mars; a long procession approaches, with all the pomp of stately robes, golden splendours, incense, and solemn music: it is an embassy from the Pope, come to bestow that blessing without which the new Napoleon cannot feel safe upon his throne. Thus it has happened many times in the world's history. Rome has been denied, dethroned, defeated, trodden under foot, in the turmoil of conflict; but when the tumult has subsided, the solemn chant once more rises to a reverent multitude, and the procession sweeps along in its impassive march, slow and majestic, through the midst of worshippers; the foot of ecclesiastical power treading upon the prostrate souls of its voluntary captives.

And what marvellous power is this, which lords it over the world, whilst undisguisedly decrepit and helpless on its own rickety throne! The Ruler of Kings, wearing the triple tiara to typify his supremacy, maintains his seat only by favour of French protection and Austrian bayonets; the dispenser of power cannot negotiate even the most beggarly loans; and the tiara itself, if put up for sale, would scarcely fetch the price of its own gewgaws. But the pretensions of Rome have always been in the direct ratio of its decrepitude; its usurpations have been most arrogant and progressive, when its legitimate authority in its own circumscribed territory was most in question. It is so now. Pius IX. sits upon a tottering chair, and yet he is giving laws to Europe. Austria herself has become Guelph, instead of Ghibelline, in order to curry favour with her own *protégé*. In Ireland the election of the Roman Catholic Prelates is set aside, in contempt of immemorial prescription, and a nominee of the Sacred College, an upholder of the Ptolemaic principle in astronomy, in politics, and in society, is created Archbishop of Dublin, and now rivals in influence the accomplished Archbishop of the Established Church. Spain, which has from time to time succeeded in maintaining some degree of independence of Rome, has now completely succumbed; has restored the authority and all the recoverable property of the Church, and virtually recognised her as the only settled institution. In France, allegiance, education, public conscience, are handed over to the representatives of Rome; and the once independent Gallican Church is compelled to confess itself a minor department of the Sacred College. In constitutional, Lutheran Holland, the Pope establishes a Roman Catholic Hierarchy, with territorial titles, as he has done in England. And in our own land, the Statesman whose greatest boast is his recognition of Protestant Dissent, and who risked his political influence in order to resist a similar hierarchical aggression on the part of Rome, is seen shrinking from a most rational and necessary measure for securing inspection of Roman Catholic nunneries, in whose secluded cells

women and children may be detained,—*are* detained,—and are, at least, exposed to be maltreated, in defiance alike of law and of humanity.

The case of Holland ought, especially, to come home to English understanding and sympathy. In faith Lutheran, and in politics constitutional and strongly conservative, Holland has been treated with a caprice and contempt exactly like that shown to England. In 1850, the Government of Rome made application to the Government of Holland for information respecting any obstacles that might exist to the establishment, in the last-named country, of a hierarchy to administer the control of the Romish Clergy. The answer stated, that it would be necessary to obtain the consent of the King and the Estates; and that, in the fulness of toleration, that consent might possibly be obtained. Rome, however, did not act at the time. But early in the present year an ecclesiastical Envoy arrived in Holland, with the plan of a hierarchy, which was promulgated without the formality of obtaining the consent either of the King or the Estates. The consequence was, an immense ferment in that Protestant kingdom; a paroxysm of indignation was felt, similar to that which we have witnessed in this country, and has gone so far as to occasion a ministerial crisis, and a condition of affairs, that even conjecture would shrink from attempting to decipher, but that the Court was suspected of insincerity in its opposition to the pretensions of Rome. This enables us to understand why more than one Ministry, faithful to the religious sentiment of the country, found it difficult to retain office. The King wished to remain true to the Lutheran standards of faith, and had given proof of his inclination to moderate and constitutional, if not Liberal, courses; but the “party of order,” which, under that specious name, is drawing Europe under the tyranny of absolutism, spiritual and temporal, had in some way alarmed the good King out of a perfect loyalty to those standards. There was a great “agitation” in Holland,—a ministerial crisis,—a dissolution of the States-General. The Papal party kept unusually quiet; and when the new States assembled, the King met them with fresh assurances that the policy of the kingdom should be preserved without disturbance. He assumed a *tone* of greater firmness, and that appears to have had the effect of lulling suspicions; but we may rest assured that the Romanists have not lost the whole of the advance that they had gained.

Entomology supplies us with a parallel to this incident. There is a fly called the ichneumon, whose instinct teaches it to deposit its eggs in the body of a living caterpillar: the fly accordingly pierces the worm with its sharp ovipositor, the unfortunate victim—much larger in bulk than its persecutor—writhing under the process. But the egg is lodged; and the caterpillar—its paroxysm having subsided—resumes the daily business of life, eating its terms as regularly as a student at the Temple, and

more placidly. So it exists for a time,—the living *nidus* of an alien and intestine enemy. At length, however, the anti-constitutional intrusion is matured; and then the ghastly *simulacrum* of a living creature, expiring in agony, gives a monstrous birth to that which has been its torturer. And so the heir to the innocent Protestant caterpillar is the insidious Popish ichneumon.

In Ireland, the progress of the Papacy is marked and decisive, although subject to more than one drawback. The National System of Education is the field on which this progress is most manifest. It is a scheme respecting which Christians have entertained conscientious diversities of opinion: we are not, however, about to enter into the question of its merits; but shall only relate the particular mode in which the Church of Rome has taken advantage of the dissension. When the system was first established, it approached very nearly to that which is advocated in England under the name of “Secular Education,” the children being taught in mixed schools, Catholic and Protestant together; their religious instruction being left to their respective pastors. Subsequently, it was thought desirable to give the children a knowledge of Scripture history, Christian morals, and other elements of Christianity not involving express and formal statements of doctrine, which were still left to their own pastors. A series of books was compiled, for the use of the schools, of an admirable kind;—lucid, consecutive, and peculiarly adapted to impart practical knowledge to the untrained mind. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the necessity of rendering special religious convictions a more prominent and overruling element throughout the whole course of instruction, there is no question that the students under this system acquired a degree of information on general subjects, and an elevation in moral conduct, decidedly above that which is attained by the same class in this country. It has continually been remarked by intelligent visitors in Ireland, that the rising youth were assuming a strength and fulness of intellectual development, far beyond the average proportions of the hedge-priest, or even the Maynooth casuist, to say nothing of the Ptolemaic Primate; and that they would thus become a people over whom the anti-intellectual rule of Catholicism would be impossible. Humiliating as this view might be to Rome, her most faithful adherents could not fail to perceive its truth. Their future was, indeed, alarming. The number of children attending the schools has remained at nearly half a million, until last year, when it exceeded that amount by twenty thousand. The middle classes had been induced to follow the example of the labouring classes; notwithstanding every exertion of the Priests, the Queen’s Colleges were not unattended; nay, even in spite of the prohibition from Rome, Priests were found to minister religious instruction to the pupils. The enormous emigration, stimulated by the famine at home, and by

remittances from those who had found fortune in America, carried away two millions of the population from the Priests, whose very bread was thus at stake. Nor could they follow, since, notwithstanding the constant influx of a Roman Catholic population into the United States, the statistics of the sect show no increase; the absolute freedom of the Western Republic creating a social atmosphere of an open and bracing kind, in which Catholicism cannot breathe freely. The Priest, therefore, was doomed to stay behind, while he saw his flock emigrating, and his pupils still entering the Queen's Colleges, or—in numbers that ever increased, notwithstanding the departure of the two millions—the National Schools. The tendency of a large section of the Clergy itself to a liberal co-operation with the Protestants was not the least alarming incident; and there is no doubt that the appointment of Archbishop Cullen was intended as a rebuke to those who had followed the mild and tolerant example of Archbishop Murray;—a man who remained true to the standards of his Church, and yet showed by example that it was possible, without disloyalty to Rome, to work in good faith with those who were loyal to their country and its Government.

Such was the position of the Romish Church in Ireland when the Church Association, at length, succeeded in altering the system employed in the National Schools. The Scripture readings were the first point of attack; the High-Church assailants, however, obviously aiming at a breaking up of the entire system. Somehow or other, a rule had been passed by the Commissioners, that an objection made in behalf of a single child should occasion the discontinuance of the Scripture readings, notwithstanding the willingness, or even *the positive wish, of the rest* to pursue them; and this objection was first enforced in a model school, in behalf of a child introduced, no doubt, for the purpose, from the jurisdiction of the notorious Archbishop M'Hale. The subject came before the Education Board in Dublin; Archbishop Whately, who had prepared the Scripture readings, and other books of that kind, and who is stronger on a point of logic or rhetoric than on the question of his own literary merits, was outraged; the more earnest friends of education strove to rescue the system which had worked so well; but the feeble government of Lord St. Germans, too timid to take a decided course, permitted the Board to continue its policy of trimming, and the worthy Archbishop was driven to resign. That he was not actuated by a personal or party crotchet, was proved by the fact, that he was accompanied in his resignation by Mr. Blackburn, Chancellor under Lord Derby, and Mr. Baron Greene. The friends of National Education at once feared that it would now be broken up between the two factions,—Orange and Ultramontane,—which had driven out its keenest guardians. The official people assure us that it will not be so; that it will go on as before: but how are we to trust to a Ministry which

has been so vacillating hitherto? We can only hope that, by the meeting of extremes, they may now have been fairly frightened into firmness.

The triumphant aggressions of Rome are ubiquitous in Western Europe; but it is in France, especially, that the Papal forces display all the insolence of sudden conquest. There they have a most fit confederate on the throne itself,—a very incarnation of the genius of Popery,—crafty, specious, treacherous, ruthless; a self-idolater; knowing no law but his own desires, and pursuing them with a slow, sure, and untiring perseverance. Strong in the purchased support of such an ally, the Priestly party flaunt, once more, the banner of Hildebrand in the faces of the conquered, and openly avow that their aim is universal dominion, to be won and held by ensnaring, narcotizing, and debasing the minds of men. The Abbé Gaume commences his celebrated attack on classical learning with the following proposition:—

“With the exception of some few acts of disobedience, we find that, during the Middle Ages, the whole of Europe showed itself full of respect for, and obedience to, the Church. Christian in faith, laws, and customs, in institutions, arts, sciences, and language, society quietly developed those beautiful proportions which, day by day, brought it nearer the divine type of perfection.”

There we have the very essence of Ultramontaniam, whose motto is, “Backwards! *Redeant Saturnia regna!* Restore the Middle Ages!” That is the strain which resounds from the pulpit and the press. By every means, and through every channel, the work of restoration is plied with most workmanlike division of labour and unity of purpose. Let us observe some of its details under the hands of three leading craftsmen. The learned Monk, Ventura, preaches up mediæval philosophy; Donoso Cortes teaches the readers of the *Univers* to aspire after the order, harmony, and stability of mediæval policy; the Abbé Gaume would sanctify literature and art, by eliminating all but their mediæval elements.

The only philosophy fit for Christian men, according to Père Ventura, is the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages, especially that which is comprised in the majestic system of St. Thomas Aquinas. The only truth which it is possible or lawful for the mind of man to discover is, that which may be logically deduced from the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. True science is nothing more—can be nothing more—than a commentary on the faith of Rome. Whoever attempts to search out truth, by merely applying the powers of observation and reason which God has given him to the investigation of the phenomena of God’s creation, loses his time, his labour, and, in the end, his soul. Such, in his view, are the consequences of preferring Bacon’s method to that of St. Thomas Aquinas, which, strange to say, is neither more nor less than that of the Pagan philosopher, Aristotle, whose name, however, is never mentioned by

Père Ventura; though the Angelic Doctor, in common with all Schoolmen, revered the Stagirite as his master, and adhered to his system with scrupulous fidelity. From all this it results, if there be any force in logic, that Aristotle is one of the pillars of the Catholic faith;—the *Organon* ought to be numbered by Rome among the canonical books of Scripture; the Ten Categories should be revered like the Ten Commandments.

The recently deceased Spanish Ambassador at the Court of France, Senor Donoso Cortes, created Marquis of Valdegamas, was a distinguished member of the constitutional party of Spain; but suddenly became a convert to Ultramontane views after the Revolution of 1848. He had laboured assiduously to form the political constitution of his country after the French pattern; but the sudden fall of the Government which he had taken for his model, struck him with consternation, and drove him to excogitate another system, which should rest on a basis remote and secure from the perpetual convulsions of mundane society. He found the fulcrum he sought in the Catholic Church. There he recognised, with glad tears of repentance, the desiderated principle of authority; and, having made the blessed discovery, he proceeded to apply it to human affairs in general,—above all, to the government of nations. The exclusive authority of the Church in politics, as well as in religion, was for him the only means of salvation here and hereafter. Owing all his success in life to the exercise of his talents in the Parliamentary *arena*, he looked back with pious horror on his past career, and its cardinal enormity, discussion. “Discussion,” he exclaimed, “has undone the world; it is literally the original sin. All discussion is the offspring of Satan, ‘born in the terrestrial paradise, at the foot of the tree which was the object of the first temptation, and the cause of man’s first transgression.’ The serpent was the inventor of that accursed art, and the prototype of all who have since practised it. From the primary debate in Eden has issued that series of deplorable discussions, which has ever since filled the earth with confusion and bloodshed: thence has sprung Liberalism, the last expression of human pride; and this has engendered Socialism, which is its last chastisement. No more discussion, then! Let reason acknowledge its own impotence, and bow submissively to the decisions of an infallible authority; let the Catholic Church temper and control, as well as create and sanction, all the powers of this world.” Catholicism, according to Donoso Cortes, contained within it, from the very first, an entire political system. Its divine author laid the foundation of a new and complete order of society. He was a revolutionist in the best sense of the word. He based upon the ruins of the old world a graduated and regular system of four degrees, the last and highest of which is the Catholic Church. These degrees, taken in the ascending series, are, first, the domestic circle; secondly, the parish; thirdly, monarchy;

fourthly, ecclesiastical authority. To each of these degrees belongs a twofold duty,—that of obeying its superior, and of righteously commanding its subordinate: rights there are none. The existence of rights cannot be admitted; for it involves that of an appeal to force, if they are infringed. Every right urged to its extreme limits is pregnant with insurrection. There are, then, no rights, properly so called; but there are duties; some of them incumbent on the King, the Noble, the father of a family; others, again, incumbent on the subject, the peasant, and the child. The Church, as supreme arbiter of all moral relations, watches over the accomplishment of these duties, and is infallible in the fulfilment of her own; she deposes Sovereigns who violate them, and condemns subjects who resist the powers set over them; she is the safeguard alike of subjects against tyranny, and of Sovereigns against rebellion. Thus it is,—if unhindered by human perversity from completely realizing her own beatific ideal,—thus it is that the Church would maintain perpetual harmony in the political world.

But how is a stubborn world to be cured of its illusory belief in natural and civil rights, and to be converted to this state of political beatitude? Much as Father Ventura's philosophy might effect towards that end, it cannot effect all; besides, it requires for its own more complete success much previous care and contrivance, in order that the seeds of wisdom, falling on a well-prepared soil, may germinate readily, and yield their due increase. The Abbé Gaume provides for this in his scheme for re-modelling the education of Christendom, which he introduces with the remark, that—

“Under the apparently secondary question of who shall teach the child reading, writing, ciphering, Greek, and Latin, will be found hidden the question of sovereignty: *The cane of the master is the sceptre of the world.*”

It is commonly supposed that Christianity, more or less pure, predominates in Europe; and that, however imperfectly its dictates may be obeyed by communities and individuals, it nevertheless exerts a paramount influence over their tone of thought, their habits, and their laws. But this, the Abbé assures us, is a total mistake: Europe is thoroughly Pagan, and has been so ever since the fifteenth century,—that deplorable epoch which witnessed the revival of classical literature. The new element then introduced was the immediate cause of the mis-called Reformation; and it has ever since continued to blight the germs of Christianity, and frustrate the husbandry of the Catholic Church. The lettered class throughout Europe, having been educated in the study of Greek and Roman literature, are Pagan to their heart's core; and, as the opinions and morals of the learned form those of the unlearned, it follows that society is Pagan from top to bottom. This universal malady once defined,

we cannot hesitate in our choice of the remedy. The whole system of education in the colleges, and the higher classes of schools, must be re-modelled ; the ancient classics must be consigned once more to the oblivion in which they lay during the Middle or Golden Age, and for them must be substituted the Lives of the Saints, the writings of the Holy Fathers of the Church, and so forth. Such is the Abbé Gaume's main conclusion, and one that is perfectly logical, from the Ultramontane point of view ; it has, accordingly, received the unanimous support of that party in France. Well may the Church of Rome desire the suppression of the remains of classical antiquity, for they bear testimony against her usurpations, her frauds, and her adulterations of Christianity with matter borrowed from Greek speculation and Latin mythology. As long as sound classical learning subsists, there will not be wanting heralds to trace back the true pedigree of the Romish rites and doctrines. Naturally, therefore, the Abbé Gaume insists on shutting up that formidable arsenal, as a first step to his grand design of converting literature, art, science, customs, and institutions into servile ministers of the Papacy. His solicitude respecting art is hardly inferior to that with which literature inspires him. Nothing is to be tolerated in either department that is not in accordance with the true theological type ; both must become mediæval.

Considering the stupendous magnitude of the task which Rome has set before her, there is not much reason to wonder that her hand is every where seen. It is not only in the political or ecclesiastical council that her agents are busy ; they are to be found even in the opposing ranks,—in the most worldly circles, or the most Protestant conclaves. They are in the Church of England itself,—in the congregation, the pulpit, the missionary bands of that corporation. They are to be found in the drawing-room, the Legislature, the newspaper-press. They make their approaches by every conceivable means. It is not only the Priest, or the reactionary, who is at work to bring back Rome into your house, in order to enlist your son for one of its orders, or as a lay-auxiliary, your daughter for its convent, your property for its endowment ; but your taste must be led captive by the devices of the bookbinder, the printer, the cabinet-maker, the painter on glass. “ Practical art,” and “ high art,” are equally employed to surround the sensitive and the impulsive with the furniture and ornament of a mediæval and Popish state of society. Experience has taught these shrewd æsthetical analysts of the human mind, that ideas sometimes creep in with the grossest forms of association. A jewelled symbol, “ which Jews might kiss, and infidels adore,” will suggest to the unstable mind a love of symbolic finery ; and the dogma will be accepted either to sanction the indulgence, or to lend it brilliancy. The *studio* of the artist is at once a weak point for attack, and an outpost from which to assail the citadel. Characterized by ardent feeling,

rather than mental power or logical training, the artist is a missionary all the more effectual from being only half conscious. In his hand old ideas acquire new forms; the beauties of conventual retreat, the full sincerity of religious passion, the ineffable tenderness of divinely-directed love, may be displayed in the work of his genius; and if these imposing influences are associated with the quaint devices of Rome in her prime,—if the early crudities of art accompany the outward display of the emotions which the sensitive would wish to share,—then the mediæval cabinet in your friend's "oratory," the *prie-dieu* on which he seats you in his drawing-room, the singular picture which decorates his walls, recalls you to that world of sanctified imagination; you become familiarized with the arts and appliances of Rome; they surround you on every side, and mingle with your memories and affections. Thus you have to deal with a power which considers no influence too trivial, no weapon too insignificant, for its purpose, and which labours as assiduously to pervert the taste, as it does afterwards to mislead the judgment, or destroy the will.

We revert to the question left unanswered some pages back: Whence does Rome derive her perpetual gift of resurgence, her immortality of mischief? The secret of her strength consists in the singleness and fixity of her purpose. The spirit that animates her is as permanent as the corporate form in which it is embodied, and she is ever ready to seize the opportunity which the vicissitudes of time are sure to present. This portentous persistency awes and subjugates the minds of men. To strive against it seems to them a contest with absolute fate. They drop their arms in despair, and suffer themselves to be led captive, or they go over with arms and baggage to the ranks of a power which they deem invincible. Concerning France, Albert de Broglie says:—

"The men who devote themselves to the service and defence of the Catholic Church, know whither they are going, whence they come, what they seek, and what they expect; their efforts have a definite end and aim; a common direction doubles their strength by combining it; a revered authority holds them well in hand, and guides without humiliating or constraining them. What an inestimable advantage, in the midst of a wearied nation, which has tried every thing, and held fast to nothing; which has broken with the past, and has no confidence in the future; and which, after the most varied and exhausting emotions of hope and fear, has only strength enough left to enjoy the languid luxury of a day's repose! All modes of opinion in France are like travellers who have lost their way. After long plodding and peering in the trackless sand to recover it, after long looking in vain for pilot-stars in the cloudy sky, they give up the hopeless endeavour, and sit down, scarcely troubling themselves to think that they must stand up again, or in what direction they must resume their journey. Before them passes a troop of men, well equipped, well marshalled, marching straight onwards, undismayed by the

length or the fatigues of their route. The temptation to follow them is great, even for those who do not know them. Such is the feeling more or less consciously experienced by minds that yearn for better things, and to which revolutions have brought only disappointment, when they behold the ardour, perseverance, and unity which belong to Catholic propagandism."

Tout vient à point pour celui qui sait attendre. "Wait, and the opportunity will arrive." The gambler is sure of winning, if only he can play long enough. Rome sits for ever at the gaming-table, and misses no chance there may be for her on the cards. In the endless changes and fluctuations of the political world, there is always something turning up, of which she can take advantage. In one country or another, there will be some unruly faction striving to get the upper hand; it sees an influence ready made in Rome, to rule spirit as well as matter, an influence which can impart to its upstart ally the dignity that surrounds a partnership with eternity. A bargain is struck; and the Louis Napoleon of the day conspires with the power as old as the Seven Hills to rule,—say France,—and divide the booty.

If we wish to see how the practical working of these principles concerns ourselves, we cannot have a lesson more in point than is furnished by our own country. The same bargain between tyrannous faction and persistent Rome has marked every period of our history, in which prerogative has sought to overbear national rights. The arrogant and recreant John, whose demeanour towards Rome was most insolent and contumacious, changed his tone when he wanted a more sustained strength than his own, to carry on the contest with his Barons, and fell back upon the old bargain. Shamelessly forgetting the decencies of royalty, he treacherously surrendered his country to Innocent III., and received it back as a fief under Rome; he then hoped to crush those popular rights which were already expanding, and of which the trial of every man by his peers was not the least precious. Luckily, the most tangible interests of the Barons were at stake; castles and lands exerted a more powerful influence, even in those days, than pardons extending beyond the grave; and on the field of Runnymede was concluded that treaty which established national privileges, and frustrated, for a time, the alliance between the throne and Rome. John was gathered to his fathers; but Rome never dies. England was, for generations, distracted with civil wars; but at last came a Sovereign who was bent upon indulgences, flagrant beyond what even Rome could sanction, though she had tolerated a Cenci, and enthroned a Borgia. Henry VIII. quarrelled with Paul III. Then began that impulse of freedom which constrained Englishmen to a new contest with the crown. The latter, meanwhile, fell into reactionary courses; and the reckless and pedantic James I., with all his Protestantism, stood

upon his divine right to reject the humblest petitions of Parliament, and to imprison its Members. Under Coke, the Parliament recorded that noble protest which laid down the right of free debate. Royal despotism and Popish principles could not long remain divorced; and Charles, who carried his father's political principles to a still more hazardous issue, was fain to record an alliance with the Mistress of the Seven Hills. He claimed to tax the subject by prerogative, and his priestly allies found a warrant for his prerogative. His Chaplain Montagu put forth that notable book, "*The Appeal to Cæsar*," in which, besides maintaining the doctrine of the patronage of saints and other Popish ideas, he contended that the English and Romish Churches were founded on the same authority, and that the King enjoyed a divine right superior to law. What is this but to state nakedly the terms of the bargain:—if Cæsar will exalt the Church and its Clergy above law, the Church will lend him a hand, and help him on to the same elevated platform? Montagu, called to account by the Parliament, found a powerful protector in Laud, who said of the book, that he did not know how civil government could be maintained, except on such a principle. So said that same Laud, who laboured to restore in the offices of the Church the gorgeous ceremonial of Rome; who endeavoured to obtain the sanction of the law-officers of the Crown to put a prisoner to the rack; the same Laud who worked the inquisitorial powers of the Star-Chamber; the same Laud who proposed to revive or extend the powers of Convocation, and to make it a means of taxing the people in lieu of the contumacious Parliament. The contest was fearful; but again the Teutonic element prevailed. The two accomplice representatives of spiritual and political tyranny, Charles and Laud, paid the forfeit of their presumption with their heads; and when, on his accession to the throne, William III. was required to sign an inventory of the nation's rights, including the personal and the conscientious liberty of the citizen, with means to defend that liberty, he did but ratify the terms of peace dictated by the people, and vindicated by their representatives, in that long contest with Charles and Laud. William stepped into the place of Charles, in order to ratify, in Somers's Bill of Rights, a more complete list of the national liberties, which Coke's Petition had offered for the acceptance of the Stuarts. But in the interval there had been the half-victory of Cromwell, the half-reaction of James II.; a period at which we may glance, to note how the master of Jefferys had sought to purchase a continuance of his struggling power, by negotiating the re-admission of England into the bosom of the Romish Church.

In thus glancing back at the most humiliating periods of our history, when John and the Stuarts were endeavouring to undermine the independence and trample on the liberty of the nation, and in tracing the contest waged by a patriot people, to ascertain

the spirit at work on either side, it is impossible to avoid being struck by the parallelism between that national contest and the one which is now going on in this country and in Europe. And the comparison is not of a kind to be entirely re-assuring. It is true that, in our own day, we in England enjoy freedom of discussion and of meeting, with a power of the press universally diffused, and the most rapid means of intercommunication ; but are we animated by the vigilance of our predecessors in spiritualism, or the Petition-of-Rights men in politics ? Do we not shrink from the contest ? and, when we should set out to meet it, do we not rather intrench ourselves in peaceful homes, wilfully blind to the movements of the enemy's vanguard,—the forerunners of the immortal army of Laud and Innocent III. ? Yet these indications are neither few in number, nor cautiously concealed. In England, Clergymen of the National Protestant Church are in allegiance to Rome ; some avowedly, others disguisedly, and acting as spies. The Bishop of London lately discovered a Roman Catholic amongst his own Readers, and we can scarcely suppose that the case is isolated. The ceremonial which Laud sought to restore, is making way in the Established Churches ; and, whilst the Priesthood of Ireland is undermining that system of education which it is the boast of the Whigs to have established, the most earnest education-member of the present Cabinet—the author of “the Durham letter”—shrinks from enforcing the inspection of nunneries. London has a Romish cathedral and a Cardinal Bishop, and is about to be adorned by a Catholic “Church of all Nations.” Our own ministers acquiesced in the restoration of the Pope by French arms ; and are in closer alliance with the “party of order” than with those states in Europe which are now maintaining an unequal contest in favour of Protestant principles ;—we may point especially to Holland, Switzerland, and Sardinia. And if we wish to see the alliance of Despotism and Rome consummated, we may look to those great States which maintain large standing armies, with head-quarters at Paris, Berlin, or Vienna, and other great armies in black, white, and grey, with head-quarters at Rome.

It is not unimportant to note, that some of the most valuable guarantees in the Bill of Rights are practically in suspense by the force of usage or of direct statute. Technical “law reformers” are continually familiarizing the public mind with the idea of abandoning trial by jury,—the most popular of the concessions which our Barons wrung from John, the Pope's vassal.

To return to the main theme : the mind is bewildered by the apparent complexity of the movements now observed in many countries, and only the more bewildered by apparent coincidences. But as, to the individual combatant on the field of battle, the hustling conflict is hopeless confusion, while, to the general surveying the whole from a vantage-ground, it is the systematic

contest of two elements; as, to the wide survey of science, the very currents of the winds and waters group themselves into systems few and simple; so, to the elevated and far-reaching view of the philosophical historian, these accidents and coincidents of a day appear as the recurrent phenomena of a conflict enduring through the history of the world. The whole is comprehended in the volume recently published by Gervinus, as the Introduction to his "History of the Nineteenth Century." In this Introduction, he informs us, that his work will demonstrate a law of historical development, of which the accidents and coincidences that we are witnessing, form essential portions. The law was deduced more than two thousand years ago by Aristotle, from the history of the Grecian States; and, in the subsequent period, the exposition has been repeated but twice,—by Machiavelli in Italy, and by Hegel in Germany. The law is this: From oriental despotism to aristocracy,—from the systems of the ancients and the Middle Ages, resting on serfdom, or slavery, down to modern times, whose state-policy is still in course of being unfolded,—there is a regular progress from the intellectual and civil freedom of the one to that of the few, and thence onward to that of the many. The difference between the most ancient and the modern times is, that, in the latter, the range of the several stages of the process is wider, both in point of time and of geographical space. That part of the process, which occupied the Greek peninsula two centuries has since had Europe for its field, and is still continued through a fourth century. This expansion is more observable in the later than in the earlier stages of the process, for obvious reasons. The extension of intelligence, freedom, and power from the one chief to the few of the oligarchy, is more easy, and therefore more rapid; because the oligarchs, being fewer, have interests more equally diffused among themselves, and are more capable of acting in concert,—the further extension being hindered by the opposite conditions among the many. Religious dissensions have conspired to divide the people; and, departing an instant from the text of Gervinus, let us add, that the modern tendency of religionists to treat of spiritual affairs as not only distinct from, but as incompatible with, temporal, has contributed to enfeeble the champions of religious freedom, who failed to perceive that, in abandoning all that pertained to civil control, they left in the grasp of the enemy a great lever of power over mankind, available collaterally for the promotion of spiritual doctrine. The Jesuits knew better.

Ancient tyranny and modern absolutism are essentially the same. The Roman Cæsar, who was also *Pontifex Maximus*, is now represented by a Duad in the modern Emperor and his ally, the Sovereign Pontiff. To concentrate political power, and enforce absolute uniformity of institutions, is the idea both of Austrian civil absolutism and of Roman spiritual absolutism. Each class of power has its corresponding history of life and

death. At first, Chiefs of a warrior race, intrusted with power because the most able to serve as agents for the race, become tyrants, enjoying power for the sake of its personal consequences. The consequences of power render the Nobles selfish, enervated, and odious; and they, expiring, yield power to the many; who, in turn, grow arrogant, reckless, luxurious, blind to political consequences, a prey to the machinations of the traitor; *panis et Circenses*,—imperial munificence and priestly cajolery undermine individual independence, and the people decay. The external history of the Church is parallel to that of the State; for be it remembered, that however divine and one the truth on which worship is founded, the organization affects the human part, which is restless, double-minded, uncertain, tainted with ambition. The successors of the apostles, placed by royal and popular favour in the seat of luxury and power, began to relish the decorations and sumptuous attributes of their abode; the Popes became temporal Princes,—selfish, tyrannical, and chiefly anxious to extend their own territorial acquisitions. Priest and Prince maintained their encroachments side by side. After the depression of the great schism, which sent the Popes for safety and change of air to Avignon, the Papacy rose rapidly to power. Alexander VI. and Julius II. extended their territories, while Ferdinand of Arragon consolidated Spain, in order to drive out the Mussulman, and clear the field for the far more unchristian Inquisition. The Reformation, essentially popular in its character, as it was essentially Teutonic in its motives, was the action of the many to conquer power from Pope and Prelates, just as it has been in part conquered from Monarch and Nobles. But over a large part of Europe the Romish Church has succeeded in interposing a sickening delay to that process; and it has so effectually aided the despot to retain or recover absolute power, that we need not wonder if the despot returns the favour in kind. It is, indeed, for its own purposes that absolutism just now keeps a Pope, and maintains him in full working order at Rome. But if he is kept up for the benefit of temporal Princes, the mildest wearer of the triple crown knows—for he is trained to it—how to use his place to consolidate the authority of his line. The Pope, who “never dies,” never lives without the hope, which Innocent III. and Gregory VII. but half fulfilled, of being Lord of the Earth: and even half-way to that consummation, the Pope has known what it was, not only to keep an Emperor, but to carry many Potentates in his train. And in many respects the undying Pope is strengthened by a more vital policy than his temporal rival. “By an equal sway,” says Gervinus, speaking of the Papacy in the sixteenth century, in language that might be applied, almost without the change of a word, to the present day,—

“By an equal sway over the three great social institutions,—domestic life, the Church, and the State,—it established the most

fearful and comprehensive despotism the world ever witnessed. In domestic life it fettered the mind and conscience of man to its arbitrary will; it received him at his birth, prepared him at school to fulfil all its desires, and quitted him at his entrance into the active world, to return with renewed vigilance at his marriage, in the confessional, and at the hour of his death. In the Church it required him to resign liberty of thought and investigation, in order that unity of faith might reign throughout mankind: it degraded the State in the estimation of men, by stifling every national feeling, to substitute that of Christian unity; and by denying the spiritual investiture to the secular authority, it arrogated supreme power to itself over the secular ruler; it divested the State of all higher purposes, and laid claim to honours and dignities for the Church alone. This monstrous power was exercised by a Priesthood, outwardly separated from every other class of men, and internally preserved from the danger of change, progress, and reformation, by the institution of consecration, which formed it into a self-creating aristocracy. The Priesthood formed a body set apart by particular privileges, and the use of a separate language in their official duties, by their education and celibacy, and by the peculiar nature of their common interests. They were divided from all the ties of family, community, state, and country; a body who, in opposition to the remaining institutions of the State, and during a period when the inequality of class was universal, maintained the principle of the equality of man, by the systematic practice of doing honour to merit rather than to birth, and of leaving the highest places open to the peasant as much as to him who was born a Prince. Let any one, then, represent to himself this universal Catholic Priesthood in unconditional dependence on the Vicegerent of Christ, endowed with the arbitrary power and infallibility of God, and he will clearly see how nearly this power succeeded even at so late a period in leading all political and spiritual life into the narrow channel of a hierarchical policy. As this revived ecclesiastical power advanced with the despotic power of Princes, and in the closest intelligence with the greatest among the royal families of a later age,—a family who reigned as lords and masters in the Roman Empire of the German nation,—the reader will perceive that never, before the commencement of the sixteenth century, had this question arrived at so critical a point:—whether Europe was to sink under the oppressive rule of the hierarchy, or under that of royal absolutism, or under their combined and united weight, or whether a national and free development should be permitted to advance towards its maturity.”

Rome and her tyrannical accomplices are proceeding by virtue of a law; but there is a higher law at work against them. Rome can persist, but human persistence perishes. The law of development which is exhibited in the works of creation, and not least in the history of man himself, decrees that mankind should outlive the tyranny of man. By virtue of their intelligence and ability, Chiefs and Nobles obeyed that law of development in obtaining power: they resist it when they attempt to retain a monopoly of power over their fellow-creatures who have worked up to their level of intelligence and ability; and the resistance cannot prevail. In some countries this becomes so evident, that

the few who have retained privileges, voluntarily surrender them. Of this, Hungary in her constitutional state, before the Austrian usurpation, was a shining modern example,—the nobles having voluntarily carried a series of measures, since 1825, abolishing their own privileges. And it is to be observed, that where civil liberty is thoroughly appreciated by the people, and is realized in fact, there exists also that spiritual freedom, amidst which the doctrines of Rome droop and languish. The appreciation of civil freedom is reviving in Germany; and it is remarkable that, concurrently with that revival, the Church of Rome is subjected to a serious decline of her influence, and to the formidable secession of the neo-Catholic Church. In Sardinia, under a constitutional government, arises a desire to wrest the conduct of affairs, public and private, out of the hands of the Priests; and that modest yet courageous state is carrying on a contest at the same time with Austria and with Rome. It is not an uninteresting fact, in the judgment of some persons, that in Ireland the concession of complete freedom, irrespectively of sect, has been followed by a decline of Romish power in that country, which will yet proceed, in spite of recent indications to the contrary. Other and more potent causes, we are aware, co-operated towards that result; and we by no means overlook them; but the importance of securing to each man a sense of personal freedom can scarcely be over-rated, as to its tendency to render his will independent, and to make him stand before the Priest without shrinking.

But the most striking influence of civil freedom as the guarantee of spiritual freedom, is seen when we follow the Irish emigrant to the United States, where the ever-flowing stream of Catholicism, yearly poured forth from Ireland, loses itself like an Australian river in the sands, without raising the level of the circumscribed pool already there. While the number of children receiving a degree of education so fatal to Popish influence, continues unabated in Ireland, notwithstanding the migration of two millions, principally to the United States, the fluctuating statistics of the Roman Catholics in the latter country show that no permanent increase takes place in their numbers. Yet the parents of that stock are not sterile; but the fact is, that the institutions of the country are fatal to Catholicism. Not by suppression;—quite the reverse. Not by spoliation, or disabilities;—the Americans have been exemplary for their good faith towards particular bodies, whatever their creed. The members of the Church of England retain their endowments as undisturbed as the property of the Quakers in Philadelphia; and the Roman Catholic emigrants enter so soon upon the enjoyment of their civil rights, that a few years since the Irish excited a formidable jealousy among the “native Americans,” not as Romanists, but as Irish, as *new* men in the country, who associated with each other to a degree which looked politically clannish and

factions. In the city of Boston the Irish element has gained a very remarkable ascendancy, the Anglo-Americans having retired to the suburbs. Yet, notwithstanding this manifest growth of Irish influence, the Romish organization and doctrine cannot make good their footing, for the simple reason that in America the state absolutely refuses to lend itself to the object of enforcing the temporal authority of any Church whatever; and without some such tangible hold on the actions and property of men, the Church of Rome cannot establish her usurpation.

We copy the following from a recent letter of the "Times" correspondent in New-York:—

"A signal triumph has been recently achieved in the city of Cincinnati by right-minded men, against a very injudicious attempt on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to establish a principle in that state, which, if once conceded, would become a dangerous, and perhaps in the end might prove a fatal, innovation upon the conditions by which this Government exists. It was announced by one of the Bishops of the Catholic Church in the west, a year or two ago, that the Canon-Law and the Creed of the Pope required, under the sanction of an oath, that the principles of the Church of Rome must be taught by every instructor of youth, wherever it is in the physical or moral power of that Church to enforce it. It was moreover said that the Archbishop was, by his official oath, bound to teach, or cause to be taught, to all the youth in his Church, the peculiar doctrines of the Papacy, including the persecution of Protestants by the Inquisition and other means, the compulsion of heretics to receive and adopt the Papal creed, the absolution of citizens from their oath of allegiance, &c. In pursuance of this *régime*, the Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati and his whole corps of Priests, when at length they felt themselves strong enough to carry a local election by throwing their force at the ballot-box in favour of any party that would sustain their views, entered the field, and, making a distinct issue with the people whether or not Catholic schools should be established by public law and maintained by taxation, were most ignominiously defeated. It was then understood that the entire Catholic force was to be turned directly against the whole system of common schools; and again they were defeated. It is pleasing to remark that when this same trick was tried in the city and state of New-York some years ago, it met the same fate; and it is still more satisfactory to think and to believe that any subsequent effort will have no better success."

In America the State refuses to enter into a partnership with any Church, simply because *it* has nothing to gain by such a bargain. Power has there become so much diffused that every man has his share. Each section of civil society is sufficient for itself: the parish rules the parish; the state, the state; and the federal government is not the master, but the guide and servant of the whole. "We are," said General Piercc, who, after sustaining a high position in the Senate, has himself volunteered to carry a musket in his country's service, "we are," he said, uttering his first address as President, "a nation of Sovereigns." Be it so. But what conspiracy can a nation of Sovereigns

enter into with a Pope? The only pontifical accomplice for a nation of Sovereigns would be a nation of Popes, which is a contradiction in terms. Were fanaticism to seize upon the American Government, and induce it to make an offering of that magnificent country to the Holy See,—to subject the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains to the Seven Hills, the Hudson and the Mississippi to the Tiber,—how could the subjection be effected? There is no vast standing army in America to subdue the multitude at the order of a bureau; but there is a great, an irresistible army, similar to that which won popular freedom for England,—the manhood of the country. The very machinery by which the Romish Church establishes its hold, is wanting; and therefore it is that the Americans admit the adherents of Rome among them freely and fearlessly.

This result appertains in common to all parts of the Union, whatever the original form of the state government; whether it was a theocracy on the Genevese model, as in Massachusetts; a Romish and feudal principedom, as in Maryland; an aristocratic, High-Church constitution, as in Virginia; a great landed aristocracy, as in Carolina; a democracy, as in Rhode Island and Connecticut; a Quaker cosmopolite republic, as in Pennsylvania; or a Flemish municipality, as in New-Amsterdam; whether its founders were English, Scotch, French, German, Dutch, or Spanish. The people were every where as strong as their leaders; an ocean between them and the old power-monopolies of Europe,—they arranged their own affairs in their own way; their institutions have grown with themselves; and the result of diffused power is to secure freedom for their minds as well as their bodies.

And thus it has come to pass, that America offers an absolute contrast to France;—America, where Franklin Pierce accepts the free and noble suffrages of a young power, champion of civil and spiritual freedom for the world; a trust which is the more noble, since it cannot be betrayed, and therefore cannot be accepted by a traitor for his own base purposes;—France, where one man snatches power from seven millions of his countrymen, maintains it by a vast standing army, trained and dieted to his service, and uses it, in complicity with Rome, for the subjugation of soul as well as body. American practice confirms the grand truth taught by philosophy, that civil and religious freedom are inseparable. God has ordained that men shall enjoy the former, only in proportion as they prize and improve the latter. There lies *one* antidote to the venom of Popery, a principle that, in conjunction with other and higher principles, will ultimately work its destruction. A contest is being waged between a human institution and the everlasting laws of the Creator, between human “eternity”—the man made “perpetual” by leasehold of Rome—and the Infinite Eternity: it is a contest between the Pope and God: he would be bold indeed who should doubt the issue.

ART. X.—*Statistical Papers, illustrated by Maps, relating to India; recently prepared and printed for the Court of Directors of the East India Company.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. April 20th, 1853.

THE first sentence of this important document is short and clear, easily written, easily read; but what a history does it imply! "With the exception of the Kings of Ava and Siam, with whom the East India Company have entered into diplomatic relations, it can scarcely be said that there remains any independent Prince in India, unless it be the Rajah of Dholpore, and the Rajah of Tipperah." Ava and Siam lie as clearly beyond the boundary of India as Lombardy and Tuscany do beyond that of France; so that the exceptions are really but Dholpore and Tipperah,—the latter a cluster of jungles toward the Burmese frontier, and the former an interior kingdom, with an army of 1,600 men! These two fragments excepted, "over all the other native states in India the paramount authority of the British power has been established."

To enable our readers to form some idea of the revolution thus quietly spoken of, we may refer to the description of the Mogul, written by Sir Thomas Roe, whom James I. sent as Ambassador to the court of Jehangir.

On the Emperor's birthday, the state display began by placing his Majesty in one scale, and in another an equal weight of "jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and silk, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Bramins." Then appeared a procession of elephants, led by one "beast of wonderful bulk and beauty," his head and breast covered with plates of gold and silver, studded with rubies and emeralds. On this "lord elephant" waited eight or ten others, "clothed in gold, silk, and silver." Twelve similar "lord-elephants," each with its retinue, followed; and each showed its training by bowing down before its royal master; whereupon our Ambassador says, "They made their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest show of beasts I ever saw."

Presently the whole court went out in procession: for the ladies came fifty elephants, richly adorned, and bearing each a turret, canopied with silver cloth, with a grating of gold wire, "to look through." Then came the Emperor, wearing a turban with a plume of "heron feathers," "a ruby as big as a walnut, a diamond as large, and an emerald much larger." Upon his neck three chains, "of most excellent pearls;" above his elbows armlets set with diamonds; three bracelets on each wrist; rings on almost every finger; a coat of cloth of gold; slippers set with pearl; belts of gold, and a sword and buckler, "set all over with diamonds." He rode in a coach drawn by four horses "trapped

and harnessed in gold and velvets." Before him went "drums, trumpets, and loud music;" canopies, umbrellas, and ensigns, glittering with rubies; and nine led horses, caparisoned with precious stones. Behind him followed superb palankeens, and then the Empress, the prodigy of romance, beauty, and power, known as Nourmahal, riding in an English coach, the present of our King; then twenty elephants royal, "so rich in stones and furniture, that they glittered like the sun." This was the royal procession, which was preceded and followed by elephants richly decked, amounting to six hundred; and all the way the road on both sides was guarded by elephants, each with a turret, four banners, and a swivel gun. Half a mile behind the Emperor, came his wives on elephants. The procession marched to a superb camp, where were glittering tents, a mother-of-pearl throne, and vast displays of grandeur; so that the English Ambassador says, "The vale showed like a beautiful city. I was ill provided with carriages, and ashamed of my equipage: for five years' allowance would not have provided me even an indifferent tent answerable to others."

Jehangir had inherited the empire when at its highest point of moral *prestige*. His father, the wise and generous Akbar, a Prince of whose political virtues it would be hard to speak too highly, had, during a reign of half a century, raised it to a grandeur, compared with which, the monarchies of Europe were inconsiderable. Fifteen Viceroys, some of them ruling a population of thirty millions, administered the provinces. How loftily they bore themselves may be gathered from the words of Bussy, the greatest French officer who ever fought in India, and and who, a century and a half later, thus speaks of the Viceroy (Soubahdar) of the Deccan: "When the father of the reigning Nizam came into the province to re-take Trichinopoly from the Mahrattas, all the European nations hastened to give him tokens of their *submission*, and to use all means for gaining his favour. Did he deign to write to one of their representatives? No, certainly: he did not even deign to honour with a look the rich gifts which they humbly cast at his feet as a tribute of dependance."

Under the Viceroys were a number of provincial Governors (Nabobs); respecting one of whom* the same great soldier thus speaks: "In his letters to our Governors he held a tone of authority very humbling to the French nation. We could appear before him only as suppliants, laden with gifts, which he exacted as tribute. Did one of his lower officers approach Pondicherry, we sent out deputations to receive him at a distance, with the highest demonstrations of respect."

One hundred years ago the English possessed no sovereignty whatever in India, and had but just begun to acquire a military name, in actions to which they were forced by the menacing

* Of Arcot.

advances of the French. The states then existing might be spoken of under three classes :—

1. **HINDU STATES**, held by princes representing native dynasties.

2. **MOHAMMEDAN STATES**, held by right of conquest.

3. **MAHRATTA STATES**, the most recent and least reputable of all. Runjeet Sing and Hydur had not yet arisen.

Of the first class, which alone could claim any sanction but the sword, not one powerful nation remained. The Mussulman conquests had been pushed, for seven successive centuries, through all the north, east, centre, and west ; only in the extreme south did anything like Hindu power, of somewhat ancient date, survive. Even there, Mysore had been rendered tributary to the Mogul ; and, perhaps, the little Rajah of Coorg, and the somewhat more considerable Rajah of Travancore, were all that could be called Independent Powers, representing a line of royal Hindu ancestors. All the other Rajahs who had escaped destruction at the hands of the Moguls were subject to tribute, and every manner of arbitrary exaction.

As to the Mohammedan states, the Emperor, or Great Mogul, was no longer what Sir Thomas Roe had seen him ; but now a miserable wreck of royalty, of whom his own Viceroys and Governors had become independent, and on whom the new power of the Mahrattas ruthlessly trampled. The only real potentates in the country were, first, the Viceroys and Governors, several of whom had large armies, populous territories, and affluent revenues ; and, secondly, the Mahrattas, who had spread themselves over immense dominions, had possession of the person of the Emperor, and had put out his eyes. The Mogul dynasty was established only in the sixteenth century, and had no title but the sword ; all the Mohammedan Princes were its offshoots, had originally been its creatures, and were, without exception, of families but recently come to sovereignty ;* and as to the Mahrattas, their origin and character are too notorious to be dwelt upon. From these facts it is plain that at the time when England began to take part in the politics of India, scarcely any government existed on the soil which was venerable by tradition, or strong in the affections of the people. A great empire, of foreign origin and intolerant creed, fallen to pieces ; a number of its fragments, larger or smaller ; and a swarm of freebooters, whose success was the loudest testimony to the disorder of the country,—was all to which the peaceable and multitudinous people of that great continent could point as their governments. The Mogul empire was a mass of ruins, underneath which the real native states were buried ; and the Mahrattas were hordes of tigers prowling in the desolation : therefore the European power which arose had not to make

* Indeed, technically, they did not claim to be Sovereigns.

ruins, but to clear away those that encumbered the ground. Great reverses naturally excite regret; yet when regarding the thrones which have fallen not only in reference to their immediate incumbents, their heirs and associates, but as affecting the well-being of India, and through it of all Asia, we confess that it would be hard to conceive of so much splendour and name, coupled with so little, the departure of which is a loss to mankind.

And even respecting the heirs of the Princes, a curious question suggests itself. Suppose that Indian politics had flowed on, without English intervention, in the channels they were taking just a hundred years ago; would the present heirs of the men then reigning have been in happier circumstances than now? Would any native power have introduced the practice of not only sparing the person and protecting the family of fallen Princes, but of giving them royal pensions? Would the descendant of the Mogul have had personal safety and £150,000 a year? Would the heir of the old Kings of Mysore, whom Hydur pulled down, have had a palace, a court, and £100,000 a year? Would the Nizam have been still on a throne? No one acquainted with the country, its history, and its position at that time, will doubt as to the answer. In all probability not one of these, or of the other considerable Princes, would have had an heir now above the condition of a beggar. The only indigenous powers which have shown themselves during the century are the Mahrattas, Hydur, the Pindarees, and Runjeet Sing, between whom the battle for ascendancy would have lain; and when disposed to look mournfully on the pensioned royalties which adorn the statistics of the East India Company, we may console ourselves by reflecting, that safety and plenty are, after all, better than having the eyes put out, an iron cage, a prison, or a dose of poison, which would most certainly have been their portion had they fallen under any of those savages.

India is sometimes spoken of as if it were all British territory, and sometimes as containing many "native states." Both styles of speaking are correct: for England is the paramount power; yet, scattered here and there, amid our territories, exists a number of "protected native states;" a few of which are more ancient than ourselves; some, of our own creation; and some, of an origin contemporaneous with, or subsequent to, our own. They all recognise the paramount power of the Company; profess allegiance; renounce the right of making war, or holding diplomatic relations with other states; and concede to the Company authority to arbitrate in disputes with them. A few of them admit the right of the Company to interfere in their *internal* administration; some pay tribute; most engage not to employ Americans or Europeans; TEN pay for the support of a "subsidiary" force, which is maintained for their defence. The number of states "protected" without such a condition, is about TWO HUNDRED. These states range from a kingdom of ten

million inhabitants, down to little properties with a few thousands. Their aggregate population is fifty-three millions, and their military force about four hundred thousand men.*

The influence of British ascendancy on this great cluster of states, as compared with the condition in which they would be under native ascendancy, may be stated thus: In the one case boundaries would be uncertain,—now they are fixed; each strong or bold Chief would encroach,—now all are compelled to keep the peace; disputes would always breed wars,—now an arbiter settles them; the paramount power, if strong, would call for money and men at pleasure,—now all is regulated by treaty; and if the paramount power were weak, all the others would be in broil and misery,—now the four hundred thousand fighting-men whom the Rajahs choose to keep up are employed only on police services, in collecting the revenue, or for state show. Doubtless, many of those whose notions of our Indian Empire are formed from speeches and pamphlets, are little aware of the fact, that, under its protection, two hundred Princes reign in peace, defended from their neighbours, and yet parading their own armies, more secure than ever they were in any era of their country's history; while fifty-three millions of people, whom we do not call British subjects, are cultivating their fields, or following their trades, without terror of an invasion here or a foray there.

Now, what does the British Government gain from these states in return for the benefits it confers? The total revenues received by the Princes are above TEN MILLIONS AND A HALF STERLING;† and the amount of tribute, subsidy, and all other payment which they make to us is just over one million;‡ besides which they are under obligation, in case of demand, to furnish contingents of troops, amounting in the aggregate to 32,000. Out of this million we are bound to maintain large bodies of subsidiary forces for their defence; and when this cost, with that of Residents and Political Agents, is met, “our political balance-sheet,” says Mr. Campbell, in his work on “Modern India and its Government,” “shows a result very much on the wrong side.”§ Indeed, Mr. Campbell looks on these States with rather a wishful eye; the ten millions of revenue (which he swells to thirteen) look tempting; and as for the smaller Princes, he makes no secret of his opinion, that they are too well off. Such a one, he says, “is more independent, and more absolute master of his territory, than Princes of greater dignity; and has, perhaps, a clear income of £50,000 or £100,000 *per*

* In figures, 398,918.

† Rupees, 106,980,681.

‡ Rupees, 10,654,891.

§ Mr. Campbell's statistics, which of late have been wonderfully useful to new scholars in the Indian school, are considerably at fault on the particulars just stated. He says, (second edition,) “From native states possessing a revenue of about £13,000,000, the British Government receives about £571,000 per annum; and has more or less the command, when occasion requires, of 22,000 contingent troops.” This, however, was written before the returns now printed had appeared.

annum, to do what he chooses with. It is an immense estate, with an unlimited heritable jurisdiction. This is the only class of rulers in India who now-a-days make money; they often amass large sums. It is very pleasant for them, but a pity that they do not contribute something toward our expenses."

In looking at the British power as it has affected the Princes of India, we are far from forgetting the faults, ay, the crimes, which lie at our door. Individual cases of great hardship may be cited; shameful acts have been done by some of our greatest men. Even the vile and ferocious Surajah Dowlah, the first ruler whom we struck down, was not undone till Clive had formed a low conspiracy, bribed his subordinates, fabricated a counterfeit treaty, and even forged the name of a colleague too honest to sign a false document. Nor have apologists been wanting to justify even such villany, as practised against the author of the Black-Hole massacre. Other cases of harshness, and even unfairness, from the Rohillas down to that of the Rajah of Coorg, could easily be named; but while applauding every man who exposes real wrong done by a great power to any Prince, however obscure; while asserting that to apologize for, and explain away, such conduct in books, is to plant and water the seed of crimes;—we cannot, just now, turn aside from our general view of the greatest political revolution which modern Asia has known, to handle the merits of any individual case; nor can we ever, in our honest detestation of particular cruelties or frauds, sympathize with the rage which calls every offence by the most sonorous epithets of crime, and heaps odium on a whole career, because of some false steps. Take the cases which have made most noise, whether in the majestic denunciations of Sheridan and Burke, or in the outcry of recent years; count their number, and carefully note the items of crime alleged with show of reason. Then turn to the two native powers of more recent origin than our own,—Hydur, a Mohammedan, in the south; Runjeet Sing, a Hindu, in the north; and had you only a man or two with the ideas of justice, which Christianity happily teaches, and with a good will to trace out and denounce every lie, fraud, violence, conspiracy, murder, which took place at the courts and by authority of those two powers, he could prepare an oration the horrors of which could hardly be borne by the most depraved audience we could assemble. We have no hesitation in saying, that any ordinary day of Hydur's reign would furnish more material for such denunciation, than can be raked together against all the Governors we have sent to India: that in the short lapse of time between the death of Runjeet Sing and Lord Gough's victory of Sobraon, more crimes were committed at the one court of Lahore, than in the whole history of our Presidencies.

It would be possible to excite far more attention to the case of the fallen Princes, than to that of the great mass of the

Hindus; but the question as to how our ascendancy has affected the former, is next to nothing in real importance, compared with that, as to how it has affected the tens and tens of millions over whom it now extends. At the outset of this inquiry, we must plainly say, that a disgrace too deep to be patiently looked at attaches to our Government, from the fact, that such is the present condition of Bengal,—our first, our richest, and our metropolitan province,—that men of candour and sense can raise a doubt as to whether or not the material condition and the moral character of the people have not deteriorated in our hands. A thousand speeches and pamphlets, from men whose ideas are, happily, so English that every thing which does not square with our home condition is to them startling, make precisely no impression on those whose business it has been for years to study India in all its aspects. But, apart from such authorities; apart from the queer reasoning of a man even with the opportunities of Mr. Sullivan,* who, because Clive found heaps of money in the treasury of the Soubahdar, argues that the mass of the people were in a state of the highest prosperity; and apart from all doubtful authorities; the whole tenor of trustworthy information, and, indeed, of the evidence taken from the most favourable lips in both Houses, is to the effect that Bengal is in a state of misery, insecurity, and demoralization, which are enough to dishonour the name of any power which has been for nearly a century its master. The evidence of Mr. Marshman, calm and competent as he is, and that of Dr. Duff, suffice to make a case, in view of which, our boasting of British rule in the East must be much qualified. Yet even of Bengal, confessedly the worst spot in our dominions, we are not persuaded that, had we the testimony of equally observant and benevolent men, as to the fifty years preceding the battle of Plassey, its condition would not present as many shades as now, without some fair and hopeful lights, which, after all, the present picture shows. But, our point is, that the bare possibility of any candid man doubting whether we have further depressed the condition of the people, is a stain which every Indian Statesman ought to feel, and bestir himself to wipe away.

The first point in judging whether we have served or injured the people of India, is to form a correct notion of their state before our ascendancy began. Mr. Sullivan has a most happy mode of finding conclusions. As to the well-being of the people in Bengal, we have shown how easily he proves it; and so, as to the universal comfort of India up to the English occupation, he says,—Mr. Elphinstone states that the country was in a condition of high prosperity, and therefore, of course, it was so; and, moreover, in proof of the opinion that the natives of certain provinces would be happy to exchange our rule for that of native

* See Parliamentary Papers, Commons' Report on Indian Territories.

Princes, he weightily observes, "If I were in their place, I should desire it; and therefore I conclude that they have the same opinions."* We confess that we have not found so short a road to a satisfactory judgment as the benevolent ex-Member of Council, and therefore must travel a little farther.

The reign of Akbar is universally pointed to as the epoch when India enjoyed the best Government within the records of history. It was just after his death, in the reign of his son, that our factors established themselves at Surat. The condition of the country could not have greatly deteriorated in so short time; and some idea of what it was may be formed from the narrative of a journey made by Withington, one of the factors, from Ahmedabad to the Indus and back, five years after the close of the model reign. That part of the country is naturally wild; but so many crimes, in so short a story, do create a feeling, that we would rather travel in the same region now. The account is given by the father and founder of our Indian history, Orme.†

Withington started with a caravan in December; and on the third night they were attacked by robbers. The next day they met a Mogul officer carrying two hundred and fifty *heads*, taken from men of a robber tribe, for whose extermination the Emperor's orders had been issued. For six days they marched through a desert, and here appear to have been unmolested. No sooner had they arrived "on the skirts of the better country," than they fell in with a caravan which had been robbed. For eight days more of desert march they were safe. Then they hired an escort, which saved them from an attack the very next day. On the morrow, they had twice to buy off bands of robbers. They next reached the residence of a Rajpoot Chief, who had been a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls, and had the usual pension given by that munificent Government to conquered Princes,—namely, his eyes put out. His son engaged to escort the travellers for thirty miles; led them into a wood; seized the camels and goods; strangled the Hindu merchants and their servants; bound Withington and his servants, and marched them forty miles to a mountain-hold, where they kept them for three weeks. When released, they were again robbed of their clothes, and then had to live for some time by begging, "and by the sale of Withington's horse, which the thieves did not think worth taking." They were relieved by a kind native, whom Withington had before known; and, finally, he reached Ahmedabad, "after a distressful absence of one hundred and eleven days."

While Orme resided in Calcutta, before Surajah Dowlah came to the throne, and, consequently, before the English had the

* Commons' Third Report, p. 19.

† "Origin of the English Establishment and of the Company's Trade at Broach and Surat," p. 334.

remotest prospect of being rulers of Bengal, he wrote a treatise, called "*A General Idea of the People and Government of Indostan*," only part of which was published during his life, and which, as printed in full, bears date exactly one century before the day that our Review is to come into the world, namely, "September 1st, 1753." In the statements there made he could have no temptation to flatter our system by showing the vices of the former. Now, what are the glimpses of the state of India there given? After stating, that as soon as a man was known to possess property, if he did not constantly bribe the officials, he would be trapped into law somehow, and forced to disgorge or be ruined; he gives instances:—

"A very wealthy house of Gentoo bankers were admonished, at Mexadavad, of the Nabob's necessities for money; and, better versed in the art of amassing money than in the methods necessary to preserve their riches, they presented a sum much more agreeable to their own avarice than to the expectations of their persecutors. None of the usual snares were likely to succeed with people of their excessive caution. One of the dead bodies, which are continually floating upon the river Ganges, happened to be thrown ashore under the wall of their dwelling-house, which was immediately surrounded by the officers of the civil Magistrate, and nothing heard but execrations against these devoted criminals, who were proclaimed the murderers of a son of Mahomed. The chief of the house was hurried away to a dungeon prepared for his reception; where, after having thrice endured the scourge, he compromised the price of his liberty, and the remission of his pretended crime, for the sum of 50,000 rupees. This man I personally knew.

"Warned by such examples, the more intelligent man of condition sees at once the necessity of ingratiating himself into the favour of his prince, by making acceptable offerings, proportioned to his fortune. It would not be credited, that the family of Tuttichund, shortly after his death, gave, in one present, to the Nabob of Bengal, the sum of £300,000 sterling! were it not known that this man, by having managed the mint and treasury of the province for forty years successively, was become the richest private subject in the empire."—P. 449.

This may explain how we could not, with Mr. Sullivan, take the existence of piles of silver, crowned with jewels, in the Nabob's treasury, as a proof that his people were in comfort. Take what Mr. Orme calls—

"A GENERAL IDEA OF THE OPPRESSION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

"IMITATION has conveyed the unhappy system of oppression, which prevails in the Government of Indostan, throughout all ranks of the people, from the highest even to the lowest subject of the Empire. Every head of a village calls his habitation the Durbar, and plunders of their meal and roots the wretches of his precinct; from him the Zemindar extorts the small pittance of silver, which his penurious tyranny has scraped together; the Phousdar seizes upon the greatest share of the Zemindar's collections, and then secures the favour of his Nabob by voluntary contributions, which leave him not possessed of

the half of his rapines and exactions. The Nabob fixes his rapacious eye on every portion of wealth which appears in his province, and never fails to carry off part of it. By large deductions from these acquisitions, he purchases security from his superiors, or maintains it against them at the expense of a war.

"Subject to such oppressions, property in Indostan is seldom seen to descend to the third generation."—P. 450.

Here is a testimony as to the condition of the working-classes :—

"The mechanic or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty.

"Hence all emulation is destroyed ; and all the luxury of an Asiatic Empire has not been able to counteract, by its propensity to magnificence and splendour, the dispiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a despotic power would reign no more."—P. 405.

And here, incidental evidence of the condition of the country, in remarks introductory to a chapter on population :—

"Where the human race is struggling through such mighty ills as render its condition scarcely superior to that of the brutes of the field, shall we not expect to find throughout Indostan dreary plains, lands uncultivated, miserable villages, thinly interspersed, desolated towns, and the number of inhabitants as much diminished as their miseries appear multiplied ?"—P. 407.

We cannot take leave of this intelligent observer of Bengal a hundred years ago, without quoting the reflections with which the condition of that country inspired him :—†

* Orme holds that *Hindu* princes rule even more cruelly than Mohammedans, and says the Hindus confessed it to him. His account of the ordinary Hindu king is as follows, accompanied with a curious illustration :—

"Avarice is his predominant passion ; and all the wiles, address, cunning, and perseverance, of which he is so exquisite a master, are exerted to the utmost in fulfilling the dictates of this vice ; and his religion, instead of inspiring, frees him from, the remorse of his crimes ; for, whilst he is harassing and plundering his people by the most cruel oppressions, he is making peace with his gods by denying nothing to their priests.

"The present King of Travancore" [Orme was born in Travancore, where his father was serving as a surgeon] "has conquered, or carried war into, all the countries which lay round his dominions, and lives in the continual exercise of his arms. To atone for the blood which he has spilt, the Brahmins persuaded him that it was necessary he should be born anew. This ceremony consisted in putting the Prince into the body of a golden cow, of immense value, where after he had lain the time prescribed, he came out regenerated, and freed from all the crimes of his former life. The cow was afterwards cut up, and divided amongst the seers, who had invented this extraordinary method for the remission of his sins."—P. 435.

† "La politique des Empereurs, ainsi que celle des Soubas, et des Nababs Mogol, depuis qu'ils se sont rendus indépendants des Empereurs, paraît consister en une perpétuelle attention à empêcher que quelque famille n'obtienne de grandes possessions, ou n'accu-

"Having brought to a conclusion this essay on the Government and people of Indostan, I cannot refrain from making the reflections which so obviously arise from the subject.

"Christianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour, and all its reverence, when we behold the most horrid impieties avowed amongst the nations on whom its influence does not shine, as actions necessary in the common conduct of life ; I mean poisonings, treachery, and assassinations, in the sons of ambition ; rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the ministers of justice.

"I leave divines to vindicate, by more sanctified reflections, the cause of their religion and their God.

"The sons of liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the slaves of a despotic power must be subject ; the spirit darkened and depressed by ignorance and fear ; the body tortured and tormented by punishments, inflicted without justice and without measure. Such a contrast to the blessings of liberty heightens at once the sense of our happiness, and our zeal for the preservation of it."—P. 454.

We shall not trouble our readers with more recent or more ancient authorities, but give a summary of the condition of the country before it fell into English hands, and challenge disproof. The property of no man was secure from the arbitrary plunder of those in power. To become rich was to provoke ruin ; to become eminent in handicraft was to forfeit the liberty to dispose of your own labour. The police of the country were generally robbers ; most of the petty princes were in league with bands of robbers, and permitted them to plunder on condition of gaining a share ; no man dare live in a lonely house ; no village dare leave itself unfortified ; families were liable to have their beautiful female members carried off to the hareem of Princes or their officers ; no suitor had any confidence in his Judge, unless on the ground that he had bribed higher than his opponent ; no Judge believed the witnesses, or decided by evidence ; no public servant was secure of office for a day, (unless he was too powerful for his master,) or of life, if he fell into disgrace ; no Prince had confidence in the integrity of his servants ; no court was free from treasons, plots, murders, wherein servants, sons, brothers, equally joined ; no territory was safe from alarms of ravaging armies,—few from actual inroads ; most horrible cruelties were practised by conquerors, from bandit leaders up to great generals. Marauding bands had swollen into marauding nations. All men in power, feeling the uncertainty of their tenure, scraped together immense wealth, and left the people scarcely anything, and no security for even that. Widows were burned ; in many provinces infants were murdered ; old, sick persons were hurried to death. In the hill tribes human sacrifices were offered, with ferocious rites ; and, in all countries, voluntary immolations

mule des richesses, qui leur deviendraient peut-être funestes."—*Essai Historique, Géographique, et Politique, sur l'Indoustan, par M. Legoux de Flaix, Officier de Génie, de la Société Asiatique de Calcuta.* Paris, 1807.

were numerous. No man could change his religion without civil or personal punishment, unless it was in a Mohammedan state,—to become a Mohammedan. Men were mutilated in limbs, noses, eyes, and other members, by command of Magistrates. Hindus were ruled by Mohammedan law. Every man's life was at the will of any petty Chief,—a will which, too often, was swift to shed blood; and several millions of outcastes were held in a condition, not of slavery, but of hereditary exclusion from education, handicraft,* trade, office, intercourse with their neighbours, and every human right, compared with which, personal slavery, with the possibility of redemption, or of children being redeemed, is as preferable as a wound in a limb is to palsy. On the other hand, each native of caste had the chance of rising to civil or military distinction, of taking share in the government, or, perchance, becoming a King; and, as the seat of government was on the soil, the revenues were expended at home, except, indeed, when some Mussulman Captain fell upon his brethren in the north, and swept from their lap the wealth of the Hindus; as in the case of Nadir Shah, who is believed to have carried away THIRTY-TWO MILLIONS STERLING.

At this moment, under British rule, the following may be given as the condition of the same people:—Every man's life is as secure from arbitrary authority as in England: every man's property is secure, except in some districts of Bengal, where the Government has hitherto failed to put down gang-robbery: in the settled provinces any British subject, even a pauper, who conceives himself to be wronged by authority, can sue the Company in its own courts; and five hundred such cases do occur in a year, often with gain to the subject: every man may take his labour to the best market, may multiply his wealth indefinitely without fear: villages are built without walls; walled villages permit their walls to crumble: no marauding Chief can stir: no internal war is heard of: the Thugs are broken up: if underservants of the Government, according to traditional usage, plunder under guise of Police, they have but to be detected to be disgraced: the upper courts are pure: codes are published which must bind the highest authorities in the land: public servants are as secure of office and life as at home; only crime can harm them: conquered Princes are pensioned: every one may profess what religion he will, without civil penalty: no widows are burned: as far as noble efforts and much vigilance can prevent, infants are saved: no slave exists: the millions of outcastes have encouragement to raise themselves in domestic service, in the army, or in any office for which they may qualify themselves by education and character: the press is completely free: the people may meet, discuss, and petition: no new law is put in force till it has been two months, at least, before the

* Except working in leather, which is considered an unclean occupation.

public, open to the criticisms and remonstrances of all, which often produce modifications, sometimes withdrawal: and, in a word, the Coolie of Calcutta has political rights which are denied to the *savant* of Paris, and freedoms which no subject of the great Continental monarchies can claim,—freedom of person, without espionage, passport, or other check; freedom of conscience; freedom of association; freedom of the press; freedom of labour; and, with one or two “base exceptions” by Government monopoly, freedom of commerce.*

Against this is to be set the fact, that the native cannot rise to the head of affairs, cannot even gain a position of *great* distinction and emolument; and that, in military service, his highest prospects are limited to really a subordinate sphere. Reserving, for the present, our views as to this policy, we would observe, that though military and political eminence, which can only be the lot of a few in any country, are put out of their reach, industrial, artistic, and commercial eminence, to which multitudes may aspire, are now laid open as they never were before. If it is not possible for twenty men to amass enormous wealth by the plunder of millions, it is possible for a thousand to amass, by means that will benefit all, as much as they may, without fear of being plundered. The same power which limits the range of political and military ambition, opens a boundless horizon to peaceable advancement.

Again: the ruling nation, having its home abroad, drains heavily every year from Hindustan. This is a decided financial loss to that country, and a clear financial gain to this; serving virtually as a tribute, although not one penny does any Hindu state or individual give to our imperial revenue. Their money is brought here to pay the interest on India stock, and the Home Establishment of the Company; as also in the private fortunes or pensions of Englishmen, earned during service in the country. In good government, and in the play of British enterprise, this amount, and more, could be made up to them, were our measures all they ought to be; and, even as it is, perhaps something is done towards balancing the account: at all events, we protect them from such visitors as Nadir Shah, whose booty would balance our drain for some years. But, when we lead them off to Afghanistan, or Burmah, to squander their money, and spill their blood, we ought to be prepared with rare benefits in order to recruit their means, and compose our own conscience.

Another serious deduction from the glory of our reign is the charge, that, in extensive tracts of the country, and in two oppo-

* Even Mr. Sullivan says that the native “has protection from all those frightful invasions and convulsions which are so frequent under native dynasties, and from all the caprices of despotism; that he has the most complete personal liberty:—he has an amount of political liberty which subjects of very few countries on the Continent have: he may print what he pleases, and discuss with perfect freedom all political subjects.”—*Evidence before the Commons.*

site forms, we have broken down the ancient rights of the peasantry, and thereby greatly damaged their interests. In Bengal an attempt was made to preserve a native aristocracy, the members of which should be individually responsible to the Government for the land-tax of their own districts, and should raise from the cultivators a rent sufficient to reimburse themselves, and leave a gentlemanly surplus. In the Madras Presidency was adopted the system of dealing directly with each holder, having no middle-men between him and the Government. Neither of these was the ancient Hindu mode. From time immemorial their villages have been corporations, with as regular a form of administration and staff of officers as any city. This corporation was recognised by the Governments, often as they changed; it paid the taxes, (which consisted in a part of the produce,) and each individual holder paid his share to the common fund, according to arrangements made by themselves. Thus there was no middle-man to be kept, and yet the cultivator was not left alone to contend with petty officials. The Bengal system (Zemindary) fastened a brood of middle-men on the peasantry; and if no people has yet been found with virtue to make good middle-men, what should Bengalee middle-men be? The Madras system, (Ryotwar,) while aiming to bring the peasant into direct connexion with the English officer, and thereby protect him, yet, partly from over zeal and misconceptions on the part of those officers, partly from the impossibility of doing otherwise than leave the detail in the hands of native underlings, has worked ill, and left, if not made, the people miserably poor. The Bengal system is bad, and, judged by every tendency of the Hindu, without a chance of working well: the Madras is not bad in principle, and would be welcome to great multitudes of the people, if you could always get a Sir Thomas Munro to work it. Both schemes were introduced from the finest motives; and on abstract principles more, perhaps, could be said for either of them, and predicted from them, than from the village system: but Hindu institutions fit Hindu morals; and, therefore, though the last-named system has always seemed to us liable to objections, which, at the moment we are writing this page, we find expressed by Mr. H. St. George Tucker, in the selection from his writings just issued by Mr. Kaye; though it leaves no hope of a rising middle class, and stereotypes every thing; yet it seems, especially in the able hands of Mr. Thomason, to offer hopes of comfort for the people; while, of the two English systems, one is covered with opprobrium, and the other breaks down. Yet we cannot but remember, that when Sir Thomas Munro was doing for the Ceded Districts what Mr. Thomason is doing for the North-West Provinces, his system was in high favour; and that, in his hands, it, too, even on Mr. Campbell's showing, "worked wonderfully well." But the fact, that neither of the plans introduced by us has elevated the condition of our

subjects, is a proof of the difficulty of adjusting English notions to the state of the Hindus.*

But, though our rule has not benefited the mass of the people as it might have done; though it shuts out natives from high offices, and annually removes part of the nation's wealth to a distant land; though its progress has been dishonoured by crimes against princes, against the people, and against the religion we profess; though great evils now exist, and bad practices are followed by our Government, we are bound to say that, calmly reviewing the history of the last century, we can point to no such progress in any old country as that which has been witnessed in Hindustan. Where else have a hundred millions of people, who never before knew what was meant by security of life and property, realized those inestimable blessings? Where else have that number acquired a right to discuss the acts of their Government in speech and print, to criticize projected laws, and even to prosecute for civil grievances the agents of supreme power? Where else have the Heathen or Mussulman lords of fifty millions of subjects, the Heathen and Mussulman leaders of four hundred thousand troops, been brought to live side by side in peace? Where else has such a territory been swept clean of all shape of slavery? Where else, ten or twenty millions of wretches—whose fathers had been wretches from time unwritten, and whose children were to be wretches till time should end—been told that letters, liberties, and hopes were open to them as to others? Where else has such a saving of human life been effected, as by the cessation of widow-burning, the diminution of infanticide, the dispersion of the Thugs, the general, though not yet universal, suppression of gang-robbery, and the complete check to all Mahratta and Pindaree marauding? Where so many poor creatures saved from mutilation as by substituting, in this vast territory, a mild criminal code for the caprice of any petty despot? These questions must not be answered, one way or the other, by impulse or imagination. There lies the wide world before you,—there the history of its last hundred years: point, then, to the place where, within that time, so many disorders have been stayed, so many families enabled to lay them down at night in peace, so many lives redeemed from destruction, and so many hopes of peace and progress opened before a family of nations? Point out the spot in Asia, or in any Heathen or Mohammedan part of the world, where political changes have effected aught comparable on ever so small a scale.

If there be a truth in existence, this is one,—THERE IS A GOVERNMENT ABOVE US. Whatever class of men may practically forget that we are under a Supreme Ruler, Statesmen—from

* Both the English systems trust to individual character,—the Bengal to the virtue of the Zemindar, the Madras to the industry of the Ryot and the virtue of the collecting officer. The village system trusts nothing merely to individual honesty.

their knowledge of the impossibility that even the smallest community could exist without government—ought to be incapable of feeling as if the universe were an anarchy. As surely as there are Kings of men, is there a King of Kings; and no man who is not prepared to believe that His government is bad, can imagine that it is heedless. Though so much of what He permits upon earth is punitive, the ultimate purpose of mercy is ever beaming through the clouds, and that the more as the world grows older. When such a spectacle occurs as one hundred and fifty millions of human beings, passing from the care of native rulers, under that of a strange nation, separated from them by weary months of sea-passage, who appeared on their shores only as wayfarers and traders, what idea must he have of our race, who can behold it without being convinced that the Ruler of all is directing some great movement in the destinies of mankind? Did such a prodigious event happen unheeded in the heavens, then might we abandon all hope of our species, as if no benevolent Power deemed them worthy of care. No; that British sceptre which now waves over one hundred and sixty millions of Asiatics, derived not the power before which all opposition vanished from the listlessness of chance, but from a mission of Providence. And was its mission one of judgment or of mercy? Surely, none will hesitate to take the latter view. Its effects, as already ascertained, indicate this; and every man who knows Asia must feel that, with all the faults of our rule, were India to relapse tomorrow into native hands, the tide of enlightenment, which just begins to set in, would at once be rolled back, and the Christianizing and civilizing of Asia be wofully delayed.

As this is the commencement of "*Asiatic Researches*" in these pages, and as it has at last become necessary for every one to have some knowledge of India, we will, as briefly as we can, give a view of how our wonderful Empire rose, and what it actually is.

The fruitful sixteenth century had reached its very last day, when Queen Elizabeth, then old and waning, signed a charter empowering certain "*Merchant Adventurers*," who had met and subscribed at the house of one Alderman Goddard, to trade to the East. One hundred and fifty years passed away, and many ships had come and gone; the little island of Bombay, on the coast of India, had been given to us by the King of Portugal as a dowry with his daughter, who married Charles II.; we had a factory and a rising city at Calcutta, and another at Madras, which had just been restored to us by the French, after having been for three years in their hands; and, besides, we had some factories and little forts in other places. This was all the hold we had taken of India in that long period; nor did we dream of more than increasing our trade.

The French love to speak of themselves as the origin of all great movements; and, in truth, they may say that they led

us the first steps towards our Indian Empire. Dupleix, at the head of the little settlement of Pondicherry, conceived the grand idea of founding a European ascendancy amid the ruins of the Mogul Empire. With genius and resources of the highest order, with bad faith of the lowest, he aimed at the extirpation of the English, who, he knew, would not befriend his ambition; and, at the same time, trained native troops in European discipline, and connected himself with the agitated politics of the country. As if we were to be taught that the wonderful successes which were coming, had a higher cause than English wisdom or valour, all our proceedings, for a series of years, were paltry, blundering, and disastrous. Madras was captured; our fleet at sea ran away; our authorities were marched bare-headed through Pondicherry; Dupleix was courted by two pretenders, one to the power of the Nizam, the other to the subordinate, but more contiguous, Government of Arcot; he intrigued for them, fought for them, and conquered: in return it is said that two hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels, were given to him; he was declared Governor of a country with thirty millions of people; he built a column on the site of his triumph, and a town rose up, called the City of Dupleix's Victory. The English adhered to the heir of the old Nabob, and fought in his support; but worse fighting or worse tactics were never known. At length all the country, except Trichinopoly, was lost to our ally; and though the Madras Government, trembling for its own existence, sent all the troops it could to his aid, matters were approaching the extremity. Chunda Saheb, Dupleix's Nabob, leaving Arcot garrisoned by eleven hundred men, marched to complete his victory. To avert the final blow, Capt. Gingen, with 1000 sepoys, 100 Africans, (called Caffres by Orme,) and 600 English, marched to intercept him, accompanied by a large army under Abdul Khan, the brother of the English Nabob. When the action had scarcely begun, the English ran away: Clive was there, but even he could not give them heart. "Abdul Khan," says Orme, "rode up, and upbraided them in the strongest terms for their cowardice, bidding them take example from his own troops, who still stood their ground: and to compleat the shame of this day, the company of Caffres remained likewise on the field for some time, and then marched off in good order, bringing away the dead and wounded."* It was well that before such signal honour was put upon the British arms, we should be taught how low we could fall when Providence permitted.

Clive was now in his twenty-sixth year, and a commissary, having abandoned his proper post as "a writer," for one that led him into the field. In the dearth of officers, he was made

* "Military Transactions," vol. i., p. 174.

a Captain. Seeing ruin close upon the English, he conceived the daring project of attacking Arcot, in hope of drawing off the enemy from before Trichinopoly. By that strange power over others which the instruments of revolutions acquire so soon as the time of their success sets in, he brought the Council to his views. They gave him all the men they had to give, 200 English, and 300 sepoys. They had eight officers; "six of whom had never before been in action, and four of these six were young men in the mercantile service of the Company."* As they approached Arcot, a "violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain" broke over them; and those who know what that means in the tropics, will feel that, when they marched on "with unconcern," they were indeed resolute. Just then, "the enemy's spies" saw the column, and, astonished at their coolness, hastened to report to the garrison. Awe fell upon them; they thought it was an omen of success from heaven; and, when Clive approached the city, he found—instead of eleven hundred men, strong in the remembrance of many victories—an open gate, and a hundred thousand townsfolk staring to see the fated victor take unchallenged possession of a fort which the garrison had abandoned, as they believed, at a summons from the sky! That was England's first triumph in India,—the foundation-stone of the gigantic power which now overshadows Hindustan; and that triumph was given to us, without a stroke of man's hand, by the instrumentality of a thunder-storm and an uncontrollable fear. The last defeat, so shameful as to our courage,—the first victory, so independent of our prowess,—unite to call our thoughts upward to a Hand which ruled the sky, and was mightier than the hearts of men. The first act of an English victor in Hindustan was one of happy omen: the natives had, for security, placed property to the value of £50,000 in the fort: this would have been desirable booty for such a rabble army as Clive's, but he restored it to its owners; thereby gaining in name more than any amount of treasure.†

Once in possession, he sallied out, "and beat up" the camp of the former garrison, sustained a siege of fifty days, and, when, at the end, a tremendous assault was delivered by ten thousand men, he, with only eighty English, and one hundred and twenty sepoys, drove them triumphantly from the ruinous walls. The Mahrattas were hovering in the neighbourhood, under engagement to join Clive, but waiting to see who was strongest, and diligently plundering in the mean time. Now, their chief, declaring that he never before thought that the

* Orme.

† It is singular that a writer so picturesque as Macaulay should, in his exquisite narrative of these events, altogether omit the two facts, that the thunder-storm (to which he alludes) was the cause of the panic under which the garrison evacuated the fort, and that Clive respected private property; the two facts of most moral significance in the whole series.

English could fight, willingly acted with such a soldier as Clive. Though all that was not under his own eye was feebly conducted, wherever he appeared, victory followed victory. The French became as much accustomed to defeat as the English had been: the monument of Dupleix, and the adjoining city, were razed to the ground, and Clive returned to England, leaving his countrymen a great military name in South India, with their Nabob in power, and a secure tenure of their trading establishments, but yet without any territorial possession of the country.

In the year 1756 occurred an event which filled England with horror, but led immediately to a change of our position in India from that of traders to that of political arbiters, and, eventually, of universal Sovereigns. On the shores of the fertile Bengal we had a flourishing trade, concentrated in the town of Calcutta; but here, as yet, no French rivals had compelled our factors to learn the art of war. The government of Bengal had lately passed into the hands of a weak, besotted, and cruel youth, who hated the English; and, as they were fortifying their settlement, for fear of the French, without having obtained his special leave, and were, moreover, bold enough to refuse him when he demanded that a rich merchant whom he wanted to plunder, and who had fled to Calcutta, should be delivered up, he marched to plunder them. The Governor, in a fright, escaped to the ships in the river, the military Commandant did the same, and many followed these high examples: a few remained; but their fort was soon taken. The booty disappointed the victor; and that night ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIX PERSONS were forced, by the sword, into a *Black-Hole*, "not twenty feet square." After a night of horrors never to be conceived, only twenty-three Englishmen were living in Bengal, and they "the ghastliest forms that ever were seen alive." Their cowardly companions, who had saved themselves by the ships, were struck with remorse when a few of these wasted figures contrived to reach them, and, by their appearance and their tale, revealed what had befallen those who were so shamefully forsaken.*

When the news reached Madras, Robert Orme, the future historian, who had before spent nine years in Calcutta, was a Member of the Council. Amid the perplexity of opinions, he steadily insisted on sending a large force. This was resolved upon; but who should command it? Mr. Pigot, the Governor, wished to go; but he was no soldier. Colonel Aldercorn, who had arrived at the head of a King's regiment, claimed the command; but he had no knowledge of Indian war. The brave and generous Lawrence, the only regular officer who had yet won a single

* They "had made no efforts to facilitate the escape of the rest of the garrison: never, perhaps, was such an opportunity of performing a heroic action so ignominiously neglected; for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon."—*Mil. Tran.*, vol. ii.

laurel, and who would else, doubtless, have been appointed, was asthmatical. Orme named Clive, who had just returned from England, and, after much difficulty, carried his point.

In the month of December, 1756, the English squadron entered the Hoogly. Calcutta was soon re-taken, and other blows struck, with the speed and power habitual to Clive. Then arose, in the mind of the young avenger, the daring thought of deposing the ruler of Bengal, and setting up, over its thirty millions, a creature of his own. With craft equal to his daring, and with dissimulation that outdid even Bengalees, he wove a conspiracy around the throne of Surajah Dowlah; and then, with 3,000 men, of whom only 900 were English, marched to attack his grand army of 58,000. The battle was fought on the field of Plassey, and lasted from eight in the morning till about five. The Nabob fought languidly; and, when he saw himself betrayed on the field by one conspirator, he acted upon the counsel of another, and took to flight. Just then Clive's little force was advancing to deliver the first charge, in the European style, ever sustained in the open field, in Bengal. The vast army, cowed equally by the flight of their Chief, and the daring front of their strange foe, broke into a complete rout; and the victors "entered their camp without other obstacle than what they met from tents, artillery, baggage, and stores dispersed around them."

Meer Jaffier, Clive's fellow-conspirator, was raised to the throne. The fallen Prince fled from his capital in disguise, but was re-captured by the agents of Meer Jaffier, and miserably murdered in what had been his own palace. The new Nabob made restitution for English property which had been destroyed, with a donation to the army, the squadron, and the Committee who conducted the English affairs, amounting in all to TWO MILLION SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS, besides enormous secret sums. To the share of Clive fell two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds.

In a short time, the son of the Great Mogul, who, though a prisoner and blinded at Delhi, had still the name of royalty, advanced at the head of a heterogeneous force of forty thousand men, whom the hope of booty, and the influence of his ancestral name, had gathered to his standard. His aim was to overturn the creature of the English, and erect his own power in the rich dominion of Bengal. He invested the city of Patna; but Clive and his Englishmen marched in support of their ally; and their name had suddenly become so terrible, that no sooner did the vanguard appear, than the army of Shah Alum began to disperse, and never risked a battle. The man who so lately had been a mercantile clerk returned triumphant over the heir of the Great Mogul; and Meer Jaffier, transported with gratitude, gave him an estate worth thirty thousand a year.

In a few years the English deposed Meer Jaffier, and set up his son-in-law, and, soon quarrelling with him, replaced Meer

Jaffier on the throne. But Cossim was not willing to forego his power, fought several unsuccessful battles, and, fleeing to the nominal Emperor, the same whose expedition, as heir, we have just related, enlisted his sympathies, and, what was of more substantial account, the active military support of the Nabob of Oude, in whose hands the Emperor then was. Thus the new power of England had to contend with the most formidable Mohammedan Prince then in India, besides Cossim, who had adopted European discipline for his troops, and the moral weight of the Emperor's name and presence, such as that was. Clive was in England; and, in his absence, the English, intoxicated by their position, had been forcing fortunes out of the unhappy natives by exactions so rapacious, that it is only wonderful they were not once more exterminated. But, degraded as their moral condition was, they maintained their military ascendancy. Sir Hector Munro met the army of the powerful allies at Buxar on the 15th of September, 1764, and, after three hours' hard fighting, drove them before him, till a river, the bridge over which they destroyed, cut off the pursuit. The next day the Emperor opened negotiations with the English, complained that he was the state-prisoner of the Oude Nabob, soon placed himself under the protection of the British camp; and thus this strange power, which only eight years before could be shut up in a Black-Hole, was at the head of Indian politics, able to dispose of the person of the great Mogul, and of a splendid part of his ancient Empire. At this juncture, Clive, with the title of Lord, the office of Governor, and the fullest powers, landed for the last time from England. He soon secured the Emperor's formal grant of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of an annual tribute of £260,000. This act gave the Company in form that which it had before in reality,—a place among the recognised potentates of the land,—and, in fact, linked it to the throne of the great Moguls, as one of the many nominal subordinates, but real masters, who used its *prestige* for their own interest.

In the same year (1765) the Nabob of Arcot gave the Company a grant of a district round Madras. Thus, at two points, they simultaneously acquired dominion from the only existing sources which could give a show of legitimacy. But they held not as Sovereigns, but, in name, as feudataries of the shadowy Mogul. For seven years the powers conveyed to us in Bengal were left in the hands of Meer Jaffier and his sons; and when, after the lapse of that time, the management of the country was undertaken by ourselves, the representative of that family, though it had been raised to power by us, received a pension of £160,000 *per annum*, which is paid to this day. This created a precedent, which, happily for our honour, has been followed ever since, and has given us a great moral superiority. Mr. Campbell, who loses no love on native Princes, but seems to have a high esteem

for rupees, chafes finely at these pensions. The following table from his work will give both information and amusement :—

Recipients.	Amount in Pounds Sterling.	Remarks.
King of Delhi (the Mogul)	150,000	The only pension for the amount of which there is reasonable ground.
Nawab of Bengal ...	160,000	An absurdly large pension to the descendant of Meer Jaffier, a temporary Governor created by us.
Nawab of the Carnatic	116,540	The descendant of a Deputy-Governor established by us gets about four times as much as the Prince Consort of the United Kingdom.
Families of former Nawabs of the Carnatic	90,000	Should be paid by the Nawab.
Rajah of Tanjore.....	118,350	Allowance to the descendant of a petty military Chief.
Rajah of Benares.....	14,300	Allowance to a deposed Zemeendar.
Families of Hyder and Tipu	63,954	Allowance to the descendants of an upstart usurper, our bitterest enemy, who fought to the last, and with whom no terms were made.
Rajahs of Malabar ...	25,000	
Bajee Rao, deposed Peshwah	80,000	The Peshwah is lately dead. I do not know whether the pension is discontinued.
Others of the Peshwah's family ...	135,000	A great deal too much.
Various other Allowances	533,140	Includes a variety of small political stipends, pensions, and compensations.
Total *.....	1,486,284	

At this juncture, the government of our Indian possessions was regulated by Act of Parliament, and a Governor-General appointed in the person of Warren Hastings. Up to this time, no attempt had been made to bring the wide regions we owned under regular civil government; but the people had been left in the hands of the Mussulman authorities, the Company's servants heeding only trade and revenue. Hastings founded our civil empire in the East, as Clive had founded the military. For eleven years he reigned as Governor-General,—a reign memorable for great measures, great improvements, and great faults. It is now fashionable to cover the latter in the mantle

* This table of Mr. Campbell's, compared with the fact that we receive only a million in tribute, subsidy, &c., from the native States, shows that we pay more to deposed Princes than we receive from reigning ones.

of his glory ; but, happily for the destinies of our Indian Empire, they were at the time viewed by some in England, not in that dim light which enabled many to behold, without disgust, Christian morals levelled in Bengal to heathen practice ; and Burke's immortal thunders broke over the head of the offender, in peals which will echo as long as England has a literature, or Bengal a name. Too promiscuous, and in many points unjust, those grand fulminations often struck real offences both in the individual specially marked, and in the community of which he was at once the ablest member, and the one who had fewest vices and most redeeming qualities. They gave the East India Government a bad name, and taught people to rate it splendidly,—a lesson never yet unlearned. But if this has lowered the repute of the Company in England below its deserts, it has elevated their tone abroad ; for few men have gone out, since that day, without resolving not to provoke such a scourging. And it may be fairly asked, if ever, in human history, so many men in succession held an office of powers equal to those of Hastings's successors in the vice-royalty of India, against whom so few crimes could be charged.

Our possessions in the East had now become of such consequence at home, that a statesman of rank, and a soldier of name,—Lord Cornwallis,—was sent to assume the chief government. Whatever had been Clive's faults in his first sudden access of power, he had, on his return from England, laid a masterful hand on the corruptions which else would have soon brought the Empire he had founded with shame to its grave. Warren Hastings, too, had done much to elevate the tone of the English officials ; but Lord Cornwallis, raising their salaries to a scale fitted to the generous views of statesmanship, rather than the bargaining spirit of the counting-house, cut short all bye-practices, and stamped the service with that gentlemanly impress which it has ever since retained. He, assisted by Sir John Shore, (the first Lord Teignmouth,) published the code of regulations which fixed the proceedings in courts, and settled the lands in the hands of a landlord class. The former proceeding will ever be memorable in Asiatic history, as giving, for the first time, an Asiatic peasant the power to sue in open court the agent of Government who might wrong him ; and the latter memorable, as founding a system which has worked disastrously, though, as an experiment, well worthy of being tried, but to which Lord Cornwallis too hastily pledged the faith of the Government for ever.

During the preceding reign, a man who could never write his name, had all but driven us from the south of India. Hydr Ali, rising from obscurity like a rocket, after crushing a group of little thrones, had once dictated peace at the gates of Madras, and died while fighting us, at least, on equal terms. His son Tipu, equally fierce, but less able, fell before Lord

Cornwallis, aided by the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and half of his dominions were divided among the victors. In a few years his total destruction proclaimed to the world the name of the two Wellesleys; the classic and statesmanly genius of the Governor-General being the morning star, beneath which arose the sun of his brother's glory. Instead of annexing all Tipu's territory, a little boy, the heir of the ancient Mysore Kings, found in obscurity, was raised to the throne, with dominions, perhaps, larger than his family had possessed before Hydur's usurpation. The same policy which had dictated to Lord Wellesley the conquest of Tipu, led him on. He was resolved to make England paramount; and was, perhaps, the only Governor-General who was warlike by choice. He made treaties to support troops for native Princes, they paying either by annual subsidy, or cession of territory; and thus he added large dominions from the Nizam, the Nabob of Oude, the Guickwar, (a Mahratta power in Guzerat,) and obtained subsidies from the Peshwah, the titular head of the Mahrattas; to which the real Chiefs of that nation, Scindiah, Holkar, and the Nagpore Rajah, objecting, war was declared, and their dominions royally cut up, to aggrandize ours. Yet they retained, and still retain, territories to which their grandfathers had no pretension. Lord Cornwallis, succeeding a second time to the government, carried out the pacific instructions which the home authorities continually issued, abridged our possessions, and permitted Runjeet Sing to extend his power. But in 1816 Lord Hastings was led into war with the Pindaree Chiefs, a horde of robbers, some degrees worse than the Mahrattas; and the Peshwah joining these, it became a second Mahratta war, which ended in large annexation of territory, in the deposition and pensioning of the Peshwah, who was the heir of a usurping Minister, and in finding out, somewhere, the heir of the old line, (that not very old,) and setting him on a little throne at Sattara. All this time had been kept up the farce of holding territory nominally under the Emperor, and coining money in his name; but now England was supreme in all India, except the Punjab and its adjuncts, and at last our sovereignty was asserted. It was but sixty-one years since the battle of Plassey, yet Hindustan was ours. When Mahmoud the Great undertook to conquer the Hindus, his hardy Affghans had fought eight campaigns, before he could firmly set up his throne. A century of Moslem rule, and one Moslem dynasty, (the Guznavide,) had passed away, before Bengal was conquered. Another dynasty (the first Gaurian) was gone, before the crescent ever approached the south (Deccan). Seven hundred years had the Mussulmans been in India, before, under Aurengzebe, they could command it all; and even then Hindu energy in the wild Mahratta form was springing up anew. All this time the races of the Mussulmans, as in their prosperity they degenerated, had been renewed by fresh incursions from hardier

climes. Each new race fought a battle or two with the old,—won them; and down went the previous power, as readily as a French throne, after a fight lost in Paris: and this facile change of hands among the Mussulmans has been generally confounded with a fresh conquest of the Hindus; whereas, in fact, they have known but the one continuous, though fluctuating, power of the Moslem, which slowly and with difficulty extinguished native dynasties. The Mohammedan conquest, begun by great armies, long used to conquer, and conducted from neighbouring countries, took seven centuries: the English, begun by a trading Company, and conducted from a country then six or nine months distant, and in spite of the most earnest instructions to every Governor to shun war and cultivate the revenue, took sixty years.* May not an Empire which rose so strangely, hope to fulfil a grand destiny in the hands of Providence? May we not humbly trust, that the great Ruler, pitying the plagues of Asia, has set up, in the centre of its commerce and politics, a power which, however faulty at first, tends to improve under the influence of Christianity, and will, eventually, give the nations of Hindustan repose which their fathers knew not, and the truth and righteousness without which no nation can long either flourish or repose?

Our territory is equal to all continental Europe, Russia excepted. Peshawur is as far north of Tanjore, as Stockholm is of Naples; Chittagong, as far east of Kurrachee, as Athens is of Paris. Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden, unitedly do not equal either our territory or our population. The Report of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey, which has lately been printed for Parliament, gives the total—

Area in square miles.....	1,368,113
Population.....	151,144,902

And a corrected copy, with which we have been favoured, adds seven millions and a half to this population; most of which is in our own territories, but part in the native States: making the total, 158,774,065. But the fact is, that even from our territories many of the returns are no better than guesses; and from the native States few are to be relied upon. It has, however, generally proved that accurate returns give a higher population than previous estimates; and after considerable attention to the subject for years, we should not be surprised to find the official statement gradually coming up from its present advanced figure, to nearly two hundred millions.

This splendid Empire is distributed into four Governments or Presidencies,—Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Agra. The first is the seat of the Governor-General, and the Supreme Council; the next two have each a Governor and Council; and Agra is

* The Punjab conquest, the miserable Affghan and the Burmese wars, are too fresh in all memories to need to be recalled.

administered by a Lieutenant-Governor without a Council.
The army is,—

Queen's troops	29,480
Company's European troops	19,928
Company's native troops	240,121
<hr/>	
Total	289,529
Native contingents, commanded by British officers, and available under treaties	32,000
<hr/>	

Total at the disposal of the Governor-General.. 321,529

This is a great army; yet its proportion to the extent of the Empire presents a forcible comment on the nature of British rule. Compare it with the proportion which the armies of the Continent bear to the population of the respective countries, and you might imagine that they were holding conquered nations, and we governing our hereditary soil. Forty-nine thousand out of the whole are Englishmen!—a less number than is generally found necessary to garrison the one city of Paris! Even the native Rajahs, with a population of 55,000,000, have 400,000 soldiers; while we, with double the population, have 110,000 less, though they are guaranteed against external war, and we have to take all risks. Then our 240,000 native troops are a strength or a weakness, just as our authority is popular or the reverse. Were their attachment lost, how formidable would they be, taught in our mode of war, and five times as numerous as the English soldiers! Were they and the troops of the Rajahs united against us, it would be 50,000 against 640,000. You may travel through India for days together without coming on a military station. You may pass through kingdoms, with three million or more inhabitants, containing only one post of European troops. You may find great cities without a soldier; the remains of vast fortifications, near which not a uniform is visible. Facts such as these, when contrasted with the constant display of military force in the countries even of civilized Europe, forcibly prove that the power of the English has foundations in the homes of the people, as well as in the cantonments of the soldiery.

In the native regiments, the officers are, as to numbers, about half native, half English; but no native officer can rise higher than to a sort of Captaincy or Majority, and even then is under the youngest European Ensign; a position much worse than that enjoyed by Hindus in the armies of the Mussulmans. Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have three distinct armies, and three Commanders-in-Chief.

Though the military history of this Empire has all the surprise of romance, and all the splendour of orientalism, its civil history bears far more closely on the question of its probable stability, and on the greater question of its title to be permanent. The objects of our original establishment were purely commercial; and the Presidents and Councils had only to manage invest-

ments, and keep little settlements in order. When troubles came upon them, self-preservation led them into such politics as helped to support a petty Nabob. When Bengal was at their feet, so little idea had they of government, that it was left to Mussulman authorities, as before, whom they forced to unheard-of oppressions, by extorting enormous sums to be shipped for England on private account. Beyond curbing this rapacity, and taxing salt to compensate the officials, in part, for what he forced them to abandon, Clive does not seem to have made a step towards a civil government. Warren Hastings divided the country into districts, in which criminal law was still administered by Mohammedan Judges according to their own code. In civil and fiscal matters, petty suits were settled by Zemindars, or Head-farmers; but over the whole district was placed a European functionary, who had control in all these departments. He also printed and promulgated, for the guidance of these officers, Regulations which bear witness to his desire to improve the country. In Calcutta he formed a Native Revenue Establishment and a Chief Native Criminal Court, he and his Council constituting, for the supreme direction, a Board of Revenue and a Head Court of Justice. Under all its masters the revenue of India had been chiefly paid from the land; and this important branch of government Hastings endeavoured to bring into order, but with little success; for then we scarcely knew any thing of the mysteries of native land-tenure. He re-established Clive's salt-tax, which had been abolished by the Government at home.

These arrangements were soon modified; but, when Lord Cornwallis entered on the government, he restored some of the original plans, and, as before observed, raised the regular salary and the moral tone of the civil servants. His famous Regulations, conferring some great civil boons, went, as to land, on the mistaken doctrine that the Government in India was owner of the soil, as well as lord of a royalty of its produce; and hence he handed over whole districts for ever to certain individuals, who should hold them as estates, and pay a certain revenue to Government under penalty of sale. Thus the real owner of the *soil*, the cultivator, was put under a Zemindar, or Tax-farmer, whom the well-meaning Governor-General figured, in his own idea, as developing into a patriotic and tenant-loving Squire; while the odium of setting up tax-gathering to sale was brought upon the Government. In carrying out his measures, natives ceased to hold any but very subordinate offices.

During the great extensions of territory in Lord Wellesley's day no great civil measures were passed; but, in the south, his brother, in managing some of the new countries, first displayed his ability for government; and Sir Thomas Munro laid the foundation of his popularity. Under him sprang up the Ryotwar system, formerly alluded to; and, happily, Lord Wellesley's wish to extend the Bengal land-system to the new provinces was not carried into effect.

For many years the civil Government remained much as Lord Cornwallis left it; and it was not till 1828, when Lord William Bentinck, who had learned much during a former residence, as Governor of Madras, was placed at the head of the Empire, that any decisive progress was effected. Under him disappeared the folly of using Persian as the government language; and English took its place. Many important changes regarding revenue were effected; all remnants of the old bad system of commissions and present-taking, on the part of public servants, were swept away; more attention was paid to efficiency, and less to seniority, in appointing to the chief places; the natives were admitted to much higher offices, as Judges and Deputy-Collectors; and considerable establishments were founded for their education.

Since then, the press has been made entirely free by Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe; slavery declared unlawful by Lord Ellenborough; all offices which natives may hold declared open to any one, of whatever class, whose education shall qualify him; and the deprivation of property, because of a change of religion, annulled by Lord Hardinge.

The course of our civil government has been one of improvement; and, though great errors have been committed, many elements of good government exist, and, on the whole, India is in the hands of a more moderate, intelligent, and upright set of administrators than ever ruled a conquered country in Asia before, or, we believe, any where else. Yet, before we quit this part of our subject, we hope to show that much remains to be done. As to the part which natives are permitted to take in the government of the country, it will at once appear that great masses of them are employed, when we state that the total number of the regular European (technically called "covenanted") civil servants of the Government is 808. These leave all the lower offices for natives; of these, many are of great power and importance; and, as Judges, at least seven natives sit for one Englishman. In fact, while we hear in Europe complaints that natives are not employed, we have often, in India, heard the peasantry complain bitterly that they were left so much at the mercy of "black men," who "eat them up;" whereas, if directly dealing with Englishmen, they would have fair play. All civil suits originate in the courts of native Judges; and the Principal Sudder Aumeens decide by far the greatest number of appeal cases finally. The number of natives in Government employment, at a salary of £24 and upwards, is:—

In Bengal	420
Agra	864
Madras	199
Bombay	594
Punjab	258 *

* See p. 36 of the papers named at the head of this Article, under the head "Native Agency."

Making TWO THOUSAND, THREE HUNDRED, and THIRTY-FIVE PERSONS, out of one hundred millions of subjects, whose share in the public service of their country is worth £24 a year, and upwards! Only about three times as many as are the Englishmen holding the noble salaries of the covenanted service! It is, however, to be remarked, that £24 to a Hindu is a far larger income than it would be in England: for a labouring man will live on three-halfpence a day; and we have known authors and scholars glad to earn £17 a year as *Moonshees*, and able to live well upon it.* But when fully aware of all this, the above fact is no less startling. ONE NATIVE in all India has attained, under British rule, the public income of FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY pounds per annum. In Bengal, another has £900. In Madras, the highest is £960; in Bombay, £600. For Madras and Bombay details are not given; by condensing those for Bengal and Agra, we have:—

	£.	£.	
15 receiving each	720	to 780	<i>per annum.</i>
7 	600	to 720	...
77 	480	to 600	...
40 	360	to 480	...
1,143 	24	to 360	...

Mr. Campbell claims that the apparently large salaries of the civil service should be divided by three to reduce them to an English equivalent: and, considering, not so much the cost of living in the country, which is greatly under the control of fashion, as the risk of health, the expense of educating a family away in England, the outlay on voyages, and the almost universal necessity of retiring before old age from such a climate,—his claim is not very unfair. But be the proportion to home incomes what it may, we would not pay one European functionary a fraction less than he is paid. They deserve it all, if they do their duty; and not one of them but might fill his pockets by bribes, if he would only stoop to that shame. Yet the following scale is not like the last:—

	£.	
Governor General	25,000	<i>per annum.</i>
Governors of Madras and Bombay	12,500	...
Lieutenant-Governor of Agra	8,400	...
Members of Supreme Council	10,000	...
Do. Madras and Bombay	6,200	...
Secretaries to Government, and other high officers,—as Residents, Members of Revenue Boards, &c.	5,200	...
Commissioners in Provinces	3,500	...
Judges	3,000	...

* The wages paid to men employed on the mail-road is six shillings (three rupees) per month. The Directors would have us multiply £24 by seven, making it £168 in comparative English value; and they are not far wrong,—setting, as they do, six shillings per month, Indian standard wages, against ten shillings per week English.

	£.	
Judges, Madras and Bombay.....	2,800	<i>per annum.</i>
Magistrate and Collector of Madras and Bombay	2,800	...
Collectors, Bengal	2,300	...
Assistants *	480	...

Sir Charles Wood's Bill transfers the patronage of the service which possesses these splendid incomes from the family estate of the Court of Directors to the family estate of British talent; which, we thought, might feel desirous of knowing the exact value of its new property; and, therefore, we have given the list of prizes, for which henceforth the gifted son of any honest man may contend.†

As to the employment of natives, we do not so much quarrel with the highest salaries, as the lowest. All who are intrusted with power, either fiscal or judicial, should have salaries the loss of which would be serious, and should know that the least bribery involved dismissal FOR EVER. The Police especially are so paid in Bengal, as to make it manifest, that if the *Darogah* (Inspector) is to get any thing, he must get it by foul play. Such policy is as mischievous as it is mean. Then, we would certainly multiply the number of higher officers, so that not a solitary individual, but several, might rejoice in £1,500 a year. As to having a native Member or Members of Council, we cannot conceive the real objections to be better stated than by Mr. Marshman.‡ We agree with every word, almost, that he says, except his conclusion; for we think that the evils of exciting the jealousy of the natives against a native so elevated, are less than that of exciting it against us because we will not permit their elevation; and those arising from his relations and servants selling his supposed patronage and power, though great, are not to be compared with the moral effect of opening to the Hindus the highest stake in the Government.

Another department of our civil proceedings demanding notice, is that of public works. On this head the advocates of

* These are young gentlemen lately out from Haileybury College, who, having passed a year or two in the Presidencies on good pay, doing what they liked, under feint of being at College, have just received an appointment. After a month in the Presidency, each youth ought to be sent "up country," to reside under the eye of some experienced officer, to attend daily either in court, or in the office; hear the language spoken in law-suits,—one of the best practices in the world for a learner; copy out accounts, petitions, letters, read the running-hand, and do every thing he will have afterwards to do. Thus he would at once be out of mischief, learning the language, and learning his business; instead of fooling away his time, and perhaps his character and pecuniary independence, in the Presidency. If, after a year,—at most, eighteen months,—so spent, he cannot write, read, and talk the vernacular passably, let him enter the army, or go home. This regulation might easily and usefully be appended to Sir Charles Wood's new scheme of patronage.

† The presentation to Haileybury College, which is the door to the civil service, has been taken from the Directors; and admission will henceforth be given to the successful competitors in an examination, open to all.

‡ Evidence before Commons, Second Report, p. 51.

the Company think that they are greatly wronged. In the papers before us, we have a section devoted to this question; and a large Blue Book on Public Works in Madras is lately out. Those who point to mausoleums, and temples, and so on, of former days, and reproach the Company for not adorning the country with similar erections, do a very foolish thing. And if Jehangir made a road to Cashmere, it was for his own pleasure; and if he made a few others afterwards, it was for much the same reason. Against such comparisons the Company's friends make good head; and those who accuse them of doing nothing are put to the rout. Here we have a display of Public Works under the different heads of Trunk-Roads, Cross-Roads, Railroads, Canals, Telegraph, Trigonometrical Survey, Paumbam Passage, and River Communication. It is plain that these are heads enough under which to enter, in the course of a century, no small sum of public service. How much is really to our credit? The trigonometrical survey has already extended over 477,044 square miles, and cost £341,278: it will probably be completed in three or four years; and is accompanied, *pari passu*, by the publication of an Atlas of all India, on a scale of four miles to the inch. This is a work which will be a worthier monument to a civilized nation than fifty *Taj-Mehals*. What idea will be conveyed to the majority of our readers by the words *Paumbam Passage*, we cannot say; but the matter is this:—When the wonderful god Rama wanted to punish a giant in Ceylon, who had run away with his wife, he raised an army by getting all the gods to become monkeys. In order to cross the Strait, they pulled up mountains, and cast them into the sea. Over these they marched. But in our day the Strait is wanted for floating vessels, and not for marching monkeys; so our Government, after spending £24,625 in surveying the Gulf of Manaar, found it possible to open a channel, and have done so, at a further cost of £16,394; thus enabling vessels to pass without going the round of Ceylon. Both of these are noble works; but not so eminently beneficial to India as the CANALS which are in progress. The rivers issuing from the Himalaya Mountains alone, are estimated to bring down for the benefit of India, *every second*, 24,120 cubic feet of water;—a store provided by a bountiful Heaven, for a land where about one acre in three needs artificial irrigation, or, rather, needs *industrial* irrigation; for we have no art yet whereby we could water, where no water is sent from the sky; but the fact, that all this store has been let run to waste, shows that we have inertness by which water sent may be useless. About 24,000 square miles of country may have all the parts needing industrial irrigation provided for by using these rivers. “The whole stream of the Jumna has been diverted from the main channel into two canals,” of a joint length of 580 miles:—one of the noblest records “John Company” ever sent into the world. Yet a nobler is preparing: along a ridge of high land, running from the banks of the Ganges through the north-west Provinces, is

now constructing the Ganges Canal, the proudest footmark of the English yet printed on the *soil* of Asia. Already £722,556 have been spent, and £832,556 more are estimated for the total cost. The whole length of the trunk and different branches will be 810 miles, and the main lines will be in use next year. Another canal of 450 miles is in progress in the Punjaub.

Three great trunk-roads are far advanced,—from Calcutta to Peshawur, 1423 miles; Calcutta to Bombay, 1002; Bombay to Agra, 734: and these are only “selected” as illustrating what great roads are making, but so selected as if you selected the two legs and one arm of a man, and said that was a sample of his limbs! As to cross-roads, funds are set apart for their creation and maintenance. As to railroads, one is, and others are to be. As to the electric telegraph, it is at work for 82 miles, and is to extend for 3,150.

We have wished to do the Company justice, because we have a hard opinion to express; and, before doing so, we would give them the farther justice of admitting, that the Affghan war, which, whether viewed politically, financially, or morally, was a grievous fault, was *forced* upon them by the imperious will of a President of the Board of Control; and consumed the resources which, under the wise reign of Lord William Bentinck, were gathering in their treasury for the good of the country. But, making the amplest allowance, we must say, that the case which they make out, on this head, is altogether reproachful to their rule. The extent and cost of the works originated by them is paltry, compared with the magnitude of their Empire, of their revenue, and of their interests. The delay in setting railways on foot was as politically foolish, as it was unfaithful to the people committed to their care. The amount of works now in hand, though, probably, great in the eyes of those who judge by the past, is next to nothing compared with what would be a prudent investment, as well as a great benevolence. The “cross-roads” are clouded in the letter-press account, and prudently not inserted in the Map illustrating roads. As to the trunk-roads, it would be satisfactory, if Europe were roadless, to hear of one from Warsaw to Rotterdam, another from Warsaw to Lisbon, and a third from Lisbon to Paris. But we do not see that such an achievement would be great work for a century, or even half a century, or would provide for general locomotion. In Bengal, half of the districts have natural water communication, half are dependent on land. “They have only one road in Bengal,” says Mr. Marshman, after some thirty years spent in the country.* Mr. Pelley, the collector of Bellary, complains † that, in his district, they have not roads to correspond with those made in the adjacent Mysore Kingdom, which is not Company’s territory. But, though it is nominally the territory of the Rajah, and

* Commons’ Second Report.

† Blue Book, “Public Works, Madras.”

governed in his name, and though the Rajah has a great palace, a state-coach as tall as a tree and as wide as a parlour, drawn by six elephants, before which the Lord Mayor, with Gog and Magog, would be dwarfed, he cannot dispose of an acre of the soil, or appoint a single Policeman. The country is governed by a commission of English gentlemen, able to act with some energy, by being free from the routine of Company's territory. The consequence is, that while Mr. Pelley, governing Bellary, cannot get roads made, his brother-in-law, Captain Dobbs, governing Chittledroog, just across the frontier, runs one up through his "Division." Mr. Maltby, the Collector of Canara, gives the results upon the trade and revenue of his District from improved communication, which sufficiently prove how much they have promoted the comfort and activity of the people, and the interests of the Government.

What is the *end* of our rule in India? To imagine that it is to uphold English supremacy, and increase England's wealth, is to suppose an end unworthy of a benevolent Providence, or of a generous instrument of that Providence. The *end*, as designed by Providence, is the material and moral regeneration of India; and British supremacy is the means. We solemnly believe that he who would aim at the end by deranging the means, would woefully fail of his mark. But we equally believe, and we would pour our convictions into the ear of every man who has to do with India, that, to forget the end, and take the means for the end, is the shortest road to set aside the means. Use British ascendancy for selfish English ends, and you bring it to a premature close. Use it for the material and moral elevation of the great group of nations now so pliantly under your hand, and every benefit you confer on them returns in strength to your own resources. To uphold our ascendancy as an end, is but narrow national greediness; to uphold it as the means of India's peace and Asia's enlightenment, is good service to all mankind.

These observations apply forcibly to the internal improvement of the country. All we do for the good of the people, though costly at first, will strengthen us, morally and financially, as well as benefit them. The good Ruler of all loves goodness too well not to provide that works of goodness shall redound to the profit of their authors. In India, works of irrigation not only affect comfort, but life. The rains sometimes fail, and the water that runs to waste might have kept hundreds, yea, thousands, of healthy frames from shrinking into skeletons, and falling, famished, to the earth. Among the people the construction of useful works is viewed as the highest order of religious merit in public men. The remembrance of past oppressions is fading; each new generation will know less of evils formerly endured, and, therefore, will more feel those which remain. Unless, then, their present rulers are ever showing zeal for their interest, the content which is our safeguard will turn to disaffection.

Another branch of our civil government, to which we turn with a blush, cannot be passed by,—our revenues from opium and spirits. In Bengal the growth of opium is a Government monopoly; that grown in Bombay pays a heavy duty; that from the native central States pays heavily, in passing through our territory for export. From this source we realize a rapidly increasing revenue :—

In the year 1834	£728,517
..... 1838	1,487,291
..... 1840	316,666
..... 1844	1,898,274
..... 1850	3,309,637

The first year was before the Chinese war was thought of; the second, when the plague was growing, so as to alarm the Government of that country; the third, when the war was at its height; and the rest show how the thing has worked since we were victorious. By Chinese law, opium is prohibited; it can be landed only by smuggling. The Company grow, tax, and sell the opium; British ships bear it from India to Hong-Kong; British men-of-war see it put on board “receiving-ships,” and indifferently regard all the preparations of smuggling. It is landed by stealth, or by bribery of officials; and then men sin, suffer, and die. A Government with which we are in treaty is affronted; a coast with which we are at peace, infested; and a people who send us our most civilizing beverage are repaid with debauch. We do not stop to reason with the East India Company on the impolicy of this proceeding, or to show that it is an uncertain revenue. We say, at once, as our short and sufficient argument, that they are doing a bad action, living upon vice, feeding lawless trade, sinning against individuals, and against public law. It is not a matter of policy, where we might show expediency; it is a sin, and we must demand repentance. As to restitution, alas! what numbers have been sent where no wrong can be repaired! Were we able to call hither the *wraith* of every dying opium-eater, and to lead the spectral band to the Board of Directors, when their balance-sheet is under review, should we not hesitate lest they, at the sight, should be struck with even a more fearful madness than that inflicted by their drug on the wretches in whose suicide they are trading?

The revenue from spirits is demoralizing our own subjects, as opium is the Chinese. Natives, “with the greatest official powers, and the smallest possible salaries,”—as is truly said in the “Calcutta Review,”—find it to their own interest, as well as to that of the Government, to originate the sale of spirits where it has not been begun, and to prevent its cessation where it has. In consequence, drunkenness—a crime abhorrent to the usages of both Hindu and Mussulman, and, fifty years ago, known chiefly as an English abomination—is now in many villages added to the fearful catalogue of vices indigenous to Bengal. We are demoralizing our subjects for gain. The valuable evidence of

Colonel Alexander, late Adjutant-General of the Madras army, shows how we are doing the same thing with our troops. Here is another case, not of policy, but of morals. The basest prostitution of Government is to corrupt the people for state ends. Our hands must be washed of this iniquity, and our efforts turned to restore in India the temperance which the climate demands, to which the people lean, and which, happily, as yet our evil courses have but partially superseded.

This last feature of the civil history of our rule naturally leads us to its moral history. Here we begin in chaos; and long was the moral scene "without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." Mammon was the *Pater Omnipotens* of Company and Company's servants; Bacchus was the household god; and the Indian Cama, whose European name we will not give, was freely worshipped. For the first time the people of Hindustan saw a race of conquerors who had no faith to recommend, and no scruples as to supporting any religion,—a race to whom the Mohammedan seraglio, and the Hindu Suttee, Juggernaut, and Kali, were equally welcome; who supported all temples, and worshipped in none. By slow degrees, however, a man began to appear here and there, whose business seemed to be to teach, and who had a sacred book. In time, it became the impression of some discerning natives, that the English had a religion after all; but it was chiefly good for England, and not fit to be talked of in the light of oriental day. At last one man arrived in a Danish ship, who seemed to think of teaching the natives; but he was soon driven from British territory, and would have been driven from India, only that the Governor of the feeble Danish settlement of Singapore had the courage to tell Lord Minto, that, if he violated the asylum of his flag, it should be struck. In the state of English mind then, it would have been ruin to make the Hindus aware that we were wiser than to approve the worship of bullocks, monkeys, snakes, and stocks, or than to think burning the living, drowning the dying, or hooking up men by the flesh, and swinging them, acts of piety. According to the same mind, it was worthy of British statesmen to pay the temple of Juggernaut; to raise revenue by the superstitions of Tripati; to send escorts of honour and offerings of gold cloth to hideous blocks; and to fee troops of prostitutes to dance in the temples of our territory. In personal morals and in public measures our name was put to reproach. The first amendment began under Warren Hastings; but it was only a slight check to political corruption. The general indignation which the first stages of his trial excited in England did much to awaken Englishmen in the East to the fact, that, though they might "leave their religion at the Cape, and take it up on their way back," they could not quite escape the observation of Christendom. The measures of different Governors-General tended to banish those vices which are ungentlemanly; and the arrival of some pure and courageous

men as Chaplains brought rebuke upon offences which the gentleman's code does not recognise. Brown, Buchanan, and Martyn, were lights in a dark day ; and Carey, though hunted at first, was soon followed by other Missionaries, who, in spite of the gratuitous alarms of the Government, made good their settlement in the country. In 1813, after bitter opposition from the friends of the old state of things, a regular ecclesiastical establishment of Chaplains, with a Bishop at their head, was organized, to be paid by the Government, but to be devoted to the service only of the Europeans. The Bishop, indeed, naturally became the head of the Missionaries belonging to the Church of England, as well as of the Company's Chaplains. In 1834 two more Bishops were added ; and at the present day the number of Chaplains is, in all, one hundred and fifteen. But how far the wants of the Europeans are met by this, may be judged by the one fact, that, from the beginning of the Affghan war to its end, not a Chaplain was with the army. Except a very few Scotch Ministers, they are all of the Established English Church. Considering the large number of soldiers in many regiments whose parents and early associations were Wesleyan, we think that some Ministers of that body might properly be employed, although we suppose such a proposal would raise strange war among the Bishops and their staff. Romish Priests are salaried for attending to soldiers of their own creed, though not on the staff of Chaplains. In the mean time Missionaries sent by the different societies in this country, and also from America and Germany, became settled in the country.

King George I. took considerable interest in the work of the Danish Ministers who led the way among Protestant labourers for the conversion of the Hindus, and wrote to them twice, encouraging them to persevere.* But when the English had acquired a political interest in the country, all efforts to convert the natives were regarded with great aversion by the local powers, who imparted their unworthy fears to the authorities at home. The Christian element, which came in with the English, had at once to sustain itself against the apathy of the natives, and the undisguised opposition of those in power. But imperceptibly it won its way. The first effects appeared in the lives of the European community, many of whom forsook the manners with which the natives had been rendered familiar, and began to show them examples of life, as free from the vices of Englishmen as from the superstition of Hindus. As the Christians became stronger, an effect followed at home analogous to what took place respecting the West Indies. In both cases, the attention of the English public was awakened to the evils which were practised in the name of England. The Government support of idolatry, the permission of suttee, and other evils, were openly, though at first feebly, assailed. The Government, on its

* See Hough's "History of Christianity in India."

part, founded colleges and schools, from which all Christian teaching was excluded, and the Bible specially forbidden. But the strong Government, backed by the ability of many public men, gradually receded before the truth. Liberty of action was by degrees accorded to the Missionaries, till in time their labours were as free as they could desire. Lord William Bentinck, at a stroke, abolished suttee. The Government, at a comparatively early period, encouraged a humane officer in his endeavours to put down female infanticide in Guzerat, and has accomplished much by similar efforts in Rajpootan. The Thugs, the most fearful horde of assassins that ever infested any country, were tracked out with zeal, and their slaughters brought to an end. Slowly and reluctantly the Government began to show some shame respecting its connexion with Heathen rites. Its own servants began to protest against the degradation of doing homage to absurd and obscene idols. The Commander-in-Chief of Madras resigned his high post rather than be silent. At last one tie after another was severed. Yet even now the connexion is not at an end. In many cases the temples have lands; these the Government manage, not, we confess, for their own gain, but for the protection of the tenants. In many other cases, lands had formerly been taken on the understanding that an annual payment of money would be made. In Madras, £80,000 a year, and in Bombay £70,000, are paid in these two ways to temples. We do not know the total in Bengal; but Jugger-nauth, after all that has been said, is still receiving £2,333 annually.* Full justice ought to be done to all pecuniary rights of the temples; but the Government ought at once to adopt some mode of delivering themselves from all connexion whatever with the administration of their revenues.

During the last twenty years the Missionaries have rapidly increased in number, in influence, and in knowledge of the native languages; yet, considering that they labour among a population so enormous, and assail a system upheld by SOME MILLIONS of hereditary Priests, they are still despicable in numbers, and several whole kingdoms are unoccupied by any of their agencies, while in many others they have only a single post or two.

The total result of their labours has never been accurately ascertained till lately, when, after publishing, in the "Calcutta Review," approximate statements of converts, scholars, &c., the Rev. Mr. Mullens, of Calcutta, carefully obtained returns from every station in India. He then published "Revised Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon;" from which it appears that we have of

Missionaries	443
Native Catechists.....	698
Native Christians, counting all who have renounced Heathenism, and placed themselves under the care of the Missionaries	112,191

* "Calcutta Review," No. XXXVII.

Communicants, or Church-members	18,410
Scholars, boys	64,480
Do., girls	14,398

Of the male pupils above 14,000 learn English; and of the girls, 2,779 are in boarding-schools.

The Bible is translated into TEN languages, the New Testament into FOUR others. In some languages as many as thirty, forty, or even seventy tracts and books are published; and TWENTY-FIVE printing-establishments are maintained.

Toward the cost of these Missionary labours, above THIRTY-THREE THOUSAND POUNDS annually are raised in India.

The Romanists appealed to the natives by conforming to their own ceremonial, or, where in power, by exerting authority. The Dutch enforced baptism at the peril of civil punishment. The modern Protestant Missionaries approach the defences of Brahmanism with no weapons but the sermon, the book, the school. The fact that more than a hundred thousand Hindus have, with only such inducements, openly renounced their ancestral creed, is of more significance than it would be among any other people; for they are proverbially averse to change; and such is the closeness of caste ties, that the conversion of any number of individuals agitates a large community, which feels its traditions violated, and its integrity impaired. No fact is more expressive of the inroad made on Hindu immobility, than that FOURTEEN THOUSAND Hindu females are in schools managed by foreigners, and openly designed to subvert the religion of the ancients. By native usage, no female learned to read but those devoted to public shame: thus the force both of custom and of modesty was arrayed against the friends of female education. That they have done so much, is but the earnest of great things yet undone.

One hundred thousand souls detached from Indian Heathenism, is but as a single stone from a vast citadel; but it is the first stone after a breaching fire, and tells that those around are loosened, and that in time a way will be hewn into the heart of the fastness. The Hindus cannot for ever worship stocks, stones, apes, and kites. The son on the banks of the fair Ganges will not for ever bear his father, when old and weak, to drown him in its tide: the streets of Madras will not for ever witness men swinging by hooks in their flesh, and multitudes making holiday to see the sacrifice. He who imagines that such things are not to pass away, has a pitiful notion of human destinies. That they will perish, is as certain as that they are wrong. The Brahmans feel that they are in danger. The law permitting persons to retain property irrespective of religion, was viewed by them with great alarm. In order to stay the deflections, they passed a resolution in Calcutta, that apostates might regain their caste position, by presenting certain costly offerings; thus, in fact, reducing the penalty of breaking caste to a

fine. The Missionaries are but in the beginning of their work ; but at this moment, no man in their ranks, capable of large and general views, doubts for an instant that, slowly and silently, but with gathering impetus, the mind of India is rising above the superstition of the Brahmans, and will, before many decades of years, emerge into Christian light. It is not at all wonderful that gentlemen who see nothing of religious movements in England, and could give no account of them when they go to India, should see no religious movements in India, and can give no account of them when they come to England. Deeply to study moral questions does not fall within the taste of all. Some give loud opinions on moral points between the Missionaries and the Heathen, who would not like to ask the Missionaries for a judgment as to their title to speak on such questions. And many who have no personal habits which Christian teaching troubles, yet look only at the surface of moral questions. Even Mr. Campbell, careful on other matters, is on these incredibly superficial. As to the authority of Professor H. H. Wilson, (great in literature,) it is on moral points of light value. But whether Indian officials slight and oppose Missions, or support them, as large numbers do, both by liberal help and spotless lives, the Churches of this country are resolved to fulfil the call of God ; and the benign predestination which dooms all the cruelties and follies of idolatry to perish, will have its course in Hindustan, which will hereafter be as great an ornament and strength to Christianity, as it has hitherto been to superstition.

It is not to be desired that the Government should interfere for the conversion of the natives ; but they ought to abstain from all support, direct or indirect, of idolatry, and ought, without fear, to put an end to *cruel* rites. It is reported, that the Court of Directors have sent out a Despatch, forbidding their servants to give any countenance, in their private capacity, to the labours of Missionaries. We hope this rumour is incorrect ; but, if not, it is one of those many follies which, under certain leadings, the Court has from time to time adopted and defended, till public shame drove them back. The sooner they revoke this last fault, the lighter shade will it leave on their history.

As to education, the Government spends £45,000 a year on colleges and schools, and teaches perhaps 25,000 pupils. This is small in amount ; for the Missionaries, with funds raised by voluntary efforts, educate 78,000 ; but it is more to be regretted, that the character of Government education is defective, than that its extent is limited. They teach literature and science, which shake the belief of their disciples in Hinduism, but they strictly exclude the Bible ; so that the ancestral faith which they dispel is not replaced by a higher and a purer, but by scepticism. The pupil learns that the sacred books which his fathers revere are full of blunders ; and that the sacred Book which Christians revere is not thought of such value by the Government, as to risk hurting the feelings of the Brahmans, for the sake of opening its

pages to the youth of Hindustan. Thus the Government begin their training by disparaging the Christian religion in the eyes of the pupil, and end it by exploding the Hindu. To the youth thus trained they give, perhaps, a situation, where power is in his hand, and inducements to corruption are daily offered. They have done nothing to lay in his mind a firm foundation of good principle; for mathematics do not make men disinterested, nor does Shakspeare imbue them with morality; and if, instead of men with a code of pure morals, enforced by venerable sanction, before their eyes, they send out into the offices of the Government men with untutored consciences, they may expect to reap the reward in official corruption and popular grievance. It is a fearful example in morals for a Government to proclaim, that, for political expediency, they will forbid and drive away, from all instruction sanctioned by them, the Book which, they acknowledge, above all others, teaches those in power to act as accountable to One who is Lord of all.

We should by no means desire the Government to make it compulsory on pupils to read the Bible. Let it only be left free, as in Ceylon. Let but the Government fix its own standard, name its own *secular* school-books, appoint its own Inspectors, and then say that every school which reaches this standard shall have such and such support. This would leave the people perfectly free to seek education where they may, and would give a universal stimulus.

In a pamphlet published in 1813, by Mr. C. S. John, of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, we find that, in the days of Swartz, the Court of Directors committed itself to the support of free schools, under Christian management; ordering "the Honourable Government of Madras to encourage these schools by granting £100 annually to each which might be established." But "only a small number were established, for which 500 pagodas *per annum* were granted by the Honourable Government, which afterwards was increased to 1000."

So far from the natives taking umbrage at Bible-schools, the King of Tanjore in former days, and the King of Mysore in our own, have shown them great favour; and the latter, for years, supported one at his sole expense. The people always flock to them; and we have just seen a petition, signed by 3,314 natives, in eight different languages, forwarded from the city of Mysore, by the hands of a Missionary, to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, requesting them to establish an English school in the city; and being avowedly the petition of "Hindus, Mussulmans, and all the other classes." In Ceylon the Government have a School-Commission, which is doing, for that island, imperishable services; and when the Brahmans set up a school in opposition to Christian schools, they found it needful to introduce the Bible to make it popular.* In the Kingdom of Mysore the Commis-

* See Sir J. E. Tennant's work on "Christianity in Ceylon."

sioner grants 300 rupees per month to the Wesleyan Mission school at Bangalore, where between three and four hundred scholars are educated: and a smaller grant to another school in Toomcoor, which was built for the Missionaries *by the natives*. The fears of the Directors are ridiculed by experience; and the full time has come when the Madras Government should be permitted to carry out its plans for education, and similar plans be adopted all through the country.

As to the merits of the various plans for reform in the Indian government, we should have felt bound to treat them at some length, had not the Bill of Sir Charles Wood already carried all before it in Parliament. That act has one feature of great importance,—namely, laying open the arrangements to the review of Parliament at any period, instead of, as heretofore, locking them up for twenty years together. This will bring the authorities, both here and in India, far more under a sense of responsibility; and it will also maintain a livelier interest respecting Indian affairs in Parliament, and in the country. The opening of the civil and medical service to public competition is a great boon to the nation, and a promise of good for India. We regret that Sir Charles abridged his original design, by returning Addiscombe to the pockets of the Directors. The chief plea in favour of the double Government has been, that it prevents India from being governed by political party. We do not see much in the argument, except that the patronage was not available for party purposes. Let commissions be sold, and that point is settled. Lord Broughton could not appoint cadets; but he could over-ride all who knew what they were about, and inflict upon India the Affghan war. The Board of Control has all power, little knowledge, and hitherto next to no responsibility. The Court of Directors has plenty of knowledge, great patronage, immense influence, but no direct power, and no responsibility at all. The President of the Board of Control, who knows just as much of India the day he enters office as any educated man you might pick up, never meets the Court of Directors, and may, with one stroke of his pen, forbid or enforce whatever he pleases. Most of the political follies are due to the Board of Control,—most of the moral faults to the Court of Directors. Two bodies which never meet, concocting schemes in common for the government of a great country, far off,—is a confusion that cannot last. Whatever changes may or may not be debateable, surely, in common sense, the uninformed politician who has all the power, should, in important cases of difference, personally hear what the experienced Directors, in full court, have to say.

As to the interior administration of India, we should be glad that our Sovereign added to her titles that of Queen of Hindustan; that, henceforth, all public acts were done in her name, instead of the Company's; that the Governor-General were

declared Viceroy, with power to confer knighthood on Native or European; that the subordinate Councils were abolished, and the minor Presidencies administered, as that of Agra now is, by an untrammelled, but competent, Governor, with a vast saving of expense, and gain of efficiency; that the Supreme Council were enlarged, so as to represent all the Presidencies, and the Secretaries of Government made responsible; that the three armies were made one; salt and opium struck from the tariff; a general code published; universities founded at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Agra, with Colleges of Medicine, of Law, of Letters, and of Arts, regular examinations and degrees, pupils from any school being eligible for examination; a system of school-inspection organized, and all educating, according to a fixed secular standard, supported. Into minor points, or the details of those we have indicated, we do not now enter.

The recent discussions create a new era in the British connexion with India. Much information has been spread, and much interest excited. The changes introduced will place Indian affairs more immediately under the eye of the British Parliament and people. It now becomes the duty of England to undertake, with greater earnestness, the real work for which India has been placed under her care. Never did a higher mission invite the aspirations of Statesman or of Christian, than to confer on the teeming millions of an ancient race the temporal blessings of good government, and the eternal hopes of true religion. Our connexion with them, viewed with a careless eye, appears as the high romance of commercial history; but, viewed with deeper thoughts, it stands out as the Providential plan of redeeming modern Asia. Never did Empire begin so strangely, rise so easily, and consolidate in so brief a time. Never was Empire held with physical power so disproportionate, and at a distance so great. That which it is fashionable to call an Empire of Opinion, would far more truly be called an Empire of Providence. It is only to be confirmed by adopting such principles and objects of Government, as a wise and benevolent Providence can view with approval. Let our Statesmen honestly set before themselves the task of making the great nations of India happy and prosperous, and of opening the way for their mental and moral improvement. And let our Missionary Churches, with energy worthy so magnificent a conflict, reinforce the posts now scattered through Hindustan, and calmly wait, in unwavering faith, till a change comes upon the changeless; till the people who, for three thousand years, have worshipped Shiva and Vishnu, shall cast them down before the name of Jesus, as Europe once cast Jupiter and Thor,

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

The Autobiography of B. R. Haydon. Edited by Tom Taylor, Esq. Three Vols. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

FEW men write the history of their own life,—fewer still would think of crowding twenty-seven folios with *ms.* carefully revised and corrected; but surely nobody but Haydon would have left such bulky volumes as a sacred deposit, with the special request that they might be given to the world unabridged! But it was highly characteristic. He looked upon himself as a hero and a martyr; and lived and died fully persuaded that posterity would find it out, would treasure up every incident of his life, and consult his recorded opinions as oracular. Vanity was his cardinal failing; exaggerated notions of his own importance led him into all kinds of absurdity and mischief. Obstinacy and a quarrelsome disposition were results only. It is impossible not to see that Haydon was his own worst enemy. A different demeanour would have retained his first patrons, and attracted new ones; and ultimately his undoubted talents would have been generously rewarded, and the object of his ambition more speedily attained.

Still there are many excellencies to counterbalance these defects. His energy and resolution compel admiration in spite of prejudice. Although self-taught, he acquired not only proficiency in the art, but eminence. Difficulties that would have daunted other men, embarrassed circumstances and repeated disappointments, only stimulated him to more vigorous exertion; and he recovered from each successive blow, only to aim at something greater than he had yet accomplished. A determination that nothing could shake, an ambition that was never satisfied,—these are fragments of a noble character. Had there been, in addition, prudence and judgment to direct and modify these efforts, the result would have been widely different. Haydon did nothing by halves; every subject of which he commenced the study was thoroughly mastered before any thing else was taken up; he went to the root of things, and studied causes and principles. He was the first to discover the value of the Elgin Marbles,—an offence that was never forgiven; and although there is now no difference of opinion on the subject, yet, for a length of time, Haydon had to sustain the controversy single-handed. It would be unjust to deny that he had a considerable share in the advancement of art in this country. He laboured incessantly for this object, and in every possible way,—by

example, by the press, the lecture-room, petitions, and private applications to Ministers; and eventually his obstinate perseverance began to tell.

There are many instances in his journal of kindly and generous feeling, especially in the early part of his career;—for example, the account of Wilkie's first success:—

"The last day for sending in the pictures arrived, and Jackson told me that he remained late at night, endeavouring to persuade Wilkie to send his picture in; but such was his timidity and modesty, that he really did not seem to believe in its merit, nor had he fully consented when Jackson took his leave. However, to the Academy it went..... On the hanging-day, the Committee were so delighted, that they hung it on the chimney,—the best place for a fine picture. On the private day there was a crowd about it; and, at the dinner, Angerstein took the Prince up to see it.

"On the Sunday, the next day, I read in the News, 'A young man by the name of Wilkie, a Scotchman, has a very extraordinary work.' I was in the clouds, hurried over my breakfast, rushed away, met Jackson, who joined me, and we both bolted into Wilkie's room. I roared out, 'Wilkie, my boy, your name's in the paper!' 'Is it rea-al-ly?' said David. I read the puff; we huzzaed; and, taking hands, all three danced round the table until we were tired. Ah! these unalloyed moments never come twice; our joy was the joy of three friends, pure from all base passions, one of whom had proved a great genius; and we felt as if it reflected honour on our choice of each other."—Vol. i., p. 43.

Haydon was on most friendly terms with most of the literary men of his day,—Sir Walter Scott, Wordsworth, Keats, Hazlitt, Campbell, Lamb, the Hunts, &c.; some of whom gave substantial proofs of their friendship in times of difficulty and distress. They furnish his journal with numberless anecdotes: some are valuable as illustrative of character; others are merely humorous and amusing. Wilkie relates the following:—

"When Sir Walter Scott was a child, his mother and family were all dressed one evening to go out. There was a long discussion. Sir Walter remembered his mother saying, 'No, no, Watty canna understand the great Mr. Garrick.' Scott used to tell this, and always was indignant at the supposition."—Vol. iii., p. 132.

"I quoted his (Wordsworth's) own beautiful address to the stock-dove. He said, once, in a wood, Mrs. Wordsworth and a lady were walking, when the stock-dove was cooing. A farmer's wife, coming by, said to herself, 'O, I do like stock-doves!' Mrs. Wordsworth, in all her enthusiasm for W.'s poetry, took the old woman to her heart; 'but,' continued the old woman, 'some like them in a pie; for my part, there's nothing like 'em stewed in onions.'"—Vol. iii., p. 201.

In 1832 Haydon received a commission to paint "the Reform Banquet;" and his antipathy to portrait-painting seems to have been completely outweighed by the pleasure of mixing for a time with the great Statesmen and leaders of the movement. The incidents of each day, some of them amusing enough, are chronicled with evident satisfaction and self-complacency.

"12th.—Lord Westminster sat to-day. After Lord W. was gone, came the Lord Advocate (Jeffrey). He amused me delightfully, and

talked incessantly ; but there is a sharp, critical discovery of what is defective in nature which is not agreeable. He described Lord Althorp's reception of him last May, when he called to ask what he should do about his resignation, which was quite graphic. Lord Althorp's secretary could not give him any information, and Lord Althorp desired he would walk upstairs. Up Jeffrey walked. Lord A. had just done washing, and one arm was bare above the elbow, and rather hairy. His razor was in the other, and he was about to shave. 'Well, Mr. Advocate,' said his Lordship, 'I have the pleasure to inform you that we are no longer his Majesty's Ministers. We sent in our resignations, and they are accepted.' When they returned, Jeffrey called again. He was looking over his fowling-pieces, and said to Jeffrey, 'Confound these political affairs ; all my locks are got out of order,' in his usual grumbling, lazy way. Jeffrey said he thought him a fine specimen of what an English gentleman ought to be.

"27th.—Lord Plunkett sat, very amiably and quietly. He has an arch humour. 'When do you sketch O'Connell?' said one of his daughters. 'There is one thing,' said Lord Plunkett : 'if you could take his head entirely off, you would do great good to society.'"—Vol. ii., p. 337.

In the autumn of 1835, Haydon began to lecture. He was now in very great distress, having been compelled to pawn his books, portfolio, and even his spectacles, and, before he could appear decently at the lecture-room, had to release a black coat from the pawn-shop.

Mr. Taylor tells us that "Haydon was a most effective lecturer. His confident, energetic, and earnest manner carried his audience cheerfully along with him. His delivery was distinct and animated, and his style better adapted for hearing than reading. The lecturer's power of rapid and vigorous drawing also stood him in good stead ; and the masterly effect with which he dashed down on his black board a figure or a limb, or illustrated the leverage of a bone, or the action and mechanics of a muscle, always commanded interest and applause. Then he was never afraid of his audience ; he ruled them, sternly enough sometimes, and never shrunk from a reprimand when he thought they deserved it. A friend who attended his lectures at Liverpool has described to me how once, when he had got up two wrestlers on the platform to demonstrate the laws of muscular action in the living subject, the audience having laughed at some contortion of the pair, Haydon, fiercely addressing the laughers as 'you fools,' checked the merriment, and ordered his hearers to observe and admire, with more respect for God Almighty's handiwork."—Vol. iii., p. 33.

These volumes abound with anecdote and shrewd remark, and afford curious glimpses of life in circles that are not commonly accessible. The interest, however, is not diverted from the chief actor in this drama, or rather tragedy. The latter portion of the journal is distressing. Any reader ignorant of the circumstances of Haydon's death would forebode disaster. Whole days passed in expostulating with urgent creditors, and in warding off threatened executions,—nights spent in sleepless agony,—frantic efforts to extricate himself from the net of accumulated difficulties,—passionate appeals to his Maker,—all betray a mind unhinged by continuous misfortune, and yielding in the protracted struggle against despair.

Biographers are generally accused of extravagant partiality towards

the subject of their history: they are prone to hero-worship. Mr. Taylor must be fully acquitted of any such charge. He carefully shelters himself under the plea that he is merely an editor; and, when he speaks at all, does so apologetically, as though half ashamed of his task. The failings of Haydon's character are too painfully prominent to require comment; but there are also excellencies which teach as plain a lesson, and which it is an agreeable relief to dwell upon. Whether these redeeming features are made the most of, may be fairly doubted.

Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel, &c.
By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. London: Bagster and Sons. 1853.

THE leading opinions of Dr. Tregelles on Scripture Prophecy have been before the public for several years. This volume is a corrected reprint of the smaller works previously published, with considerable additions in the shape of notes, and an Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel. We are not among those who object to inquiry into the unfulfilled predictions of Holy Scripture, as indicating a presumptuous spirit; on the contrary, we think, a special blessing is pronounced on those who reverentially seek to ascertain the mind of God as therein revealed. In this field of inquiry, men have frequently missed their way; and the circulation of extravagant and bewildering speculations has been the result. Their mistakes, however, have tended to the exercise of increased caution, and to brightening hopes of success. On this ground we are disposed to look favourably on any author, although differing from him in opinion, who employs his talents in this direction.

Our remark applies to Dr. Tregelles' book. His theory will be objected to by the majority of those who have studied the subject; and the arguments by which he seeks to establish its peculiarities, will be considered inconclusive. There is, however, throughout, a calmness and humility of spirit, so opposite to the bitter dogmatism frequently exhibited by writers on kindred subjects, which cannot fail to secure for him respect and attention. The general view entertained by Dr. Tregelles as to the great leading intention of the Book, the predictions of which he attempts to elucidate, is thus expressed: "The Book of Daniel is that part of Scripture which especially treats of the power of the world, during the time of its committal into the hands of the Gentiles, whilst the ancient people of God, the children of Israel, are under chastisement on account of their sin." The image, (Dan. ii.,) and the four beasts, (Dan. vii.,) as seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his vision, he considers to symbolize the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman Empires. Here he is in unison with the leading prophetic expositors. He contends that the ten-fold divisions of the Roman Empire, denoted by the ten horns arising out of the fourth beast, and consequently, the appearance of the "little horn," whose history assumes so prominent and terrible an aspect, and which is, we think, justly applied to the Papacy, have not yet taken place. Accordingly, the principle which applies many important predictions to the rise and development of that power, is rejected. On this theory we have yet to look for the appearance of the "little horn," (some great personification of infidelity,) who will persecute the saints, and exhibit

unparalleled wickedness, three literal years and a half, (the time, times, and half a time,) to be "reckoned backwards" from the time of Christ's coming in judgment. The "year-day system" is rejected; and days, in prophecy, taken to signify days, and years to signify years. How far the Doctor's reasoning from Scripture and history is satisfactory, will, perhaps, be variously estimated according to the opinions previously entertained. To us it appears by no means conclusive. We think we can perceive the clear fulfilment in the past, of much which he applies to the future. The latter part of the Book of Daniel is viewed as applying altogether to the exercise of Gentile power, in its special relationship to the Jews and Jerusalem. In the discussion of this, as of other parts of the subject, some of the expositions of Scripture are novel, and, we think, erroneous; but there is nothing subversive of the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformation, to which there is frequently expressed an ardent and unswerving attachment. We have, therefore, no right to complain. No theory of prophetic interpretation is obligatory. Differences of opinion as to the application of many predictions of God's book may exist, but the great doctrines of Christ's atonement, and of justification by faith in Him, admit of no question; they are universally binding. We are, then, in perfect agreement with the author relative to Popery, theologically considered: we differ from him as to its relationship to prophecy. Of the Doctor's Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel, we most unhesitatingly approve. It deals chiefly in the "positive evidence," and is much better adapted to general readers than the more elaborate treatises on the same subject.

Talpa: or, the Chronicles of a Clay Farm. An Agricultural Fragment. By C. W. H. Second Edition. London: Reeve and Co. 1853.

THE following extract will enable our readers to form an opinion on the subject and intention of this book:—

"O! never you listen to what them there papers says; they know nothing in the 'varsal world about it. They beent practical farmers as writes that stuff: none o' them as writes knows anything about farming.'

"D'ye think not? Well, but suppose I were to write about the fields we have drained, and send it to some of those Editor men to print, and put it in the paper, wouldn't it do for somebody else to read: wouldn't it be as true *after it was* in print as it was before, when we were doing it?"

"O, that's a different thing, that is; 'cause, of course, they'd believe what you say.'

"Well, now, suppose I were to put it as a sort of History of this Farm, *as it was, and as it is*,—a sort of Chronicle,—call it The Chronicle of a Clay Farm?"

"O, that's capital," &c.

We are well aware that there was, not long since, a great antipathy, among our agricultural friends, to written instructions on the subject of farming. A man must either be a farmer, and nothing else; or he was no farmer, and nothing better than a tailor! And for a bluff countryman to listen patiently to advice from a "scholard," could no

more be expected, than that a sailor should pay heed to the words of a land-lubber. We are glad to have witnessed, for some years past, that the notion of the incompatibility of a farmer and a man educated in letters and science, has been giving way. There still lurks, however, a feeling of distrust on this subject in many a bucolic mind. Our friends need not, however, distrust us; for we know something, practically, of clay-farming; and we assure them that we will recommend to them, with confidence, only that which is the result of practice as well as theory. We hope we are not asking too much of them, in this first instance, when we call on them to believe that the writer of this book, a scholar and a lawyer, was, at the same time, a Wise Man and a Practical Farmer. At a future opportunity, it is our intention to address our agricultural friends more at large: at present, we can only introduce this excellent little book to their notice, promising them much pleasure and benefit from its perusal.

The book consists of a re-collection of Essays, in two series: the first part being purely retro-spective; the second, almost entirely prospective. In the first chapter, Talpa says, that he will, "like the self-devoted bird that plucks its own breast to feed the young brood, open up his early farming blunders to the instructive gaze of those young and ardent agriculturalists, who are just beginning to recognise the last of human sciences in the first of human arts; and to only wish, like duteous sons, their fathers were more wise." We have chapters on Draining, and Subsoiling, and Limeing; on the Removing of Hedge-rows, and on the Value of a Map of the Farm.

"One cheer for THE MAP after all! quoth I to myself, as at next candle-light down I sat again over the *bird's-eye view* of acres, which I now began to find were trodden by bipeds and quadrupeds with about equal perception of their plan and bearing. Who would be without an accurate map of his farm, who once knew the cumulative triumphs that it brings of skill and headcraft, as lavishly accorded in the end, as denied in the outset, by the gregarious juries who sit in judgment on his acts?"

Then we have Talpa's view of "Fallows, and what Follows;" of Levelling, of Clod-crushing, of Guano, &c.; with concluding remarks on the difficulty of farming; on the inadequate notions which bystanders entertain of the skill and the wisdom which are required for the cultivation of land; and on the injustice of the neglect which the husbandman experiences.

"O, Sir, if you had but seen the field as *I remember it*,"—"you would give honour to the toiler and the toil that are employed in carrying out the beneficent designs of Providence for man; in subduing, fertilizing, and beautifying the spot of earth on which his lot is cast. You would ask why, for thousands of years, we have crowned the warrior with laurels, the poet with ivy, the citizen with mural crowns, and the husbandman with—nothing. You would ask why his achievements are without record, and his name without honour; and his only reward that which is to be found in the words of the stern satirist: '*Laudatur et alget!*'"

The second series contains advice and exhortation on the necessity of an education in farming, before a man can hope to farm to advantage. "*Why* do you think—why does every body think—that he can farm without having learnt how? that agriculture (if you like that word

best) is an exception to *every* other human law or pursuit,—a contradiction to all natural law,—and will bring a livelihood without study, cost, or apprenticeship.” Then comes a chapter on Landlord and Tenant, with remarks on Leases, &c.; but the principal part of this series is occupied by sundry remarks on the application of steam to agriculture; from which interesting subject we are compelled at present to refrain. We will give one extract on this question:—

“I say, the plough has the sentence of death written upon it, *because it is essentially imperfect*. What it does is little towards the work of cultivation; but that little is tainted by a radical imperfection,—damage to the subsoil, which is pressed and hardened by the share, in an exact ratio with the weight of soil lifted, *plus* that of the force required to effect the cleavage, and the weight of the instrument itself.” “Once let the Q. E. F. be clearly understood by them; once let them be made fully to perceive that ‘ploughing’ is merely the first of a long series of *means* towards the accomplishment of a particular end, that end being the production of a *seed-bed* of suitable depth and texture, and with the soil as nearly as possible inverted in its bed; and I do not think that they will be long in setting the steam-engine about its proper task, in the proper way.”

We have been thus liberal in our quotations, that our agricultural readers might be able to form an opinion of the kind of book which we are recommending to them. At all events, we promise them some very agreeable reading; and we shall be disappointed if they decide that it is not, also, useful. There are twenty-four vignettes, by George Cruikshank, which enhance the value of the volume.

Bases of Belief: an Examination of Christianity, as a Divine Revelation, by the Light of recognised Facts and Principles. In Four Parts. By Edward Miall, M.P. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1853.

THE great object of the present volume is “to remove preliminary objections of a strictly intellectual character, cherished by many against Christianity as a revelation of God.” It is not so much a book *of* evidences in support of Christianity, as a book *on* such evidences. Christianity is treated as a fact; and, as a fact, is viewed in its origin, extension, means, persecutions, institutions, power, and influences. Its phenomena are of the greatest interest to the philosopher, and to all mankind. The whole thinkings of a large portion of our race, and the destinies of the most remarkable nations of the world, are affected and ruled by Christianity. Its progress has been every where a moral triumph, effecting the highest intellectual and social good to society. But all its proper conquests are accomplished by individual conviction, and personal moral transformation. Christianity, in its facts, is thus viewed by our author as an illustrious “phenomenon.”

But, he then inquires, how is it to be accounted for? Is it from men, or is it of God? It declares unambiguously its own pretensions. It is its own record and explanation. It challenges scrutiny. It professes to be a *Revelation*:—a dogmatic statement of truths which can only be known by revelation of God; of truths which man yearns after, but which Nature does not, cannot, disclose. Such revelation

was not needful to make known the facts of Christianity, but was absolutely necessary to a discovery of their import. In these designs the efficacy of Christianity rests: its doctrines are the vehicle and instrument of its power. Moral truth can alone be the fitting means of renovating a moral nature; and the main object of the Gospel is to affect and renew the heart, by an exhibition of the divine expedient for the redemption of man from the moral and penal evils of his present condition, by the death of God's own Son. We confess, however, that this part of the volume, valuable in so many respects, gives us less satisfaction than other parts. It is pervaded, we think, by a false estimate of the power and province of human reason. Mr. Miall thinks that the truths of revelation not only might be, but were, discovered by human reason; that Heathen Philosophers had "announced to the world substantially the same truths prior to the appearance of Jesus Christ, although, *perhaps*, with less authority and fulness:" so that it is only a question of degree! Christianity, it would seem, was not designed "to impart new religious ideas, but to *vivify* them." Thus we are told that the Apostles wrote as men who "had no suspicion that they were unveiling truths supernaturally."

"The Seal" of Christianity is next examined. That seal must, in the nature of things, be supernatural. In attesting a divine *mission*, we hold, contrary to Mr. Miall, that miracles, also, necessarily supported all the *dogmas* of Christianity. Mr. Miall has well brought out the necessity of such a display of power as plainly to declare the verdict of the Almighty Ruler in behalf of Christianity; and has once more dealt out argumentative justice upon Hume's sophism, which has received far more answers than it deserved. And with equal success does he handle Strauss's ingenious theory of the derived character of Christ.

The Fourth part of the Treatise is upon "the Record" of Revelation: for divine truths, thus vouchsafed to man, must have a record as well as the truths of science, if they are to be circulated and to become permanent. On this part of his subject, Mr. Miall writes with great force; and triumphantly shows that the denial of Christianity exposes a man to perplexities "a hundred-fold more numerous, and inexpressibly more revolting to our common sense, our moral instincts, and our religious sympathies, than any to which that belief now exposes us."

This is a volume of originality and power, containing passages of great beauty, and pervaded by felicitous illustration. It will be read with advantage by *thinkers*, although it may fail to lead to a just appreciation of spiritual Christianity. The volume errs chiefly by defect; and, while all who carefully weigh the author's facts and reasonings must feel afresh warranted in their "Bases of Belief," we question whether they who conclude upon the *nature* of religion from the perusal of this volume will have any accurate conceptions upon this vital question. This is greatly to be regretted, because it *could not* weaken the argument to exhibit clearly *the end* for which Christianity is supremely valuable, and the provision to secure that end in the influences of the Divine Spirit; a doctrine necessarily involved in the argument for the divine authority of Christianity, but too generally blinked. Indeed, we fear that Mr. Miall is hoping for too much in expecting that, by treating his argument philosophically, he will be able to win the pseudo-philosophers. The real objections to Christi-

anity are not questions of argument, but of aversion, and can only be overcome by the submission of the understanding and heart to the testimony of God. It is, therefore, much to be desired that all writings upon the Evidences of Christianity should keep these facts in view, and be pervaded by the spirit of affectionate earnestness and a bold exhibition of the peculiarities of the Gospel. The sceptics and unbelievers of the early ages were converted by a happy commingling of argument and testimony, appeal and persuasion; and, without this, men may be again, as often before, confounded without being convinced, and convinced without embracing the hated Christianity.

The Fall of the Roman Republic: a short History of the last Century of the Commonwealth. By Charles Merivale, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1853.

UNTIL recently, History has not been made to yield those lessons of practical wisdom which throw light upon the events of the past, and serve as beacons for the future. The historian has been content to compile from ancient sources the simple facts of his narrative, without pretending to discriminate the causes, or to discover the motives from which they arose. Its usefulness, therefore, as a commentary upon general principles, and a moral exhibition of the varying phases of human motives in action, has been comparatively slight.

The historical writings of the last thirty years open a new era in this department of letters, and give promise of fresh discoveries of the moral government of the world, and fresh proofs that man is the same, in the great principles and tendencies of his nature, in all times and places.

Mr. Merivale, in the work before us, undertakes to give a connected account of the last hundred years of the Roman Republic, pointing out the causes of its decline, and describing the agencies which brought about its fall. The period in question is full of instruction, with reference to the relations of military and civil government, as well as to the effects of increasing luxury and consequent effeminacy among all classes of the people.

Commencing with the agitations of the Gracchi, he describes the military achievements and party struggles of Marius, Sulla, Lucullus, Cneius Pompeius, Julius Cæsar, and the other great names of Rome, till the time when Octavius finally entered into the heritage of his uncle.

The style is animated and picturesque, never enthusiastic, and not often dull. The following remarks are not unworthy of notice:—

“There is no feature of Roman life, perhaps, which we can regard with so much satisfaction as the tone of habitual intercourse among public men at this period. The daily conflicts at the bar, or in the forum to which they were trained, would have only embittered their feelings towards one another, had they not been accompanied by the humanizing influence of social discussion on topics of literature and philosophy. The combination of these two habits seems, indeed, to form the best discipline of society, imparting to it earnestness, without violence, and a masculine courtesy far removed

from servility and adulation. The records of Roman debate present us with hardly a single scene of personal altercation; while the private re-unions of the most eminent statesmen are described to us as full of modest dignity and kindly forbearance."

The account of the death of Cicero may be given as a fair sample of Mr. Merivale's graphic powers of narration:—

"Marcus Cicero was with his brother Quintus at his Tusculan villa. At the first news of the proscriptions, they gained Astura, another of his villas, situated on a little island on the coast near Antium. From thence they proposed to embark for Macedonia; but they were insufficiently provided with money. Quintus, as the least obnoxious, retraced his steps to obtain the necessary supplies. On reaching the city, however, he was recognised, and slain, together with his son. Meanwhile, the surviving fugitive embarked. A favourable breeze wafted him off the promontory of Circeii; and from thence the mariners were about to stand out to sea, when Cicero resolved once more to land, and throw himself, as was supposed, on the clemency of Octavius. He proceeded some miles on the road to Rome: again he changed his mind, and returned to Circeii. There the night overtook him; and the hours of solitude and darkness increased his sleepless agitation. Some said that he now conceived a design of getting secretly into Octavius' dwelling, and slaying himself upon his hearth-stone, '*to fasten upon him an avenging demon.*' With the dawn of day a gleam of hope once more visited the miserable sufferer. He besought his attendants to bear him once again to the sea-shore, and put him on board a bark. But adverse winds, or the distress of seasickness, or his own wavering resolution, induced him to return to land a second time; and he took up his abode for the night in his villa near Formiæ. In vain was he warned of the danger of these wretched delays. Utterly prostrated by anguish of mind and weariness of body, he only replied, '*Let me die, let me die in my fatherland, which I have so often saved.*' But his slaves now shut their ears to their master's moans, and, taking him in their arms, replaced him in his litter, with which they hurried again towards the coast, through the thick woods which lay between. The bloodhounds were already on the scent. Scarcely had the house been quitted, when a band of soldiers, led by an officer named Popilius, a client, whose life Cicero had saved, approached, and thundered at the closed doors. No one appeared to give them admittance; and, when they burst them open, the servants denied any knowledge of the fugitive's movements. There was a traitor, however, near at hand. A young man, by name Philogonus, who had been freed by Quintus, and educated by Marcus himself, put the assassins on the track. Some followed in pursuit; while Popilius made a rapid circuit to occupy the outlet of the path through the woods. Cicero had not yet reached the open beach when he perceived the pursuers gaining upon him. His party were more numerous than the enemy: they would have drawn their swords in his defence; but he forbade them. Cicero now bade his slaves set down the litter, and, leaning his chin on his left hand, (his usual posture in meditation,) he fixed his eyes steadily on his murderers, and offered his throat to the sword. The ruffians were shocked at his squalid, unshorn visage. Many covered their faces with their hands; and thrice in his trepida-

tion did their leader draw the blade across his throat ere he could sever the head from the body. With the head the murderer carried off the hands also: such was the command of Antonius. The thunder of the Philippics had issued from the one; but the other had inscribed them upon parchment more durable than stone or brass."

The Rivers, Mountains, and Sea-Coast of Yorkshire. With Essays on the Climate, Scenery, and ancient Inhabitants of the County. By John Phillips, F.R.S., Author of "*Illustrations of the Geology of Yorkshire*," &c. Map and 36 Plates. London, 1853.

ALTHOUGH this is a topographical work, it is by no means of merely local interest. Such, indeed, it could hardly be. The county is almost equal in population to the whole of Scotland, and is, in territorial extent, a province. The historian of the county is of the highest eminence in the scientific world, is an archæologist and ethnologist, as well as a geologist and meteorologist, and manifestly combines refined perceptions with a cultivated taste. Add to these qualifications the fact that Professor Phillips has written *con amore*, and we can very well understand that such a work must greatly interest the general reader. Long before his eyes rested on the mountains of the north of England—from childhood, indeed—the mighty form of Ingleborough was engraved on the author's imagination; and, when he crossed the old Gothic bridge at York, (now swept away,) and beheld the glorious Cathedral which is the pride and veneration of Yorkshire, it was but the realization of a long-indulged dream of boyhood. There is a genial spirit of peace and happiness diffused over the descriptive parts of the work, well adapted "to win from the hasty traveller an hour's delay at the station, a day's wandering by the waterfalls, a week's ramble over rocky hills,"—the author's avowed object; while the grateful feeling which accompanies the record of some of the thoughts which filled the mind of the writer, (to use his own phrase,) while renewing health and strengthening hope on the mountains and in the dales, by the rivers and ruins of Yorkshire, is calculated not only to disarm the critic, but to attract the reader.

The first chapter is a disquisition on the principal features in the physical geography of Yorkshire. In a few short and pithy sentences the author follows the forming hand of the Creator, as He is seen operating through that order of events which He has established; and tells how the hills, and valleys, and plains, the glens, and rills, and fells, and caverns, and waterfalls were formed in the depths of the mysterious past. The rivers run in valleys which the primæval sea made for them; the great inland cliffs—the "nabs," and "scars," and "craggs"—only differ from sea-cliffs because the water no longer beats against them. Primæval lochs first environed the green valleys that flourish on their site; and branches of the sea extended into the dales, and washed against the marsh precipices, now gleaming white in the sun from a setting of forest verdure.

The second chapter carries the reader among these beautiful hills and dales, and into scenery little, if at all, inferior in beauty to Westmoreland or Cumberland, telling him, as he travels onwards, of Roman camps, and the silent relics of Northmen, and the early British resist-

ing their invaders. On the highest points the Roman and Briton may be traced by camps, and even lines of huts. To the majority of British tourists the whole of the beautiful mountainous districts of Yorkshire is less known than Switzerland; but we strongly suspect they will not remain so. The caverns are as interesting as the hills and "fells." The mountain limestone is penetrated by rivulets and the drainage of the valleys, so as to be hollowed out into deep subterranean passages; some, it is believed, as yet undiscovered; several excavated into magnificent stalactitic caverns. Weathercote Cavern "has the uncommon ornament of a violent cascade,—a subterranean waterfall of twenty-five yards in height,—which fills the area with deafening noise, and raises a shower of spray, on which the morning sun pictures a rainbow." Ingleborough Cave is another singular cavern. It is a long subterranean gallery, adorned with stalactites of every imaginable form, some of exquisite beauty, ending, at a distance of seven hundred and two yards from the mouth, in a large and lofty irregular grotto, in which is heard the sound of water falling in a still more advanced subterranean recess, occupied by a deep pool, or linn, at a lower level. Mr. James Farrer explored this dark lake by swimming, with a candle in his cap, and a rope round his body.

Numerous rivulets and rivers commence their course in the mountains, and flow onwards, through glen, and dale, and plain, until they reach the ocean. The area of Yorkshire is 5,836 square miles: eight-tenths of this area (4,100 square miles) is drained by rivers that flow into the German Ocean. The drainage to the east sea, *not* through the Humber, amounts to about 740 square miles: two-thirds of this is through the rivers Esk and Tees. The Lerne and Ribble take the drainage of 393 square miles, and the Saddleworth of 33, to the Irish Sea. The great estuary of the Humber is formed by the confluence of the Ouse and Trent, after they have absorbed all the other rivers in their course. They contribute the drainage from nearly an equal area, the Ouse drawing more water than the Derwent, from an area less by 400 square miles. This estuary was the great route of the seakings of the north. By the Trent, they entered the heart of Mercia; and by the Ouse penetrated to the richest parts of Northumbria. Anglians, Danes, Norwegians, directed their course hither, and have left unmistakeable and permanent traces of their conquests and colonization. In no part of England is the language so racy in old English idioms; nowhere is there so pure a well of 'English undefiled.' Numerous words and passages in Shakspeare, which have puzzled the minds of ponderous commentators, to the thorough-bred Yorkshireman are intelligible at a glance. Even now, the Dane understands the dialect-English of the northern counties better than the more modern and courtly English of the south. It is probable that, in the eleventh century, the language of the Norwegians and Yorkshiremen differed no more from each other than the existing dialects in the northern counties of England differ from each other. A curious illustration of this similarity, at the time we speak of, is mentioned in the *Saga* of Harald Hardrada. This king of Norway invaded England, by way of the Humber, a few days before the Conquest, and was defeated near York by Harold, at the battle of Stamford-Bridge, and slain on the field. Styrrkar, the Marshal of the Norwegian Monarch, escaped on horseback, and rode away in the evening. "It was blow-

ing a cold wind," (we quote Mr. Laing's translation,) "and Styrkar had not much other clothing upon him but his shirt, and had a helmet on his head, and a drawn sword in his hand. As soon as his weariness was over, he began to feel cold. A waggoner in a lined skin-coat met him. Styrkar asks him, 'Wilt thou sell thy coat, friend?' 'Not to thee,' says the peasant; 'thou art a Northman; that I can hear by thy tongue.' Styrkar replies, 'If I were a Northman, what wouldst thou do?' 'I would kill thee,' replied the peasant; 'but, as ill-luck would have it, I have no weapon just now by me that would do it.' Then Styrkar says, 'As you can't kill me, friend, I shall try if I can't kill you.' And with that he swung his sword, and struck him on the neck so that his head came off. He then took the skin-coat, sprang on his horse, and rode down to the strand."

The ethnological portion of Professor Phillips's work is an interesting contribution to the sciences of both ethnology and archæology. The successive races are traced by the remains of their language, and of their fortresses, fortified camps, towns, and cemeteries. Numerous Yorkshire *tumuli* have been opened, and their contents are described. Two were those of British charioteers. They had been interred in martial guise, surrounded by what, in life, formed their pride and delight. The skeleton of one rested on his shield, and around it were the decayed remains of his chariot; with the other, the skeleton of a pony, and the skulls of two wild boars were found, besides the remains of wheels, trappings, and ornaments.

The Philosophy of Atheism examined and compared with Christianity: a Course of Popular Lectures delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, on Sunday Afternoons, in the Winter of 1852-3. By the Rev. B. Godwin, D.D. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1853.

THIS cheap and beautiful volume is, substantially, a reprint of a valuable book brought out in reply to a challenge put forth by a party of sceptics in Bradford in 1833. Dr. Godwin thought the honour of Christianity implicated, and stepped forward to take up the gauntlet. The Lectures he then delivered were afterwards published, and were highly appreciated by the public. For ten years, the author was absent from Bradford; and on his return found that the leaven of Infidelity was afresh pervading the working population of his favourite town. His spirit was stirred within him; and again he entered the arena to do battle with the latest form of scepticism. The Lectures which did such service to the cause of truth twenty years before,—by confirming some who wavered, by recovering others out of the snare of the devil, and by at least silencing the adversary,—were re-modelled, to suit the exigency of the times, and delivered in the Mechanics' Institute before crowds of intelligent work-people, with various, but decisive, effect. The Lectures, as here presented, are most admirable; and if they were appreciated by such an audience, we must form a high opinion of the intelligence of the ordinary population of that enterprising and prosperous town. The Lectures present a beautiful philosophical argument, conducted with great caution and logical security, most happy and complete in its illustrations, breathing a

devout and earnest spirit, and pressing home upon the hearers practical conclusions of infinite consequence, if there be a God of such perfections, as our author proves. No Atheist *can* answer Dr. Godwin, we are persuaded; and no sincere sceptic can carefully read his pages without feeling the pleas for unbelief and Atheism fade away, until nothing remains to sustain his scepticism, but the cold and dreadful wish that there were no God.

We are much indebted to Dr. Godwin for the Preface to his volume, in which he has given such an historical account of the movement on behalf of working-men,—in order to save them from the delusions and immoralities of “Secularism,” as it is called,—as will be very acceptable to Christians who are anxious to secure the same good in other densely populated towns. Let Ministers and others, who attempt this highest style of benevolence, respect the intellect of this important class, as well as try to affect their hearts, and we are convinced that they will never fail of an audience nor of respectful attention.

Poems. By Edward Quillinan. With a Memoir by William Johnston. London: Moxon. 1853.

The *Lusiad* of Luis de Camoens, Books 1 to 5. Translated by Edward Quillinan. With Notes by John Adamson, K.T.S. and K.C. of Portugal, Corresp. Memb. Roy. Acad. of Sciences of Lisbon, F.L.S., F.R.G.S., &c. &c. &c.

THAT Mr. Quillinan was a man of taste, of poetic feeling, and of literary accomplishment, we are ready to allow; but a man may be all this, without being a poet, in the proper sense of the word; and we should hesitate to apply that honourable appellation to Mr. Quillinan. It is true that there exists no one standard, to which all agree, which will decide, satisfactorily to all, upon the pretensions of an aspirant to poetical honours. Between the undoubted poet, and the man who is unquestionably not a poet, there is a certain class of rhyming authors, upon whose position, on the one side or the other, there will be a diversity of opinion. Mr. Quillinan is one of this class. Wordsworth, writing to him, in 1837, says, “This very day *Dora* has read to me your poem again: it convinces me, along with your other writings, that it is in your power to attain a permanent place among the poets of England. Your thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and judgment in style, and skill in metre, entitle you to it; and if you have not yet succeeded in gaining it, the cause appears to me merely to lie in the subjects which you have chosen.” We hope we shall not be considered as opposing the opinions of Wordsworth, when we state it as our belief, that Mr. Quillinan has not attained “a permanent place among the poets of England.” Whether he was qualified so to do, is another question: Wordsworth says he was. Our business is with the harvest; Wordsworth spoke but of the promise of the harvest; and we all know how deceitful such promises are.

We should be inclined to speak more severely on the demerits of the volume of Poems, had it been published by its Author; but, coming forward as a posthumous publication, our remarks of censure could, of course, only be directed to those who have sent it into the world. There

are many elegant poems in this volume, calculated to have amused the author in their composition, and his *friends* in the perusal; but to the world at large—who, however much they might respect Mr. Quillinan and his friends, are bound by no particular ties to take delight in his third-rate poetry—they are destitute of interest. Though we are not of those who say, that we have sufficient already of what is beautiful and good in the world of letters, we still feel that we have enough to make us independent of anything but what is truly *beautiful* and good. An ardent admirer of Wordsworth, Mr. Quillinan has attempted to write on similar subjects, and in a similar style, to his great master. But he appears to us to have failed, retaining the simplicity without the poetry. We allude here to the treatment of common, every-day occurrences,—themes difficult, indeed, of proper management, as the frequent failure of Wordsworth himself sufficiently proves. If we were to class Mr. Q., as to his poetical merits, we should be disposed to give him a place by Sir C. Elton and John Kenyon,—names now almost unknown to fame.

Mr. Q. was born in 1791; was a lieutenant in the army till he was thirty; was the son-in-law, first of Sir Egerton Brydges, and then of Wordsworth. He died in 1851. His translation of the first five books of the “*Lusiad*” is very creditable to him as a Portuguese scholar, and as a man of refined taste. Of Mr. Q. himself we would speak with all respect, as of a gentleman of very respectable literary attainments; nor would we, for one moment, censure him for having *written* these poems, often, doubtless, with a view to soothe his troubled heart; but we doubt not that, if all the poetry in the kingdom which has been written for the same purpose, and of equal merit, was to be brought out from its hiding-place, the conscientious reader of all published poetry would have a task imposed upon him from which we should pray to be exempted.

The Eggs of British Birds, displayed in a Series of Engravings, copied and coloured from Nature. With Descriptions of British Birds. By C. Jennings. Bath: Binns and Co. 1853.

THIS little work is well fitted to produce in the minds of young people a love for the study of natural history. Such a taste is among the most desirable that youth can acquire. These pages afford much instruction as to the habits of birds, and many corrections of popular errors.

The illustrations are clear and beautiful; and we can recommend the work as an excellent gift-book for young people.

Celebrated Jesuits.—Vol. I. A Saint, a Doctor, and a Regicide.—Vol. II. A Cardinal, a Mandarin, and a Refugee. By the Rev. W. H. Rule. London, 1852–3.

THE author of these interesting volumes is already known to many of our readers, by a work of similar character, entitled, “The Brand of Dominic; or, the Inquisition; at Rome Supreme and Universal.” That modest, but able, performance prepared us to expect much, both of entertainment and instruction, from the same felicitous and learned pen; nor have our hopes been disappointed. These striking portraitures,

selected from the famous Society of Jesus, may fitly surround and illustrate that very faithful picture of the Inquisition. Looking at the features of these strange fanatics, as delineated in the pages before us, we no longer wonder at the lurid fires kindled under the auspices of that iniquity of the Middle Age; but only the more fervently pray,—that the long reign of terror which was then suspended over Europe may never be permitted to darken and desolate the lands of Protestant freedom.

The peculiar value of these volumes consists in the amount of novel and interesting facts afforded to the reader, in a space so brief, and a manner so impartial. The fruit of so much learning has seldom been communicated in language so simple and unpretending. As there is no pedantry, on the one hand, so, also, is there no false sentiment, on the other. These biographies betray none of the prevalent tendencies to hero-worship. In the hands of writers determined to be effective, they would have been something very different,—more brilliant, but less trustworthy, and, to our minds, far less valuable and engaging. The “Jesuit Saint” has before this been canonized by Protestant genius; but Mr. Rule betrays none of this weakness, so dangerous to the interests both of historical and moral truth. Some will ask,—Has he done full justice to the extraordinary labours of St. Francis Xavier?—Has he awarded him the full meed of praise for the moral grandeur and elevation of his life? In replying to these questions, the opinions even of Protestants will, no doubt, differ; but the limits and design of our author’s sketch must be allowed to enter into a consideration of this point. On the whole, we incline to think Mr. Rule has made a sober and judicious estimate; and it is no part of a historian’s duty to allow the personal excellencies of public men to occupy the great foreground of their picture, and to foreshorten their more serious errors in a dim perspective. It was right to deny to Xavier the honours of an evangelical Missionary, anxious only to preach Christ, and lift the standard of his Cross in a heathen country. To do otherwise would be to put darkness for light, and light for darkness; to call evil good, and good evil. Some further admission of zeal and spirituality, however misdirected, might, perhaps, be due to the character of this sublime enthusiast; yet we are not sure if Mr. Rule’s narrative would warrant more than the expression of regret with which he remarks the application of Xavier’s energy and talents to an object less than the salvation of souls, according to the Redeemer’s own appointment and provision.

The other lives in these volumes have the additional interest of novelty. Of some of the Jesuits to whom a place is here given, no separate biography is extant; and particulars of some have never hitherto been given in the English language. The account of John Adam Schall, the “Jesuit Mandarin,” who propagated the Romish traduction of Christianity in the Empire of China, will be found full of interest at the present moment. It is a curious and saddening narrative, suggestive of the unsearchable mystery of Providence.

We may characterize this work, in a single word, as *genuine*. The subject is highly engaging, and even popular; yet the spirit of book-making has neither prompted the design nor influenced the execution. It is simple, truthful, unaffected, abounding in curious and novel particulars, and exhibiting the golden product without the tedious process of research. The great charm of these Lives is due, in no small degree, to the absence of the controversial spirit. The narrative is direct

and uninterrupted, and the style appropriately neat. No warm dispute delays the historic flow, or mars the tranquil picture; and the occasional expression of a quiet and sarcastic humour serves only to illustrate and lighten the more sombre parts. To Mr. Rule, we think, the literary world will look for some yet greater undertaking, in the same sphere of labour. If he should apply his great learning and sound judgment to the production of a History of the Monastic Orders, and furnish us with a "plain, unvarnished tale" of their virtues and demerits, we should then have less occasion to lament that Dr. Southey's most cherished purpose was never fulfilled.

Sunday Services at Home, for Young Children. By Different Authors. Edited by the Countess of Ducie. Second Edition. London, 1852.

THIS is a laudable attempt to supply an obvious deficiency in the simpler literature of theology. It is admitted that books, adapted to the capacity and wants of children, form a pleasing feature in the present aspect of the world of letters; but all persons concerned in the religious education of the young, must have felt the want of something more brief, intelligible, and interesting, than the majority of sermons used for family reading. We fear that the Sabbath-evening exercise is often neglected, under cover of such a plea. The object of the pretty volume before us, is to supply this serious desideratum, and render this excuse more futile. The addresses are contributed by different authors, and present a considerable variety of subject and treatment, but all in a style of brevity and purity which make them very suitable for children of tender years. It is gratifying to find a lady of rank exercising her influence and talents in this direction, instead of editing (like many of her fashionable sisters) a number of frivolous letters from the Continent, or repeating the follies of society in a novel of factitious sentiment and delusive tendency.

The Private Life of Daniel Webster. By Charles Lanman. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

THIS is a pamphlet spaced out into a volume,—one of those hybrid productions which create an unfavourable impression at first sight. On looking more closely into the book, two things puzzle us: first, that a man of such slender attainments should have obtained the post of Private Secretary to Mr. Webster; and, secondly, that with such constant opportunities for the study of that great man's character, he should have been able to produce nothing better than the miserable fragment before us. This is the more extraordinary, since there has been evident exertion to gather even these scanty memorials. Gleanings from newspapers, gossiping stories, extracts from Miss Martineau's "Letters," and Miss Mitford's "Recollections," and even the Dedications prefixed to the six volumes of Mr. Webster's published writings, all serve to swell the volume. Commonplaces abound on every page. We are informed, as a very remarkable circumstance, that when the statesman "was in his tenth year, his mother prophesied that he would become eminent;" as though such predictions had not been made ever since mothers had sons to boast of. And, by way of illustrating his hero's profound sagacity, we are told that "Mr. Web-

ster once remarked to the writer, that no man could become eminent in any profession, and especially in the law, without the hardest and most laborious study." Mr. Lanman's great object is apparently his own glorification. He loses no opportunity of exhibiting himself in good company, and is perpetually recounting such trivial incidents as the following: "We went in an easy double carriage, and the writer held the reins!" "The writer was also privileged to wet a line for trout, while Mr. W. sat in his carriage and looked on," &c., &c. The description of Marshfield, with its various buildings and outhouses, the list of paintings and curiosities, with a catalogue of the library, suggests the idea of a bill of sale; and a detailed history of agricultural improvements strongly resembles the cockney accounts of a Chiswick *fête*. To employ Mr. Lanman's elegant phrase, it is "precious seldom" that such a futile attempt at authorship has fallen in our way; and, having once seen himself in print, he will do wisely not to tempt fate and the critics by a second venture.

Thomas Carlyle: a Critical Essay. Travellers' Series. London: Whittaker and Co. 1853.

THE task of combating popular error is no light one, especially when the delusion is sustained by the power of a great name and undoubted talents. We gladly welcome any worthy effort to counteract the pernicious influence of Carlyleism,—an influence which has fallen like a moral blight on the heart and judgment of many thousands, chiefly among the educated and literary classes of society. The writings of Carlyle abound in metaphor, query, hint, ridicule, and distrust,—in fact, everything but assertion and definition. He is not a believer in any new doctrine, so much as a disbeliever in all existing systems and creeds. He rejects certain truths, because mysterious; and yet plunges into mysteries deeper still. He speculates and dreams; and his philosophy, if such it be, can only land its followers in infidelity and atheism.

The writer of the Essay before us approaches his subject with no shrinking timidity, and grapples with it fairly and boldly. He analyses, in turn, the style, teaching, and tendency of Carlyle's writings; and although the examination is severe, it cannot be termed unfair or captious. The style is clear, vigorous, and elegant; with a vein of dry humour and keen satire, that renders it most pleasant reading. This little work is calculated to do essential service, and we hope to see it in extensive circulation.

Goethe's Opinions on the World, Mankind, Literature, Science, and Art. Translated by Otto Wenckstern. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1853.

It was rather an ingenious idea to take the pith of Goethe's published sentiments and opinions, and embody it in a separate volume. The extracts are from his published correspondence and conversations; none are from his poetical works. The latter present a rich harvest of extracts; but the sentiments he puts into the mouths of his characters may only be appropriate to the character, and not expressive of his own turn of thought. We will make a few quotations, as the best means of indicating the style of thought of so distinguished a philosopher. First, as to politics:—

"Which is the best government? That which teaches self-government."

"The abolition of capital punishment leads to Lynch-law and *Vendetta*."

"A mind filled with abstract ideas, and inflated with conceit, is ripe for mischief."

As to philosophy:—

"I have read Monsieur Degerando's *Histoire Comparative des Systèmes de Philosophie*. It reminded me of my life and thought from early youth; for all possible opinions pass, from time to time, through our heads, some historically, some productively. The perusal of this work impressed again upon my mind—and the author, too, says as much—that the various modes of thought result from the various qualities of men; and that consequently a general and uniform conviction is simply an impossibility. The great thing, after all, is to know on which side we stand, and where. This knowledge makes us satisfied with ourselves, and just to others."

As to the English:—

"Is it their derivation, or their soil, or their free constitution, or national education—who can tell? But it is a fact, that the English appear to have the advantage of every other nation. There is in them nothing turned and twisted, and no half-measures and after-thoughts. Whatever they do, they are always 'complete men.' Sometimes they are 'complete' fools, I grant you; but even their folly is a folly of some substance and weight."

"The enjoyment of personal liberty, the conscious pride of the English name, and the respect it commands from all other nations,—these are a benefit even to the children, who, in their families and in their schools, are treated with greater respect, and left in the enjoyment of greater happiness and freedom, than the children in Germany."

"Great objects and a lively sense of truth and justice are very rare among our men of letters. They pet and puff one another; they are disgusted with what is truly great, and would gladly put it down, that they themselves may become more conspicuous. Such is the mob of them; and the few distinguished individuals are not much better."

Practical wisdom:—

"There are but two ways which lead to great aims and achievements,—energy and perseverance. Energy is a rare gift: it provokes opposition, hatred, reaction. But perseverance lies within the affordings of every one; its power increases with its progress, and it is but rarely that it misses its aim."

"Few men are open to conviction; but the majority of men are open to persuasion."

As to style:—

"Almost all the English write well; they are born orators and practical men, with a turn for the real."

"Generally speaking, an author's style is a faithful copy of his mind. If you would write a lucid style, let there first be light in your own mind; and if you would write a grand style, you ought to have a grand character."

These extracts will suffice to illustrate the character of this little volume.

The Lives of the Poets-Laureate. With an Introductory Essay on the Title and Office. By Wiltshire Stanton Austin, Jun., B.A., Exeter College, Oxon; and John Ralph, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Richard Bentley.

THE title of this book will awaken interest, and excite expectation, only to disappoint them; at least, in the case of the intelligent and moderately informed reader. A compilation more loosely put together from "multifarious sources;" a larger collection of inaccuracies in dates, and in the names of persons and places; a more off-hand appropriation of the labours of others, with a readier and more careless adoption of their mistakes; a greater number and variety of omissions of the most commonly known facts,—was surely never put forward, with such a claim for correctness, conciseness, and completeness; with such a pretence of inquiry and research; with such an affected abnegation of all effort "to impart to the work, by a copious parade of references, an appearance of industry and learning;" and with such indignant disclaimers, and yet overwhelming evidence, of the mere attempt at book-making. We have no space to make extracts, or even to enter into details; but we feel bound to record our protest against a publication so unworthy of its title and of its object, and against the notion that Messrs. Austin and Ralph sufficiently atone for the faults and blunders of the work by their prefatory deprecation of hostile criticism, on the ground that "the existence of errors in a volume, the contents of which are spread over such a space of time, cannot be matter of surprise." Occasional errors may deface other works, without destroying, and sometimes without materially affecting, their value; but Messrs. Austin and Ralph should know, and, if they do not, must learn, that Histories and Biographies cease to be worth any thing when they cease to be accurate.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church. By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Fourth Edition. London: Murray. 1852.

It was intended that two or three pages only should be devoted to a notice of this work, at the close of this Number. But, on examination, it has been found to contain so much of what is "contrary to sound doctrine," that it has been deemed advisable to make it, in connexion with another kindred work, by the same author, the subject of a more lengthened article. We shall, therefore, say little of it for the present. The writer expresses himself as being "bound by education, and hereditary attachment to those *evangelical* principles in which he was nurtured, to call attention to the external truths, on which the doctrines of grace are dependent." How far the "principles" of the son are in accordance with those of the father, will be a point of curious inquiry on the part of the reader, who will not have proceeded far in the perusal of the book, ere he will discover the true *Alma Mater* by whom he has been nurtured. Suffice it to say, that the great object of the book—somewhat disguised in the title-page—is to prove that the doctrine of the Incarnation involves the necessity and the efficacy of what the author himself agrees to call "the *sacramental system*." The character and value of his reasoning on that subject, and others connected with it, will be shown in a future Number.

Poets of England and America : being Selections from the best Authors of both Countries, designed as a Companion to all Lovers of Poetry. With an Introductory Essay. London : Whittaker and Co. 1853.

If the effects of beautiful poetry may be enhanced by beautiful typography, this volume will prove doubly welcome to readers of taste and feeling. It issues from the press of one of the most elegant printers of the day, and is a favourable specimen of his art.

The poetic samples given in this selection are worthy to be framed with such decorative skill. They are chosen from the elder and later masters of song, in almost equal proportions ; and we have been struck, in the perusal, at the kindred spirit breaking from the Muse at these two distant periods ; while that of the intermediate eighteenth century, even in its highest mood, is far different in utterance, and wanting in the same delicacy, simplicity, and depth. Thus, while Thomson is not without merits of his own, he suffers from the false taste peculiar to his age. His Muse had not profited by her own graceful sentiment, to disdain "the foreign aid of ornament ;" but, like many of her earthly sisters, seems to have mistrusted the beauty that is wholly "unadorned." If we want to find a counterpart to the natural graces and genuine feeling of the Elizabethan poetry, we must look for it nearer to our own day,—in poems more highly cultivated, but still "rooted in truth and flowering into beauty." In the opening pages of this dainty volume we have a good example of this fact, afforded by these few lines of Shelley. Is it not as though the soul of Herrick had transmigrated into Shelley's person, and lost all its customary coarseness, and doubled all its natural refinement, in making the exchange ?

TO —.

"MUSIC, when soft voices die,
Vibrates in the memory ;
Odours, when sweet violets sicken,
Live within the sense they quicken ;
Rose-leaves, when the rose is dead,
Are heap'd for the beloved's head ;
And so thy thoughts, when thou art gone,
Love itself shall slumber on."

It may inspire some confidence in the Editor of this Selection, to extract his brief remark upon these lines :—"This little poem, for condensation, melody, and beauty, is a perfect gem." The reader has every reason to depend upon a taste so pure and delicate as this.

Christ our Life. By the Rev. W. Willan. London : Partridge and Oakey. 1853.

THIS little work bears evidence of its having proceeded from a heart glowing with the subject to which it is devoted, and is written in a style well calculated to convey the warmth of the writer to the spirit of his reader. In some sort, a manual of the leading points of "the theology of the heart," and of the things pertaining to salvation, it is experimental and practical, rather than didactic. It may, therefore, with great advantage, be added to the books which are used as "*companions*," in the closet or the study, for the purpose of stirring up "pure minds, by way of remembrance," on the subjects which are helpful to godly experience and practical holiness. The style is simple and chaste, yet vivid and striking ; and we very heartily commend it to our readers.

History in Ruins. A Series of Letters to a Lady, embodying a Popular Sketch of the History of Architecture, and the Characteristics of the various Styles which have prevailed. A Hand-Book of Architecture for the Unlearned. By George Godwin, F.R.S. With Illustrations. London: Chapman and Hall. 1853.

AN admirable introduction to the study of architecture for young people, containing nothing difficult of comprehension, and not fatiguing the mind with hard words. The history of the art is unfolded with great simplicity, and the chief styles and buildings alluded to are neatly illustrated. We confidently recommend "History in Ruins" to the general reader as a work the fidelity of which may be relied upon; Mr. Godwin's position as Editor of the "Builder" offering a guarantee for ample and accurate information on the various and interesting topics embraced in his volume.

A Brief Argument against the present Law affecting Marriage with a deceased Wife's Sister. By the Knight of Kerry. London: Hatchard and Son.

THIS is one of the most recently issued of many publications on a subject which, we believe, is daily exciting deeper interest, and which, we are sure, on many grounds, is daily increasing in importance. Indeed, the question is one to which justice cannot be done, if it be taken up hastily, or looked at superficially; and as we shall probably enter upon a full consideration of the subject at no distant period, we shall at present abstain from any expression of our own opinions, and from any lengthened remarks upon the work before us.

The writer evidently appreciates the difficulty of his position in having allowed himself but limited space for the examination of a large subject; and is careful to tell the reader that he does "not pretend to discuss every objection urged against the alteration of the existing law, but simply such as are most commonly put forward and most strongly relied upon by the opposite side." In the same spirit he states that one of the principal objects of the publication is "to direct, by marginal references, those who wish to examine into the question more thoroughly, to such documents as deal with it most fully and distinctly." It is, perhaps, in the latter respect that the pamphlet is most effective, though the Knight of Kerry is evidently well acquainted with the position he has taken up, and defends it with tact and spirit.

The Poetry of Wordsworth: a Critical Essay. Travellers' Series. London: Whittaker and Co. 1853.

THIS is a calm examination of the merits and demerits of a popular poet; and is not disfigured by the partialities and prejudices which have generally carried his commentators to absurd extremes. After making all proper deductions, the writer places Wordsworth high on the slope of Parnassus; although, perhaps, no position short of the actual summit is likely to satisfy his more enthusiastic admirers.

THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1853.

- ART. I.—1. *Nineveh and its Remains.* By A. H. LAYARD, D.C.L. Two Vols. London: John Murray. 1849.
2. *The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun Decyphered and Translated, with a Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in general, and on that of Behistun in particular.* By MAJOR H. C. RAWLINSON, C.B. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vols. X. and XI. London: John W. Parker. 1846.
3. *On the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia.* By MAJOR H. C. RAWLINSON. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. London: John W. Parker.
4. *Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions.* By LIEUT.-COL. H. C. RAWLINSON, C.B. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV. London: John W. Parker. 1850.
5. *On the Inscriptions at Van.* By E. HINCKS, D.D. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI. John W. Parker. 1847.
6. *The Monuments of Nineveh, from Drawings made on the Spot.* By A. H. LAYARD, D.C.L. London: John Murray. 1849.
7. *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character, on Assyrian Monuments discovered by A. H. Layard, D.C.L.* London: Longman and Co. 1851.
8. *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq. London: John Murray. 1851.
9. *Nineveh and Persepolis.* By W. S. W. VAUX, M.A. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1850.
10. *Nineveh and its Palaces.* By JOSEPH BONOMI, F.R.S.L. London: Illustrated London Library. 1852.
11. *Outlines of Assyrian History, collected from the Cuneiform Inscriptions.* By LIEUT.-COL. RAWLINSON, C.B. Appended to Twenty-ninth Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1852.
12. *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels*

in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert : being the Result of a Second Expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum. By A. H. LAYARD, D.C.L., M.P. London : John Murray. 1853.

THE works named above bring under our consideration a subject of grand importance and almost universal interest. Cities which grew up into wealth and power in the dawn of human history, and which, for thousands of years, have been unknown among men,—lying in unrecognised graves,—buried in the *débris* of successive ages,—these have been disintombed, and are at least so far restored to vision that we can now study their topography, sculptures, and architecture. Nations which flourished in the earliest times, and extended their conquests and sovereign sway over surrounding countries, but whose annals have only been known to the world by few and fragmentary notices jotted down by foreign travellers, and preserved to our day as curious historic relics, are now made to describe their own civilization, manners, religion, battles, conquests, and system of government.

The means by which these wonderful discoveries have been effected,—the great amount of new information which the world has thereby acquired,—with its important effect in the corrections and additions thus supplied to ancient history, and the bearing of these disclosures on the statements of the Holy Scriptures,—are the principal topics to which the attention of the reader will be directed in this article.

As early as 1802, Professor Grotefend published some discoveries of his, on the reading of the cuneiform characters of ancient Persia, in the “Literary Gazette” of Göttingen. These were followed, at intervals of some years, by further communications; until, in the year 1818, a paper was read before the Bombay Literary Society, by Mr. C. Belling, in which the Professor’s mode of proceeding is fully detailed, and his first certain identification of proper names is given. Our learned and very successful countryman, Col. Rawlinson, thus candidly awards to this eminent German scholar the meed of having first effectively broken ground in this hitherto unexplored branch of archæology :—

“Professor Grotefend has certainly the credit of being the first who opened a gallery into this rich treasure-house of antiquity. In deciphering the names of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes, he obtained the true determination of nearly a third of the entire alphabet, and thus at once supplied a sure and ample basis for future research.” *

Having achieved this great discovery, the learned German seems to have been baffled in his further efforts, or to have

* “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,” vol. x., p. 3.

bequeathed the prosecution of the work to other hands. Professor Rask appears to have entered on this interesting, but very difficult, investigation about the year 1824; and he soon succeeded in discovering the characters representing M and N. M. Burnouf followed, and added several acquisitions of considerable importance; but these were soon eclipsed by the brilliant success of Professor Lassen, whose researches supplied an identification of twelve characters more, which had all been mistaken by preceding explorers. The result of these labours was published in 1836. M. Saint Martin also devoted himself with zeal to this investigation, but he does not appear to have added greatly to the common stock of discovery.

About the year 1835, an English soldier, located at Kerman-shah, on the western frontier of Persia, turned his attention to the cuneiform inscriptions at Hamadan, which he had himself carefully copied. In the following year, whilst residing at Teheran, this individual, now so well known as Col. Rawlinson, first had an opportunity of knowing, to some extent, what had been done by the learned in Europe in this difficult investigation. But the information which he thus obtained, afforded him no real assistance, as he felt confident that his "own knowledge of the character, verified by its application to many names, which had not come under the observation of Grotefend and Saint Martin, was much in advance of their respective, and, in some measure, conflicting, systems of interpretation." In 1839, whilst still diligently labouring in this field of research, Col. Rawlinson received from Professor Lassen "a *précis* of his last improved system of interpretation." Of this the learned Colonel speaks thus:—

"The Bonn alphabet I recognised at once to be infinitely superior to any other that had previously fallen under my observation. The Professor's views, indeed, coincided in all essential points with my own; and, since I have been enabled, with the help of Sanscrit and Zend affinities, to analyse nearly every word of the cuneiform inscriptions hitherto copied in Persia, and thus to verify the alphabetical power of almost every cuneiform character, I have found the more reason to admire the skill of Professor Lassen, who, with such very limited materials as were alone at his disposal in Europe, has still arrived at results so remarkably correct."

"We here mark one grand epoch in this series of discoveries: the alphabet—curious and complicated as was that employed in these ancient inscriptions—was mastered; all its elements were ascertained; and the whole range of the mysterious, and hitherto unreadable, records of the East, was thus fairly thrown open to our investigation. In the Memoir so frequently quoted above, Rawlinson exhibits these alphabetic characters, thirty-nine in number: and, in one hundred and twenty pages of clear and cogent investigation, examines them, letter by letter, until he has clearly shown their respective peculiarities and powers.

These researches were, however, interrupted by the ungenial duties of war. Colonel Rawlinson was called away from Persia, to fill an important post during our occupation of Afghanistan; and it was not until his return to the former country in 1843, that he was able to resume his favourite studies.

It now becomes necessary to direct attention to another branch of these wonderful discoveries. In the early part of the present century, several curious fragments, cylinders, and gems, bearing inscriptions, were brought from Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, to Europe, where they attracted considerable attention, and excited much interest among oriental scholars. The importance of these acquisitions was greatly enhanced by the zealous and intelligent efforts of Mr. Claudius Rich, the Hon. East India Company's Agent at Bagdad, who wrote some interesting memoirs on the ruins of the great oriental cities, one of which was published in Germany, and a second in London, in 1818. These called forth various productions from English scholars, and, among them, an elaborate work, illustrated with beautiful engravings of inscribed gems and cylinders, by John Landseer, F.A.S., which was published in 1823. The public mind being thus directed to the subject, successive travellers exerted themselves to procure accurate copies of inscriptions, which were successively forwarded to Europe.

It was just as public attention had been thus excited, and a few months before Col. Rawlinson, with an accurate knowledge of the cuneiform alphabet, had returned to Persia to resume his efforts to effect a translation of the ancient inscriptions of that country, that M. Botta was sent by the French Government, as their Consular Agent, to Mosul, on the Tigris. This talented and energetic individual had long resided in Egypt, Sennaar, and Syria, and was eminently qualified, both by natural and acquired abilities, to make his residence in the East subservient to the further progress of eastern discovery; and this task was earnestly imposed on him, when he left his country to proceed to his appointment, by his friend M. Mohl, the learned translator of Firdousi. On reaching Mosul, Botta instinctively directed his attention to the procuring of sculptured antiquities; but in this he was at first grievously disappointed. Rich had purchased all that could be obtained, so that Botta found a perfect famine of articles of real value. At length, however, he had recourse to the excavation of the mounds which abound in that neighbourhood. For some time his efforts in this direction, although laborious and expensive, were entirely fruitless. After prosecuting a series of operations for some months at Kouyunjik, he abandoned that locality in despair, and commenced a similar course of excavation at Khorsabad. His men had only been at work in this place three days, when they brought him intelligence that they had dug up some figures and inscriptions. The antiquary had been so often, and so greatly, harassed and disap-

pointed, that it was not until he was fully assured the inscriptions were in the cuneiform character, that he ventured to believe in his good fortune.

On reaching the spot, however, he saw, with feelings which but few readers can adequately appreciate, a new world of antiquarian lore revealed to his vision. He found, indeed, that—

“His workmen had been fortunate enough to commence the excavation precisely in that part of the mound where the monument was in the most perfect state of preservation, so that he had only to follow the walls which had already been discovered, to succeed most certainly in laying bare the whole edifice. In a few days, all that remains of a chamber, with façade covered by bas-reliefs, had been discovered. On his arrival at the scene of action, he immediately perceived that these remains could form but a very small portion of some considerable building buried in the mound; and to assure himself of this, he had a well sunk a few paces further on, and instantly came upon other bas-reliefs, which offered to view the first perfect figures he had seen. He found, also, on his first visit, two altars, and those portions of the façade which jutted out above ground at the other extremity of the mound; and, finally, his attention was drawn to a line of mounds which formed the grand enclosure.”*

Leaving this devoted Frenchman to the prosecution of his successful enterprise, we now introduce to the reader another eminent labourer in this field of exploration. Austen Henry Layard, whose name will be identified with the discoveries of Nimroud throughout all future ages, entered upon a course of travel about the year 1839. It does not appear that he had any very definite object in view; but he passed successively through Russia, Germany, Transylvania, and Montenegro; and thence through Albania and Roumelia to Constantinople. Having thus inured himself to the hardships and physical exertion of continued travel, and acquired some experience in the attainment of a knowledge of language, he pursued his way into Asia Minor, devoting himself to a familiar acquaintance with the dialects of Turkey and Arabia, adopting, at the same time, the costume and manners of those countries. In this object he succeeded so fully, that he was soon able to make himself quite at home with the Arabs of the desert. Pursuing his way by Bir and Orfa, Layard reached Mosul on the 10th of April, 1840. On the eighteenth day of the same month, Mr. Layard was one of a party who inspected the ruins at Khalah-Shergat. His stay in this neighbourhood at this time was but short: he continued his travels in the East until 1842, when, returning through Mosul, he formed an acquaintance with Botta, who was at that time engaged in the operations at Kouyunjik. Layard took a deep interest in the work, and, encouraging him to proceed, passed on to Constantinople, from whence he proceeded for some months through the Turkish provinces. Meanwhile, Botta had trans-

* “Nineveh and its Palaces. By Joseph Bonomi,” p. 12.

ferred his works to Khorsabad, and had succeeded in excavating important sculptures. He lost no time in communicating to the principal scientific body of France the result of his researches; and, with a nobility of mind which is truly admirable, he allowed Mr. Layard to see his communications and drawings, as they passed through the Turkish capital.

Absorbed in strong desire to take some part in these interesting discoveries, our Layard laboured in various ways to rouse his country to the importance of the subject, in the hope that means would be provided for prosecuting a course of excavation for the benefit of the English nation. His appeals, however, were unsuccessful, until Sir Stratford Canning (now Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe) generously offered to bear the expense of an experimental effort,—in the hope that, if successful, sufficient means would be found for the prosecution of the work. Thus provided, Layard hastened to Mosul, where he arrived about the end of October, 1845.

We have no taste for recording in detail the progress of this work, because, in addition to the difficulties and obstructions arising from the ungenial climate, the want of experienced labourers, the absence of suitable mechanical means, and other unavoidable circumstances, both Botta and Layard were harassed and threatened, and sometimes compelled altogether to suspend their operations by the ignorance and fanaticism, or still more potent cupidity, of the local Governors of the district. Yet, undeterred by every difficulty and danger, these noble spirits continued their efforts,—Botta at Khorsabad, and Layard at Nimroud,—until they had completely succeeded in disinterring extensive palaces, and placing at the disposal of their respective countries an abundant harvest of sculptures and inscriptions, relating to the ancient history of primitive eastern nations. It is proper here to observe, that Layard's works were not thus continued at the expense of Lord Stratford. As that noble-minded individual had expected, when success had crowned the first efforts of the English explorer, the British Government, by a grant to the Trustees of the British Museum, enabled that body to retain Mr. Layard's valuable services, for the further prosecution of the work. It is, however, deeply to be regretted that this aid was dealt out with such parsimony, that the devoted labourer was unable fully to carry out his plans for extensive discovery in Assyria and Babylonia.

We have now to return to Col. Rawlinson, who—having resumed his study of the inscriptions in Persia, and obtained an interview with an intelligent German scholar, who had devoted much attention to the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions—was now prepared to complete the work which he had so auspiciously prosecuted. But as very conflicting opinions have been expressed on this subject, we prefer giving the account in the words of the gallant and learned gentleman:—

"I commence then with an explanation of the process of decipherment. There are found in many parts of Persia, either graven on the native rock, as at Hamadan, at Van, and Behistun, or sculptured on the walls of the ancient palaces, as at Persepolis and Pasargadæ, cuneiform inscriptions which record the glories of the House of Achæmenes. These inscriptions are, in almost every instance, trilingual and trilateral. They are engraved in three different languages, and each language has its peculiar alphabet; the alphabets, indeed, varying from each other, not merely in their characters being formed by a different assortment of the elemental signs, which we are accustomed to term 'the arrow-head and wedge,' but in their whole phonetic structure and organization. The object, of course, of engraving the records in their different languages was to render them generally intelligible. Precisely, indeed, as, at the present day, a governor of Baghdad, who wished to publish an edict for general information, would be obliged to employ three languages, the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic; so in the time of Cyrus and Darius, when the ethnographical constitution of the empire was subject to the same general division, was it necessary to address the population in the three different languages from which have sprung the modern Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, or, at any rate, in the three languages which represented at the time those three great lingual families. To this fashion, then, or necessity of triple publication, are we indebted for our knowledge of the Assyrian inscriptions. I need not describe the steps by which the Persian cuneiform alphabet was first deciphered, and the language subsequently brought to light; for full details have been already published in the Society's Journal; but I may notice, as an illustration of the great success which has attended the efforts of myself and other students in this preliminary branch of the inquiry, that there are, probably, not more than twenty words in the whole range of the Persian cuneiform records, upon the meaning, grammatical condition, or etymology of which, any doubt or difference of opinion can be said at present to exist.

"As the Greek translation, then, on the Rosetta Stone first led the way to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt, so have the Persian texts of the trilingual cuneiform tablets served as a stepping-stone to the intelligence of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. The tablets of Behistun, of Naksh-i-Rustam, and Persepolis, have, in the first place, furnished a list of more than eighty proper names, of which the true pronunciation is fixed by their Persian orthography, and of which we have also the Babylonian equivalents. A careful comparison of these duplicate forms of writing the same name, and a due appreciation of the phonetic distinctions peculiar to the two languages, have then supplied the means of determining, with more or less of certainty, the value of about one hundred Babylonian characters, and a very excellent basis has been thus determined for a complete arrangement of the alphabet."*

By these means a key was obtained to the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. But this study was found to be encompassed with many and peculiar difficulties, and its prosecution, after all

* Colonel Rawlinson, On the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xii., p. 404.

that has been achieved, still requires diligence and zeal. On this point Col. Rawlinson makes the following observations :—

“In some respects the Assyrian alphabet is even more difficult to be made out than the Egyptian. In the latter, the object depicted can almost always be recognised, and the Coptic name of the object will usually give, in its initial sound, the phonetic power of the hieroglyph; whereas, in Assyrian, the machinery by which the power is evolved is altogether obscure. We neither know the object represented, nor, if we did know it, should we be able to ascertain its Assyrian name,—every thing has to be subjected to the ‘*experimentum crucis* ;’ and although, in working out this tentative process, the reduced number of the Assyrian signs, the key of eighty proper names, and the unlimited facilities for comparison, tend essentially to lessen the labour, it may be doubted if these united aids are equivalent to the single advantage which Egyptologists enjoy, of being able to apply the Coptic vocabulary to the elimination of the phonetic powers of the hieroglyphic signs.” *

The Babylonian, being a still more ancient type of these inscriptions, presented equal, if not more formidable, difficulties ; so much so, that, in speaking of the whole case, the learned translator candidly declares :—

“I will frankly confess, indeed, that after having mastered every Babylonian letter, and every Babylonian word, to which any clue existed in the trilingual tablets, either by direct evidence or by induction, I have been tempted, on more occasions than one, in striving to apply the key thus obtained to the interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions, to abandon the study altogether, in utter despair of arriving at any satisfactory result. It would be affectation to pretend that, because I can ascertain the general purport of an inscription, or because I can read and approximately render a plain historical record like that of the Nineveh obelisk, I am really a complete master of the ancient Assyrian language. It would be disingenuous to slur over the broad fact, that the science of Assyrian decipherment is yet in its infancy. Let it be remembered that, although fifty years have elapsed since the Rosetta Stone was first discovered, and its value was recognised as a partial key to the hieroglyphs, during which period many of the most powerful intellects of modern Europe have devoted themselves to the study of Egyptian ; nevertheless that study, as a distinct branch of philology, has hardly yet passed through its first preliminary stage of cultivation. How, then, can it be expected that, in studying Assyrian, with an alphabet scarcely less difficult, and with a language far more difficult, than the Egyptian,—with no Plutarch to dissect the Pantheon, and supply the names of the gods,—no Manetho or Eratosthenes to classify the dynasties, and furnish the means of identifying the Kings,—how can it be supposed that, with all the difficulties that beset, and none of the facilities that assist, Egyptologists, two or three individuals are to accomplish, in a couple of years, more than all Europe has been able to effect in half a century ?” †

* Colonel Rawlinson, On the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,” vol. xii., p. 407.

† *Ibid.*, p. 409.

Since this was written, two years more of diligent and devoted labour have been spent on these investigations, and, in consequence, an extended knowledge has been gained, and increasing confidence is felt in the accuracy of inductions previously made. Indeed, in no other instance have such discoveries been conducted by, and such grand results obtained from, such a limited agency. To this initial branch of the subject we wish to direct special attention. Seldom, indeed, has the vast importance of these philological achievements been adequately estimated; and yet, without them, the Assyrian sculptures would be to us but unmeaning signs. Let it be observed, then, that all the events involved in these researches took place during a season of almost universal excitement, during which a few isolated individuals turn their attention to unknown characters, which had been visible to the eye of every passenger for more than twenty centuries, and by united genius, energy, and perseverance, acquire a knowledge of the signs, the language, and the meaning which these inscriptions were intended to convey; whilst, as if to give this achievement the greatest possible effect, a few other persons, altogether unconnected with these labourers and their object, direct their efforts to neglected mounds, which had been thoughtlessly trodden down for nearly an equal period, and from them have extracted sculptures and inscriptions, which, by means of these lingual discoveries, present to our view a knowledge of the architecture, the history, and the religion of extinct nations, which once ruled paramount in the earth, but which have long since sunk into oblivion.

We have no wish to magnify the real measure of these marvellous discoveries; but it does seem worthy of observation, that the principal agents of this great work were found in such circumstances, that, in the ordinary course of human judgment, nothing of the kind could be expected from them. Who and what were they? An English soldier, located in Persia as a political Agent; a French Consular Resident, charged to watch over the commercial interests of his country; and an enthusiastic English traveller. Yet the first of these, whilst satisfactorily discharging the duties of his office, found time to achieve the greatest discovery in language—we speak advisedly—which the world has ever known; whilst the other two, by a remarkable display of individual skill, prudence, courage, and unwearied perseverance, began,—carried on, under every disadvantage and discouragement,—and conducted to a successful issue, a series of excavations in the mounds of Assyria. And these united operations have published to the world the character, manners, and records of the mightiest ancient nations of the earth. If these strange circumstances do not evince the operation of a special and peculiar Providence, they certainly exhibit a collection of the most unlooked-for results and marvellous coincidences to be found in any page of ancient or modern history.

Having thus directed attention to the agency and means by which these discoveries have been made, we proceed to ascertain the nature and extent of what has been thus accomplished.

How few and meagre, but a short time since, were all the remains of ancient Eastern greatness ! Some unreadable inscriptions on barren rocks ; the pillars and architectural fragments of Persepolis ; isolated antique gems in some European cabinets ; with the huge mounds on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, —were all that remained to attest the glory and power of Assyria and Babylon, Media and Persia. Nineveh, which had so long been the centre and the scat of the pride and prowess of Asia, had perished so completely, that its site could only be conjecturally and approximately ascertained. Twenty-two hundred and fifty years ago, Xenophon, marching at the head of the Ten Thousand Greeks, when returning from Persia, encamped near the ruins of Nineveh. The eloquent Greek thus describes the neighbourhood :—

“They came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called Larissa, anciently inhabited by the Medes, the walls of which were twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangs in circuit ; all built of bricks, except the plinth, which was of stone, and twenty feet high.....Close to the city stood a pyramid of stone, one hundred feet square and two hundred high.....Thence they came, in one day’s march, six parasangs, to a large uninhabited castle, standing near a town called Mespila, formerly inhabited also by the Medes. The plinth of the wall was built with polished stone, full of shells, being fifty feet in breadth and as many in height. On this stood a brick wall, fifty feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and six parasangs in circuit.” *

These uninhabited ruins, which appeared wonderful to the eye of the intelligent Greek for their antiquity and grandeur, had, during the progress of two thousand years, become buried beneath *débris* and soil, and thus appeared to the spectator of modern times a series of irregular mounds, stretching over a surface about twenty English miles long, and nearly as many broad, on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite to the city of Mosul. This has been the grand theatre of the recent discoveries.

Botta first turned his attention to a mound, on which stands a mosque called Nebbi Younis. Within this building, as the name implies, the tomb of the Prophet Jonah is supposed to be contained. Here Mr. Rich had seen subterranean walls, covered with inscriptions in the cuneiform character ; and to their excavation the French Consul first addressed himself ; but the number and importance of the houses in that neighbourhood offered an effectual barrier to his object. He then, as already noticed, carried on his operations unsuccessfully at Kouyunjik ; and, at length, selected Khorsabad, where his efforts were

* *Anabasis*, lib. iii. cap. iv.

crowned with very great success. Our limits forbid our attempting a continuous narrative of these discoveries: we must, therefore, place before the reader the principal objects attained, as concisely and as consecutively as possible.

The raised platform, on which the public buildings of Assyria were erected, forms a curious feature in the habits of that ancient people.

"So far as has hitherto been ascertained from the explorations at Khorsabad and elsewhere, the pedestal, or sub-basement, of the Assyrian buildings was not a mere accumulation of loose earth incrustated with stone or bricks, but was a regularly constructed elevation, built of layers of sun-dried bricks, so solidly united with the same clay of which the bricks themselves were made, that Botta was for some time doubtful whether it consisted only of a mass of clay well rammed together, as described by Rich; or whether it had originally been entirely formed of bricks, as subsequent investigations have satisfactorily proved. It further appears, that the substructure was solid throughout, excepting where drains or water-pipes were inserted, or where subterranean channels, like the aqueducts found by Sir Robert Porter at Persepolis, existed; and that the mass of brickwork forming the mound was encased round the sides with well-squared blocks of limestone. In order to effectually secure the soluble material of the mound from the action of the periodical rains, not only were the sides encased in stone, but the whole of the upper surface, not occupied by buildings, was likewise protected by two layers of kiln-burnt bricks, or tiles, from eleven to thirteen and a half inches square by five inches deep, all inscribed on the under side, and cemented together with a coating of bitumen. The upper layer was separated from the lower by a stratum of sand six inches in thickness; so that, if any moisture chanced to penetrate, it would most likely be dissipated in the sandy stratum, and thence be drained off before it could touch the second layer of tiles."*

The figure of the platform at Khorsabad is irregular; the south-eastern end being 975 feet long and 422 feet wide, its elevation 20 feet above the level of the plain; the other part being 650 feet long and 553 feet wide, and 10 feet higher. This substantial elevated platform covers more than seventeen English acres. Nothing but an actual reference to such facts and figures can convey to the mind an adequate idea of the magnitude of these ancient erections. In our sketch, an architectural description cannot be given: this would require drawings and detailed accounts, which would extend far beyond our present purpose. The lower terrace appears, from the analogy observable in these structures, to have been reached by steps similar to the grand staircase still remaining at Persepolis; but the excavations have not been extended so far as to place this beyond doubt. On this terrace, about fifty feet from the edge, which was covered by a parapet about six feet high, stood a wall with a projecting

* Bonomi's "*Nineveh and its Palaces*," p. 130.

façade, which apparently formed the principal, if not the only, entrance to the palace. The great portal, forming the centre of this *façade*, was composed of colossal and beautiful sculpture. On each side of the entrance stood a gigantic human-headed winged bull, looking outward, with his side against the portal, and, in fact, forming the jamb of the doorway. This figure was nineteen feet high, and of admirable proportions. On each side of the portal, each of these bulls was joined to another, standing in a line with the wall, and presenting its side to the outer court. These are of smaller dimensions, being fifteen feet high. Behind these, and thus farther removed from the entrance, stood the colossal figure of a man strangling a lion: this figure was also fifteen feet high. On the other side of these figures, on each side, also in a line with the wall, and exactly similar to those already described, was another winged human-headed bull; so that a person, in approaching the portal, would see, on each side, a group of sculpture, consisting of three winged bulls, with the figure of a man standing between two of them. Each of these groups was thirty and a half feet long, and fifteen feet high, which, with the still larger bulls looking outward, and the gateway, made a continuous mass of ornamental work, ninety feet long and twenty feet in depth. On passing through this magnificent entrance, and ascending to the upper platform, was found, in the south-western wall, an entrance, ornamented with precisely the same kind of sculpture as that which adorned the portal in the *façade* just described, and accompanied by other representations in relief on large slabs. In the north-western wall, which formed the other side of the court, there was an opening guarded by one pair of bulls. Mr. Fergusson, who has skilfully analysed the accounts and sketches of the Khorsabad excavations, divides the buildings discovered on this platform into three sections:—

First, the Harcem, which was a group of buildings supposed to have formed the royal family's residence. This pile was a parallelogram about 400 feet long and 300 feet wide, having a court in the centre. Of this whole group, only two *façades* have been discovered: but here, as in the other parts of the building, the doorways are ornamented by bulls, and the walls covered with sculptured slabs.

The second portion of the Khorsabad buildings is called the Palace. Here, also, we have a court, on two sides of which the pile of buildings forming the public and state apartments are situated. These are fourteen in number, and different in size. Three of the principal of them form a connected suite,—the largest being 116 feet long and 33 feet wide, the next 116 feet long and 30 feet wide, and the third and smaller one, situated between the other two, being 85 feet long and 21 wide. Besides these, ten other chambers have been discovered, several of them approaching them in magnitude. Three of the portals are adorned with the full complement of six human-headed winged

bulls. A person, coming from the city, would first enter the outer court through the portal in the grand *façade* before described, then through a passage, 50 feet long and 10 feet wide, richly ornamented with sculptured slabs, and between the six bulls would come into the royal presence. The other external doorways are adorned with a single pair of bulls. The plan of this palace is thus fully laid open: the size of the rooms, their form, the purposes to which they were appropriated, can scarcely be mistaken. Unfortunately, however, nothing can be ascertained beyond about ten feet from the floor: all above this having been quite destroyed, the further elevation cannot be ascertained. To that height, the walls everywhere are lined with slabs of alabaster covered with sculptures.

The other part of this noble group of buildings is the Temple. This was placed in the innermost recess of the palace. It stood on a terrace raised about six feet above the floor of the palace, and being 163 feet long and 100 feet wide. It was approached by a flight of steps on its north-eastern face, exactly opposite the line of doorways passing the centre of the principal suite of rooms already noticed. At the top of this flight of steps, stand the remains of a room, 40 feet long and 33 feet wide, paved with black basalt; in the centre of which, and near its back wall, is a raised square block, evidently intended to receive either a statue or the altar,—most probably the latter. Immediately behind this, are found the remains of another room, or rooms, about the same width, and extending the whole length of the raised terrace, or, at least, to about one hundred and twenty feet. But the ruin of this portion of the building is so complete, that no opinion can be formed as to whether it consisted of one or more rooms, or what were its precise dimensions. It is, however, a very significant circumstance, that the whole of this building was composed of black material. The terrace, pavement, and sculptured slabs are all of black stone, apparently basalt; from which Mr. Ferguson, with some probability, infers that it was dedicated to the Assarac of the inscription,—the Nisroch of Holy Scripture.

Here, then, is one important section of the disinterred Assyrian buildings,—grand in its conception, extensive in its range, scientific in its plan, and full of interest in all its details. After carefully considering the several parts of this wonderful ruin, the mind instinctively asks, By whom, and when, and for what purpose, were these remarkable edifices raised? The successful efforts which have been already detailed, enable us to afford highly probable answers to these interesting and important questions. From the proficiency which has been made in the decipherment of the inscriptions, it is now regarded as an undoubted fact, that the royal builder of the Khorsabad palace was Sargina, —the Sargon of the Prophet Isaiah, who began to reign about 737 B.C. He was not of the royal family of Assyria; but, being a man of great capacity and courage, he usurped the government

immediately on the death of Tiglath-Pileser, and conducted it very successfully through a brilliant reign. His chief purpose in these erections is set forth in a standard inscription, frequently occurring in different parts of the palace, stating that he had built the city "after the manner of Egypt."

As the whole of the excavated buildings display the same general type, it will not be necessary to go into detail in the description of Mr. Layard's discoveries. The extent of the platform explored by him at Kouyunjik is nearly square, being about 720 feet long and 600 feet wide, or nearly ten English acres. This range of buildings stood on a platform of unbaked brick, encased with stone, very similar to that of Khorsabad. On this platform Mr. Layard opened—

"No less than seventy-one halls, chambers, and passages, whose walls, almost without an exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster, recording the wars and the triumphs and the great deeds of the Assyrian King. By a rough calculation, about 9,880 feet, or nearly two miles, of bas-reliefs, with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls, and lion-sphinxes, were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches."*

These buildings possess great additional interest from the fact, that they were erected by Sennacherib, the haughty Assyrian King, whose arrogance and presumption are so vividly described in Holy Scripture, and whose ambitious designs were so signally defeated by the miraculous interposition of Jehovah. He was the son and successor of Sargon, who raised these palaces for his official residence, and here chronicled his prowess and his glory, and corroborated the scriptural account of his reverses and end.

We now proceed to notice the excavations at Nimroud, which comprise the most extensive and important of the discoveries in Assyria. Mr. Layard thus describes the appearance of the place before he began his researches:—

"From the summit of an artificial eminence we looked down upon the broad plain, separated from us by the river. A line of lofty mounds bounded it to the east, and one of a pyramidal form rose high above the rest. Beyond it could be faintly traced the waters of the Zab. Its position rendered its identification easy. This was the pyramid which Xenophon had described, and near which the Ten Thousand had encamped: the ruins around it were those which the Greek General saw twenty-two centuries before, and which were even then the remains of an *ancient* city."†

At the north-west corner of this range of mounds, our energetic countryman commenced his operations, which were almost immediately successful. The works were prosecuted with great spirit from time to time, as opportunity offered, and means were placed at his disposal, until his researches extended over a space

* "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 589. † "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i., p. 4.

380 yards long, and 330 yards wide, or above twenty-six acres. Of course, the whole of this surface had not been cleared, but penetrated in different places; and where important buildings have been discovered, they have been explored in the different portions of this space.

By these excavations, more than twenty apartments were found at the north-west corner alone. Some of these are very large; one being about 100 feet in length, all covered with sculptured slabs, and the portals and doors ornamented with compound figures, some of them of gigantic size, and great beauty of execution. The ruins bore incontestable evidence that the buildings had been destroyed by fire; indeed, some of the sculptures were so completely calcined, that they fell to dust immediately on being uncovered. A great number, however, remained in a perfect state, and rewarded the toil of the explorer with a rich harvest of information.

On the south-west corner of this range of mounds, the ruins of another palace were discovered. This had also been destroyed by fire; and so completely had this element done its work, that one curiously-constructed hall, 100 feet long and 40 feet wide, alone remained sufficiently perfect to repay the labour of excavation. It was entered by two grand portals, ornamented by gigantic winged bulls and lions, with human heads; and in the centre of the hall was another portal, formed by a second pair of winged bulls; while crouching sphinxes, winged lions and bulls, ornamented other parts of this splendid apartment. It was nearly divided into two by a thick wall running longitudinally in the middle of the room, for about two-thirds of its length, leaving an open space at each end of the room, and having an ornamented portal in the centre. The interior decorations of the walls of this place exhibited a remarkable peculiarity.

“The whole of this hall was panelled with slabs brought from elsewhere; the only sculptures, expressly made for the building, being the gigantic lions and bulls, and the crouching sphinxes. The slabs were not all from the same edifice. Some, and by far the greater number, belonged to the north-west, others to the centre, palace. But there were many bas-reliefs, which differed greatly, in the style of art, from the sculptures discovered in both those ruins. From whence they were obtained, I am unable to determine; whether from a palace of another period once existing at Nimroud, and still concealed in a part of the mound not explored, or from some edifice in the neighbourhood.”*

On resuming, however, the excavations in the centre of the mound, the first object of interest that met the eye of the excavators, were two colossal winged bulls, whose backs were covered with inscriptions. On pursuing his researches in this quarter, Mr. Layard soon after discovered an obelisk of black stone, about

* “Nineveh and its Remains,” vol. ii., p. 27.

six feet six inches high, and covered with sculptures ; soon afterward he found a tomb, about five feet long, and about one foot and a half wide, which contained a skeleton. An extended search brought to light a second tomb of a very similar kind and size. Mr. Layard thus describes his further progress in this research :—

“Many other tombs were opened, containing vases, plates, mirrors, spoons, beads, and ornaments. Some of them were built of baked bricks carefully joined, but without mortar ; others consisted of large earthen sarcophagi, covered with an entire alabaster slab.

“Having carefully collected and packed the contents of the tombs, I removed them, and dug deeper into the mound. I was surprised to find, about five feet beneath them, the remains of a building. Walls of unbaked bricks could still be traced ; but the slabs with which they had been panelled were no longer in their places, being scattered about without order, and lying mostly with their faces on the flooring of baked bricks. Upon them were both sculptures and inscriptions. Slab succeeded to slab ; and when I had removed nearly twenty tombs, and cleared away the earth from a space about fifty feet square, the ruins, which had been thus uncovered, presented a very singular appearance. Above one hundred slabs were exposed to view, packed in rows, one against the other, as slabs in a stone-cutter's yard, or as the leaves of a gigantic book. Every slab was sculptured ; and, as they were placed in a regular series, according to the subjects upon them, it was evident that they had been moved, in the order in which they stood, from their original positions against the walls of sun-dried bricks ; and had been left as found, preparatory to their removal elsewhere. That they were not thus arranged before being used in the building for which they had been originally sculptured, was evident from the fact, proved beyond a doubt by repeated observation, that the Assyrians carved their slabs after, and not before, they were placed. Subjects were continued on adjoining slabs, figures and chariots being divided in the centre. There were places for the iron brackets, or dovetails. They had evidently been once filled ; for I could still trace the marks and stains left by the metal.

“These sculptures resembled, in many respects, some of the bas-reliefs found in the south-west palace, in which the sculptured faces of the slabs were turned towards the walls of unbaked brick. It appeared, therefore, that the centre building had been destroyed to supply materials for the construction of the more southern edifice. But here were tombs *over* the ruins. The edifice had perished, and in the earth and rubbish accumulating above its remains, a people, whose funereal vases and ornaments were identical in form and material with those found in the catacombs of Egypt, had buried their dead. What race, then, occupied the country after the destruction of the Assyrian palaces ? At what period were these tombs made ? What antiquity did their presence assign to the buildings beneath them ? These are questions which I am yet unable to answer.” *

Turning from the serious subjects mooted in these queries, for

* “Nineveh and its Remains,” vol. ii., p. 20.

a brief space, we have to direct attention to another important excavation in a different part of the Nimroud mounds. Suspending his operations in the centre, Mr. Layard caused a pit to be dug to a considerable depth, at the south-east corner of this cluster of ruins. At length he uncovered a slab, on which was an inscription, which, on examination, was found to contain a royal name, known as occurring on the back of one of the colossal bulls discovered in the centre excavations. On removing this slab it was found to be the lid of a sarcophagus, which, with its contents, was still entire beneath. Numerous other sarcophagi were afterward found, mostly of the shape of a "dish-cover," although some of them were constructed of brick, well fitted together, and covered with a slab.

"In nearly all were earthen vases, copper and silver ornaments, lachrymatories, and small alabaster bottles. The skeletons, as soon as uncovered, crumbled to pieces, although entire when first exposed."

Proceeding with the work, Mr. Layard says,—

"Removing these tombs, I discovered beneath them the remains of a building, and explored parts of seven chambers. * * * No sculptured slabs or inscriptions were found in them. They resembled those in the ruin to the north of Kouyunjik; the lower part of the walls being built of plain slabs of limestone, three feet seven inches high, and from two to three feet wide, closely fitted together, and the upper part of sun-dried bricks, covered by a thick coat of white plaster. I could trace this brick wall about fourteen feet above the slabs. The chambers were paved with limestone. There were no traces of inscriptions, nor were there any remains of fragments by which the age of the building could be determined. In the walls were recesses, like those in some of the chambers of the north-west palace, and the sides of the doors were slightly ornamented with a rough kind of cornice. No remains of colour could be seen on the plastered walls." *

Several trenches were made in other parts of the mound; and, continues Mr. Layard,—

"Everywhere I found traces of buildings, and generally reached a pavement of baked bricks, between ten and fifteen feet beneath the surface. In the northern half of the mound the name of the founder of the earliest palace was written upon all these bricks. No remains, however, of sculptured slabs or inscriptions were discovered; but many small objects of considerable interest were occasionally taken out of the rubbish: amongst them I may mention three lions' paws in copper, of beautiful form, which may have belonged to the bottom of a couch or throne." †

We have endeavoured to convey to the reader an intelligible idea of the progress and result of the several discoveries made in the Nimroud group of mounds; and it now remains, as far as possible, for us to state their relative age, and the probable builders of these palaces. Although in his early efforts Mr.

* "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii., p. 39.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Layard declared himself unable to solve these problems, his latest researches have done almost all that can be desired for their elucidation. Summing up the result of his labours at the close of his last volume, he says:—

“On the artificial platform, built of regular layers of sun-dried bricks in some parts, and entirely of rubbish in others, but cased on all sides with solid stone masonry, stood at one time at least nine distinct buildings. Between each was a terrace paved with stone, or with large kiln-burnt bricks, from one and a half to two feet square. At the north-western corner rose the great tower, the tomb of the founder of the principal palace. I have described its basement encased with massive masonry of stone, relieved by recesses, and other architectural ornaments. The upper part, built of brick, was most probably painted, like the palaces of Babylon, with figures and mythic emblems. Its summit I conjecture to have consisted of several receding gradines, like the top of the black obelisk; and I have ventured to crown it with an altar, on which may have burnt the eternal fire.”*

“It is very probable,” (adds the learned explorer,) “that this ruin represents the tomb of Sardanapalus, which, according to the Greek geographers, stood at the entrance of the city of Nineveh.”†

Adjoining this tower were two small temples dedicated to Assyrian gods. They were evidently more than one story high, and their beams and ceilings were of cedar. They contained statues of the gods, and the fullest records of the reign of the King their founder, engraved on immense monoliths. Between them was a way leading to the platform from the north.

The original founder of the great north-west palace probably reigned about the end of the twelfth century before Christ; but it was rebuilt, and greatly ornamented, by a King, whose name Dr. Hincks gives as Assaracbal, and whom Col. Rawlinson calls Sardanapalus.

The central palace, built by a son of the preceding, named Divanubara, was afterwards rebuilt by Pul, or Tiglath-Pileser; but this edifice was almost totally destroyed by Esarhaddon, who used the materials for the erection of a new palace, which he built on the south-west corner of the platform. This sovereign, as is well known, was the son and successor of Sennacherib.

The palace at the south-east corner was built by the grandson of Esarhaddon; and its style and character strikingly indicate the declining condition of the empire. Its materials and mode of construction are greatly inferior to those of the other royal residences. It has no great hall, nor any sculptured slabs.

Mr. Layard commenced excavations both at Khalah-Shergat and Babylon, and obtained from each place interesting and important articles: but the difficulties which opposed continued operations at these places were so great, and Mr. Layard's means so limited, that these excavations were not prosecuted on

* “Nineveh and Babylon,” p. 653.

† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

an extensive scale, nor for more than a brief space of time. No buildings were discovered in a state to afford any valuable information.

It now becomes desirable to give some condensed account of the numerous inscriptions and sculptures which have been thus obtained. As might be expected, the sculptured slabs with their pictorial and literal inscriptions, and the sculptured figures, are justly regarded as of more practical importance than any other part of these celebrated ruins. They are very numerous. Those found at Khorsabad extended internally and externally to a length of 40,000 feet, at a height of 10 feet, making a surface of nearly an English acre full of inscriptions in that palace alone. In order to give any intelligible or useful sketch of the contents of these ancient records, it will be necessary to attempt something like classification. Not that it will be possible within our limits to notice all of them; but, by grouping them together in sections, we may be able to direct attention to the most important portion of the information with which they are charged.

We will first endeavour to give a brief notice of some of those which have the appearance of chronicles or historic records.

A royal cylinder, discovered in a temple near Nineveh, appears to give the names of two immediate successors of Divanukha, who is said to have been the founder of the present Nimroud: but these do not appear to have been certainly deciphered. A slab found at the same place gives some account of a King, whose name Rawlinson renders *Anak-bar-beth-hira*, and records his exploits. This king seems to have reigned in the eleventh century before Christ, when the empire appears to have comprised Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and probably Armenia. But we are compelled to regard the rendering of this inscription, also, as to some extent conjectural.

The undoubted historic records of the inscriptions begin with the King who was the last builder of the north-west palace at Nimroud, and who is by Rawlinson called Sardanapalus. The discovery and preservation of this important record of ancient history are very curious. Whilst conducting the excavations by the celebrated high pyramidal mount at Nimroud, an entrance to a small temple was discovered; and on the right of this entrance, and apparently outside the walls of the temple, was found one of the finest specimens of Assyrian sculpture brought to this country. "It represents the early Nimroud King in high relief, carved on a solid block of limestone, cut into the shape of an arched frame.—The Monarch wears his sacrificial robes, and carries his sacred mace in his left hand. Round his neck are hung the four sacred signs,—the crescent, the star, or sun, the trident, and the cross. His waist is encircled by the knotted cord, and in his girdle are three daggers." But the most curious circumstance of the whole is, that the entire slab, eight feet eight inches high, four feet six inches wide, and one foot three inches

thick, is covered, behind and before, except when the sculpture intervenes, with an inscription, in small and admirably-formed arrow-headed characters. In the interior of this small temple was found a recess, paved with one enormous slab, twenty-one feet long, sixteen feet seven inches wide, and one foot one inch thick. This monolith had been broken into several pieces, probably by the falling-in of the roof of the building, and had in many places been reduced to lime by the burning of the ceiling. The whole of its surface was covered with one inscription, three hundred and twenty-five lines in length, divided into two parallel horizontal columns, and carved with the greatest sharpness and care. When Mr. Layard raised the detached pieces of this broken slab, he was surprised to find that the back of it was covered with the same inscription as the front; and on comparison it was seen that both these were copies of that on the slab bearing the figure of the King mentioned above. By collating these three, a tolerably complete copy of the whole inscription has been obtained.

This record commences with an invocation to the great god Asshur, then to the twelve great gods; then comes the name of the King, with an extended account of his exploits. Our limits forbid the transcript of this interesting document. It details the King's wars and conquests, and describes his erection of the north-west palace; and then follows a farther account of his martial career, and of the great cruelty with which he treated his vanquished enemies. The following brief extract is given as a specimen:—

“On the 22nd of the month, I crossed the Tigris: on the banks of the Tigris I received much tribute. In the city of Tabit I halted. I occupied the banks of the river Karma. In the city of Megarice I halted. From the city of Megarice I departed. I occupied the banks of the Khabour. I halted at the city of Sadikanni: I received the tribute of Sadikanni,” &c.*

This kind of itinerary, interspersed with details of sanguinary wars, is continued to a great extent, and forms an authentic chronicle of this early reign.

In the course of Mr. Layard's excavations in the centre of these mounds, his workmen discovered a small black obelisk, which has been already mentioned. On this were found, when examined, the annals of the reign of Divanubara, the son and successor of the preceding Monarch, and who was the builder of the central palace. Besides sculptured representations of tribute, &c., the several sides of this obelisk contain cuneiform inscriptions, giving detailed accounts of more than thirty campaigns made by this Sovereign or his military commanders. We copy the record of the sixth year.

* “Nineveh and Babylon,” p. 354.

"In the sixth year, I went out from the city of Nineveh, and proceeded to the country situated on the river Belek. The Ruler of the country having resisted my authority, I displaced him, and appointed Tsimba to be Lord of the district; and I there established the Assyrian sway. I went out from the land on the river Belek, and came to the cities of Tel-atak and Habaremya. Then I crossed the Upper Euphrates, and received tribute from the Kings of the Sheta. Afterwards I went out from the land of the Sheta, and came to the city of Umen. In the city of Umen I raised altars to the great gods. From the city of Umen I went out to the city of Barbara. Then Hem-ithra, of the country of Atesh, and Arhulena, of Hamath, and the Kings of the Sheta, and the tribes which were in alliance with them, arose: setting their forces in battle array, they came against me. By the grace of Assarac, the great and powerful god, I fought with them, and defeated them; twenty thousand five hundred of their men I slew in battle, or carried into slavery. Their leaders, their Captains, and their men of war, I put in chains."*

This King probably reigned until about 860 B.C.

Of the next two Monarchs we have no monumental records. But with Sargina, who built Khorsabad, we have again the advantage of native records.

"The ruins of Khorsabad furnish us with the most ample annals of this reign. Unfortunately, an inscription, detailed and containing an account of his campaign against Samaria, in his first or second year, has been almost entirely destroyed. But, in one still preserved, twenty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty Israelites are described as having been carried into captivity by him from Samaria and the several districts or provincial towns dependent upon that city. Sargon, like his predecessors, was a great warrior."†

The standard inscription, recording the events of this reign, contains the name and titles of the King, the states and tribes subject to Assyria, an account of the building of Khorsabad after the manner of Egypt, and a prayer to the gods for its protection; after which it records a numerous series of campaigns and public events.

The son of this Monarch was the great Sennacherib: his name is identified as the builder of Kouyunjik; and inscribed annals of his reign have been discovered among the ruins of that place. We insert the part recording his campaigns against Hezekiah.

"In the autumn of the year, certain other cities, which had refused to submit to my authority, I took, and plundered. The nobles and the people of Ekron, having expelled their King, Haddiya, and the Assyrian troops who garrisoned the town, attached themselves to Hezekiah, of Judea, and paid their adorations to his God. The Kings of Egypt, also, sent horsemen and footmen, belonging to the army of the King

* "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xii., pp. 430-447.

† "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 618.

of *Mirukha*, (Meroë or Ethiopia,) of whom the numbers could not be counted. In the neighbourhood of the city of *Allakhis*, (Lachish,) I joined battle with them. The Captains of the cohorts, and the young men of the Kings of Egypt, and the Captains of the cohorts of the King of 'Meroë,' I put to the sword in the country of *Lubana* (Libnah). Afterwards I moved to the city of Ekron, and, the chiefs of the people having humbled themselves, I admitted them into my service; but the young men I carried into captivity, to inhabit the cities of Assyria. Their goods and wealth, also, I plundered to an untold amount. Their King, Haddiya, I then brought back from the city of Jerusalem, and again placed in authority over them, imposing on him the regulated tribute of the empire; and, because Hezekiah, King of Judah, did not submit to my yoke, forty-six of his strong fenced cities, and innumerable smaller towns which depended on them, I took and plundered; but I left to him Jerusalem, his capital city, and some of the inferior towns around it. The cities which I had taken and plundered I detained from the government of Hezekiah, and distributed between the Kings of *Ashdod*, and *Ascalon*, and *Ekron*, and *Gazah*; and, having thus invaded the territory of these Chiefs, I imposed on them a corresponding increase of tribute, over that to which they had formerly been subjected; and because Hezekiah still continued to refuse to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelled around Jerusalem, with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of Hezekiah's court, and of their daughters, with the officers of his palace, men-slaves and women-slaves. I returned to Nineveh; and I accounted this spoil for the tribute which he refused to pay me."*

Sennacherib could not be expected to publish, at Nineveh, the manner and extent of the terrible ruin inflicted on his army by the angel of God. Indeed, his account of these campaigns evinces the same kind of policy as that which dictated Napoleon's celebrated bulletins from Russia.

The records of Esarhaddon's reign are preserved on a large hexagonal cylinder found at Nimroud, near the supposed tomb of the Prophet Jonah, and now in the British Museum. He, also, was an eminently martial Sovereign, and styles himself, in the inscriptions, "King of Egypt and conqueror of Ethiopia."

The deeds of Esarhaddon's son are also elaborately exhibited in sculptures, which have been discovered and preserved; especially his conquest of Susiana, and the barbarous and horrid tortures which he inflicted on many of his captives.

Of the grandson of Esarhaddon, who built the south-east palace, we have no records. He was the last, or next to the last, of the Assyrian Kings.

Of the Median King who, with Nabopolassar of Babylon, overthrew the Assyrian empire, no information in the inscriptions has yet been discovered; but a tablet has been brought to

* "Outlines of Assyrian History," p. xxxv.

England, from Babylon, which bears the name of Nebuchadnezzar and that of his father; and thousands and tens of thousands of bricks have been dug from the ruins of that city, bearing the name of the Chaldean destroyer of Jerusalem. Square stones have also been found, bearing the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar. It is, indeed, a singular fact, that every inscribed stone or brick found at Babylon hitherto has borne this name; a circumstance highly confirmatory of the history which we possess of the Babylonian empire.

On the statue of Cyrus the Great, at Pasargadæ, there is an inscription in cuneiform characters, which has been translated thus: "I am Cyrus the King, the Achæmenian."

The most important record, however, which remains of the Persian Kings, is that on the sacred rock at Behistun, detailing the deeds of Darius Hystaspes. This monument deserves special attention. It stands on the western frontier of Media, on the great road leading from Babylonia to the east. The rock on which it is engraved rises abruptly from the plain to a height of one thousand seven hundred feet. It was always approached with reverence, and regarded as consecrated to the Supreme God. About three hundred feet above the level of the ground, the face of the rock, having been made a smooth plane surface, has been engraved with elaborate sculptures and inscriptions. This contains pictorial representations of Darius as the great King, with two attendants standing behind him, and before him ten men,—one prostrate under his right foot, the others standing in a line, one behind the other, fastened together by a rope which passes around their necks,—each having his hands bound behind his back. Above and just before the King, is seen the symbol of the Divine Triad,—nearly the same as that which is found in the early sculptures of Assyria. Above, around, and beneath the space occupied by these figures, are numerous cuneiform inscriptions. These contain a record of the lineage and exploits of the King Darius Hystaspes, especially of the insurrections which he had quelled, and the usurpers he had destroyed,—the latter being represented by the ten figures before the King. We give two or three paragraphs, numbered as they stand in the first column of the inscription.

"1. I am Darius the great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the dependent provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames the Achæmenian.

"6. Says Darius the King:—These are the countries which have fallen into my hands:—by the grace of Ormuzd I have become King of them:—Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those which are of the sea, Sparta and Ionia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, the Sacæ, the Satagydes, Arachosia, and the Mecians; the total amount being twenty-one countries.

"8. Says Darius the King:—Within these countries, whoever was of

the true faith, him have I cherished and protected; whoever was a heretic, him I have rooted out entirely."*

Of Xerxes several inscriptions remain: we give one from the ruined palace at Persopolis.

"The great god Ormuzd, (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life to mankind, who has made Xerxes King, both the King of the people and the lawgiver of the people. I am Xerxes the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many-peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian."†

After the reign of Xerxes, the cuneiform inscriptions appear generally to have ceased. Two or three notices only of Artaxerxes Ochus remain: but they are so analogous to those of Xerxes, that they do not merit citation.

Besides supplying us to a large extent with native records of Assyrian and Persian history, the sculptures furnish us, even to a greater measure, with pictorial representations of their wars. We have now vividly exhibited to the eye the whole series of operations which took place in the most important of these wars, which brought Asia under the power of Nineveh. We have, indeed, in the multitudinous works of art supplied by modern nations, no approach to the vast range of representation afforded by these sculptures. Our artists are satisfied with depicting some brilliant exploit or great battle; but in Assyria the whole extent of operations throughout a campaign was shown.

Beginning with the march of the army from the capital, showing the different bodies of troops, some on foot, others on horseback, or in chariots, with the king at their head, the sculptures proceed to describe its progress over hill or plain. The mode of crossing rivers on inflated skins, or by boats; the fight in the field, or the besieging of cities; the mode of battering walls, or scaling ramparts by ladders; all the appliances in use for aggression or defence; the rout and pursuit of the enemy; the numbering of the slain, and the leading away of the captives; together with the burning, or the destroying otherwise, of the captured city, and the collection of the spoil;—all are minutely represented; and so faithfully and uniformly are the different dresses, armour, weapons, and physiognomy of the several tribes and nations depicted, that it is easy to distinguish the same people in the sculptures of various campaigns and reigns.

In the remains, also, we have a full exhibition of the state and progress of the arts in Assyria: and, on this head, the testimony given by these discovered monuments may occasion surprise. In them we can trace nothing like progressive advancement in

* "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. x., pp. 195, 197, 199.

† *Ibid.*, p. 338.

the highest and most difficult branches of drawing and design. On this point the opinion of Mr. Layard is decisive:—

“It is impossible to examine the monuments of Assyria, without being convinced, that the people who raised them had acquired a skill in sculpture and painting, and a knowledge of design, and even of composition, indicating an advanced state of civilization. It is very remarkable, that the most ancient ruins show this knowledge in the greatest perfection attained by the Assyrians. The bas-relief representing the lion-hunt, now in the British Museum, is a good illustration of the earliest school of Assyrian art yet known. It far exceeds the sculptures of Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, or the later palaces of Nimroud, in the vigour of the treatment, the elegance of the forms, and in what the French aptly term ‘*mouvement*.’ At the same time, it is eminently distinguished from them by the evident attempt at composition, and by the artistical arrangement of the groups. The sculptors who worked at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, had perhaps acquired more skill in handling their tools. Their work is frequently superior to that of the earlier artists, in delicacy of execution,—in the details of the features, for instance,—and in the boldness of the relief; but the slightest acquaintance with Assyrian monuments will show, that they were greatly inferior to their ancestors in the higher branches of art, in the treatment of a subject, and in beauty and variety of form.”*

But, perhaps, after all, the Assyrian sculptures are placed in the most important and interesting aspect, when regarded as exhibiting to our view the religion of that ancient and mighty people. It will have been observed by all conversant with the inscriptions, that the King of Assyria invariably speaks of a pre-eminent god,—“the god Assarac, the great lord.” But this deity is clearly not the only one: indeed, he is worshipped as “King of all the great gods.” Col. Rawlinson has given us the names of these deities, with their characters and attributes. So far as ascertained, they are *Asshur*, the deified patriarch of the people, and clearly the Assarac of the sculptures; *Anu*, or Noah, the same as the Oannes of Berosus; *Bel*, or Belus, called on the obelisk “husband of Derceto;” *Derceto*, or Semiramis, the Mother of the Gods; *Saturn*, or *Moloch*, who sometimes stands at the head of the Pantheon; *Merodach*, supposed to represent the planet Mars; the *Sun*, one of whose names was *Shamas*, as in Hebrew and Arabic; the god *San*, whose name is found in Sennacherib, Sanballat, &c.; *Diana*, the daughter of Derceto; *Hadad*, or *Adar*, the god of fire, the son of Anu, or Noah; *Ashteroth*, or Venus; *Rhea*, or Cybele; *Nebo*, or Mercury; besides some others, as yet imperfectly identified. In addition to the names of these deities, we find peculiar, but very significant, references to paradisiacal traditions. Every author whose attention has been turned to the subject, has identified the compound sculptured figures, found everywhere guarding the portals in the public buildings of Assyria, with the

* “Nineveh and its Remains,” vol. ii., p. 281.

scriptural Cherubim. Indeed, that the former arose out of a direct reference to the latter, seems to be now an undoubted and fully recognised fact. Then, the sacred tree, which appears always to stand associated with worship, can scarcely have had any other prototype than the tree of life in Paradise. Mr. Fergusson has, indeed, laboured to show, that this was not a tree, but a combination which was identical with the object afterward so common in the idolatry of Western Asia, under the name of "grove." But it seems much more reasonable, even admitting the learned author's arguments, to maintain the origin which we have supposed. We confess we have little doubt but that this figure represented the sacred tree of Paradise, and that the imitation of it led to the idolatrous groves to which reference has been made. But, probably, the most striking and important element in this religious system was the Triadic figure, composed of a circle sustained by wings enclosing a human figure, and seen over the head of the King on the sculptures. Whatever be the particular import of this significant symbol, it is worthy of remark, that the human figure in the circle is always represented in precisely the same attitude as that of the King below ; and, on the Persian sculptures, the human figure is evidently a portrait of the King.

It must not be overlooked that the influence and providential interposition of God are constantly recognised in the inscriptions. Does the proudest Assyrian Monarch glory in the extent of his empire? In doing so, he invokes the supreme and inferior gods, and solicits their assistance and protection, just as the Persian Kings ascribed to Ormuzd the giving of all dominion and power. It is the same in passing events. The Assyrians ascribed their success to divine favour. "By the grace of Assarac, the great and powerful God, I fought them, and defeated them," says Divanubara, of Nineveh. "These are the countries which have fallen into my hands, by the grace of Ormuzd," observes Darius, of Persia.

And the zeal evinced in the support and perpetuation of the national faith, was proportionate to this recognition of divine supremacy. The great professed object of Assyrian war was the extension of a pure faith. Hence, after subduing a country, the Assyrian King declares, "I appointed Priests to reside in this land, to pay adoration to Assarac, the great and powerful god, and to preside over the national worship." And so Darius, of Persia : "Within these countries, whoever was of the true faith, him I have cherished and protected ; whoever was a heretic, him I have rooted out entirely." We have on the monuments, also, the most horrible illustrations of this policy. On one of the slabs found at Kouyunjik, some captives are represented as subjected to terrible tortures. One being pinioned to the ground, an Assyrian soldier has his hand in the sufferer's mouth, and is tearing out his tongue : another is being held by the beard by

one soldier, whose comrade is beating out the brains of the victim with an iron mace. But the point of this is found in an inscription above the group, which states "that, these men having spoken blasphemies against Assarac, the great god of the Assyrians, *their tongues had been pulled out.*" *

In endeavouring to place before the reader the extent to which these discoveries have contributed to our acquaintance with the history, manners, and religion of the ancient eastern nations, we do not by any means overlook the imperfect state of the science which has been thus created; nor the fact, that we have as yet only entered on very important investigations, which it will take many years to conduct to a full and satisfactory completion. Without venturing to speculate on the amount of knowledge which will be secured when all this is done, we confine ourselves to a calm and dispassionate review of what has been already effected.

We may instantly, and with confidence, assert, that these discoveries have revealed the site, magnitude, and splendour of the ancient Assyrian capital. It cannot be denied, that, previously to these explorations, the world had no certain knowledge even of the first of these. So early, indeed, as the time of Xenophon, whilst the ruins were yet visible, the learned Greek seemed to have no idea that they were the remains of Nineveh. He calls the city "Larissa," and says, "It was formerly inhabited by the Medes." Diodorus Siculus, the contemporary of Augustus, who certainly collected with great diligence, for his "Bibliotheca," the historical knowledge extant in his day, places Nineveh "near the Euphrates;" and Buckingham, one of the most intelligent of modern travellers, even whilst looking over these identical mounds, speaks very doubtfully on the subject. "We came," he says, "to the principal mounds *which are thought to mark the site of the ancient Nineveh.*" All this doubt is now removed; and the palaces of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon are before us,—not, it is true, in their beauty and glory; for the malediction of Heaven, as announced by inspired Prophets with so much point and power, has fallen upon "the bloody city." Yet before us lie their ruins; and, as if Jehovah had predestinated this heathen capital to bear, in the last days, unequivocal testimony to the verity of his word, every portion of them appears instinct with intelligence, and surcharged with information. The floors, the walls, the bricks, the stones,—the parts intended to be open to observation, and those intended to be for ever concealed,—are alike covered with records of their own origin, and of the national history. By these means, Nineveh is identified. The city which repented at the preaching of Jonah, is again restored to her place in the history of the world.

It is further worthy of observation, that the extent and

* Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 456.

splendour of this ancient capital seem to be nearly as fully ascertained as its existence. Here we confess our complete reliance on the induction of Layard, who includes within the city walls "the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles," and makes their situation just the same as the four corners of the city; thus assigning it a compass just equal to that given by Diodorus and other ancient authors. For,

"From the northern extremity of Kouyunjik to Nimroud is about eighteen miles; the distance from Nimroud to Karamles, about twelve; the opposite sides of the square, the same."*

We need not detain the reader to show that the splendour, size, and number of the buildings and sculptures found in these ruins, are demonstrative of their royal character, and illustrative of all that Nineveh might be expected to produce.

We have also obtained undoubted information respecting the civilization, power, and character of the ancient Assyrians. There is a remarkable difference between the sculptured representations of this country and those of Egypt. In the latter we have not only exhibitions of wars, sieges, battles, and royal processions; but also the manner of performing every useful art, the mode of conducting every manufacture, and a minute and comprehensive representation of the employments, recreations, and social life of the people. As yet, nothing of this kind has been found on the monuments of Assyria. Here the sculptures mainly refer to martial operations and royal deeds. Yet, notwithstanding this, enough is seen to indicate, beyond all doubt, the high state of civilization to which this people had arrived, or, to speak more correctly, which they had maintained. Of their taste and elegance Mr. Layard thus speaks:—

"The *guilloche*, or intertwining bands, continually found on Greek monuments, and still in common use, was also well known to the Assyrians, and was one of their most favourite ornaments. It was embroidered on their robes, embossed on their arms and chariots, and painted on their walls.

"This purity and elegance of taste was equally displayed in the garments, arms, furniture, and trappings of the Assyrians.

"The robes of the King were most elaborately embroidered. The part covering his breast was generally adorned, not only with flowers and scroll-work, but with groups of figures, animals, and even hunting and battle-scenes. In other parts of his dress similar designs were introduced; and rows of tassels or fringes were carried around the borders. The ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, and bracelets were all of the most elegant forms. The clasps and ends of the bracelets were frequently in the shape of the heads of rams and bulls, resembling our modern jewellery. The ear-rings have generally, on the later monuments, particularly on the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad, the form of a cross. In their arms the Assyrians rivalled even the Greeks in elegance of design."†

* "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii., p. 247.

† *Ibid.*, p. 298.

This taste and elegance extended to all their furniture, domestic arrangements, state-apartments, and, in fact, to their whole range of private and public economy.

It must not, however, escape observation, that, contemporaneously with all this exquisite taste in the arts, we have convincing proof of the mentally and morally debasing influence of idolatry. The barbarous cruelty emblazoned on their sculptures strikingly illustrates this fact. In several instances, we have horrid exhibitions of captives being flayed alive ;—in others, the bloody heads of the dead are shown suspended around the necks of the living ;—again, we see captives led by cords, attached to rings inserted in their lips ;—and, in some cases, the eyes of these wretches are bored out with the point of a spear. How fearfully does all this exhibit the only kind of civilization that can obtain when the true God is not known !

Besides these elements of information,—conscious as we are of the imperfection of our knowledge of these countries, and anxious to obtain further acquirements,—it may be safely affirmed, that we have a substantial basis of fact for an Assyrian history. We are no longer left to the romantic fables which have been handed down to us respecting Ninus, Semiramis, and Ninyas. The black obelisk alone tells us more of Assyrian history than the world possessed at the close of the eighteenth century. Colonel Rawlinson's "Outlines" are a noble contribution to ancient history, and clearly show the vast importance of these discoveries in this respect.

We have also, in the results of these explorations, very powerful corroborations of the truth of Holy Scripture. They have furnished these corroborations by exhibiting the names and actions of individuals specially mentioned in its sacred pages,—as Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus. These Kings are spoken of by the Prophets, and other inspired writers, in connexion with the most sublime miracles and prophecies. But the name and memorial of some of these having perished from the pages of profane history, sceptics have dared to sneer at the relations of Scripture concerning them. But how does the case now stand ? The records of these sovereigns are found in the city which the sacred writers said they occupied, and, as clearly as can be ascertained, at the times, in the order, and under the circumstances which were ascribed to them. It would be easy to strengthen this general evidence by the citation of several pertinent instances : we simply refer to one. And we ask with confidence, What can be more striking than the account, on the sculptures, of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah, regarded as a confirmation of Holy Writ ? Every fact stated in the Bible, as occurring in Judea, is repeated in the inscriptions : and the ruin of his army is virtually admitted by Sennacherib, in the fact of Hezekiah's continued possession of Jerusalem. The memorable terms, "I

left to him his capital city, and some inferior towns around it," showed neither the mercy nor the forbearance of the proud Assyrian, but distinctly proclaimed that his means of taking those places had been suddenly and miraculously destroyed.

In addition to this historical testimony, we direct attention to one rather singular instance of fulfilled prophecy. In the predictions of Balaam, it is said, "And he looked on the Kenites, and took up his parable and said, Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock. Nevertheless, the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur shall carry thee away captive." (Numb. xxiv. 21, 22.) This was delivered a short time before the Israelites crossed the Jordan; and, at the same time, the Prophet declared, "Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever." The Amalekites and Kenites dwelt, at this time, in immediate neighbourhood, and continued to do so, until Saul received a command from God to destroy the former tribe. When entering on this work, he sent a message to the Kenites, thus:—"Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you among the Amalekites." (1 Sam. xv. 6.) So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites, and the latter were destroyed, according to the prediction delivered about five hundred years before; while the Kenites still remained subject to the accomplishment of the prophecy respecting them. Here Holy Scripture leaves the case: but the Assyrian sculptures supply the desired information. In them, as Colonel Rawlinson assures us, the captivity of the Kenites by the Assyrian is duly related.*

These cases might be multiplied, but our limits forbid it. We estimate this corroboration of revealed truth as of the greatest value, not because we regard the Bible as deficient in demonstrative internal evidence,—we hold this to be complete,—but because, in past days, ancient history has been the favourite field for sceptics and infidels to vaunt their power, and to assail the truth. We may give a striking instance of the happy results of these and other cognate discoveries. Less than half a century ago, one of the most learned Deists of France, a man of great energy, genius, and intellectual power, earnestly sought for a theme, in the development of which he might, as he vainly hoped, destroy the authority of Scripture, and subvert the doctrines of the Gospel. Having made his election, he took his stand amid venerable mounds, ruined architecture, and the *débris* of departed cities. He invoked the genius of the past to teach lessons of wisdom to mankind. The laboured effort of Volney in his "Ruins of Empires" failed; and we venture to predict, that no similar attempt will ever be made for the like purpose. On the contrary, with our present means of information, if a zealous and enlightened Christian, of competent abilities and learning,

* "Outlines of Assyrian History," p. xxxiii., *note*.

were to devote himself to the illustration and defence of revealed truth, we doubt whether he could find a more efficient basis for those purposes, than that which is now presented in the ruins and remains of ancient empires. Certainly, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and Egypt, would supply most ample contributions.

We have occupied so much space with the subject brought before us by the valuable works mentioned at the head of this article, that nothing can be said concerning them beyond a very brief indication of their general character.

The work of Mr. Vaux is, as it purports to be, an historical sketch of ancient Assyria and Persia; and although put forth in an unpretending form, it is a work of importance, and adapted to be useful.

Mr. Bonomi's production is, on the whole, a fair and intelligible exposition of the discoveries of Botta and Layard, with some attempts to carry out these to their results.

Mr. Fergusson has dealt with the whole subject, principally in relation to its bearing on the architecture of these ancient edifices, and has given considerable information on this branch of the discoveries.

Layard's productions afford the great mass of information which has been obtained on the whole subject; and we say the least that is due to his manner and style, when we add, that, bulky as are his volumes, they are eminently readable. We confess that the facility with which he unites interesting narratives and travels with the details of his researches, seemed in our view to amount almost to a fault, as diverting our attention from the main object. But this peculiarity of style, by its effect on general readers, will probably be the means of diffusing still more widely the information which these valuable works contain.

Rawlinson's papers are written on a different model. He grapples with the difficulties of reading and translating the cuneiform character and language, in all their vast range, with steady and devoted firmness. Here no amusement needs to be sought. If the gallant Colonel had been charged with the reduction of the strongest fortress in Asia, he could not have set about his work in a more soldierly style than that which he has evinced in his philological researches. The same remarks apply to the ingenious and sagacious efforts of Dr. Hincks.

We commend the whole subject to serious attention, as one of the most wonderful developments of this progressive age; and we scarcely hesitate to hazard an opinion, that these discoveries, wonderful as they are, form but the commencement of a new era in the investigation and knowledge of the history and religion of the ancient world.

- ART. II.—1. *The Natural History of Man, comprising Inquiries into the modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different Tribes of the Human Family.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., &c. Second Edition, enlarged. London: Hippolyte Baillière. 1848.
2. *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man.* By ROBERT GORDON LATHAM, M.D., F.R.S. London: Van Voorst. 1850.

MAN, in every age and in every country, has sought to know something of the primeval history of his race, and by so doing has indicated the existence of a deep-rooted instinct, which would connect the present with the past. There are few tribes, however savage, that have not a traditional history, in which is embraced the primal birth of man. But the sages of Greece, equally with the untutored Polynesians, being ignorant of the right mode of searching out the truth, have blended the subject with the dreams of their mythic theology; and even the Jewish race, though guided by a divinely-inspired record, have contrived to fall considerably short of a just comprehension of their own Scriptures. The blind and uninquiring faith of the Hebrew led him to regard the dispersion following the erection of Babel, as affording an ample explanation of the phenomena now exhibited by the scattered races of man. In this belief the example of the Jew was, for ages, followed by the Christian Church. But the application of the principles of Bacon to the study of man soon made it manifest, that, as a scientific or philosophical problem, it was not so easy of solution, but involved the profound study of a long chain of causes, which began to operate during the Adamite age, and which are still affecting the condition of the human family.

Within a comparatively recent period, this study has been elevated to the rank of a science, named Ethnology. The great question which it seeks to solve is the unity or otherwise of the human race. Are the blue-eyed maiden of England, the swarthy Italian, the tawny Chinese, the thick-lipped Negro, the coppery Indian, and the ventose Australian, of one species, and sprung from one common stock? or are they distinct, having descended from independently-created pairs of human beings, who exhibited originally all the peculiar features which we now find in these widely dissimilar people?

Different men will obviously regard this question from two distinct points of view. The Bible shadows forth, in a brief but significant manner, the early history of our race. But since a few short chapters of Genesis contain alike the history of the pre-Adamite earth, and that of the human family for a period of two thousand years subsequent to the Adamic creation, it is evident that none but the most important events would be

recorded; their importance being measured, not by a merely human standard, but by the significance of their relation to God's future dealings with man. The majority of the events thus recorded are not only dogmatically affirmed, but the recognition of their historic truth involves the existence of principles which permeate every portion of the sacred volume. One of the events thus recorded is the creation of our first parents in Paradise, as the prototypes from whom have sprung all the nations of the earth. The inquiring Christian naturally turns to the results of ethnological studies with warm interest, to ascertain how far they confirm the historic outline handed down to him from the Mosaic age.

But there is a second position from which we are called upon to view this subject,—that of inquirers after scientific truth, applying the inductive method of investigation to the history of humanity, as one of the many branches of general science. If such an inquiry is to be properly conducted, all preconceived hypotheses, whencesoever derived, must be held in abeyance. We must not descend from dogmatic generalizations to detailed facts, but, in strict accordance with the principles of Bacon, deduce our generalizations from our facts. Let not timid minds shrink from such a scrutiny, fearing the result. The Christian philosopher will enter upon the investigation with a confidence proportioned to his faith in the authenticity of the revealed word. The mazy labyrinth of scientific research will not deter him, because he feels assured that, however an incomplete inquiry may for a time threaten to shake his confidence, ultimately every cloud will be dispelled, and every dubious fact explained. The legitimacy of this philosophic faith in the integrity of Scripture is confirmed by all the scrutinies to which the Bible has hitherto been subjected. Doubts have been suggested again and again, but only to be removed by the extension of the boundaries of knowledge. Within a recent period the chronologies of China and Hindostan, and the planispheres of Egypt, were triumphantly appealed to by infidel writers in proof of the indefinite antiquity of the human race. The allegations excited a free inquiry; and what has been the result? The thousands of years indicated by the zodiacs of Dendera and Esneh have dwindled, under a rigid philosophic scrutiny, until the oldest of these works has been shown to be but a monument of the Augustan age. The tables of Tirvalour are not more ancient than the beginning of the fifteenth century; and the celebrated astronomical treatise, the "*Surya Siddanta*," regarded by the Brahmins as their most ancient astronomical work, is probably not more than 770 years old.*

* We do not forget that Lepsius still claims for the Egyptian dynasty of Manetho an antiquity that would make its founder co-eval with Adam's later years. But, until further corroborative evidence of the correctness of his decision is obtained, we may learn wisdom from the past, and pause ere we receive his important conclusion.

Equally satisfactory, doubtless, will be the results of a free investigation of ethnological subjects.

But it will be urged, as has been already done by a distinguished writer, "that the Scriptures are no more intended to teach men Ethnology, than to instruct them in Geology or Astronomy."* This is perfectly true; and, were the scriptural account of man's origin a mere vague incidental allusion, the *apparent* meaning of which was contradicted by an impregnable array of scientific evidences, such a reply might be valid. But the record of the history of our first parents does not present this incidental character; it stands in the closest connexion with a vital doctrine, which permeates the entire sacred volume. If *this* history fall, it carries along with it all that is distinctive in the Christian dispensation, since the facts which it relates constitute the foundation upon which the entire superstructure rests. This association with the essentials of Christianity removes the record from the category of a mere allusion indicating only the imperfect science of an early age, and stamps it with an importance that cannot be over-rated. As the brilliant discoveries of Layard and Rawlinson are now verifying even minute details in the historic books of the Bible, so, doubtless, will ethnological investigations ultimately confirm those earliest pages of the Mosaic history which describe the origin of the human family. But, be this as it may, the investigations will be carried on by competent men, uncontrolled by any hypothetical bias, and in the severe manner which will alone satisfy the rigid requirements of modern science. Knowing this, it is an important and gratifying fact, that though philosophic ethnologists dare not yet enunciate the common origin of mankind from a single pair as a *demonstrated* truth, yet, as far as the inquiry has proceeded, all its indications lead in one direction. From philosophical data alone, men are pressing towards a conclusion which affords the strongest support to the concise narrative of Holy Writ.

As already intimated, the scientific problem to be solved is this: Do all the myriads of men now inhabiting the earth belong to *one* species,—their obvious differences merely resulting from the long-continued operation of external and internal influences?—or are there many distinct species of men, who have sprung from a corresponding number of pairs of protoplasms, created independently of each other? In seeking a response to this question, Dr. Prichard and his co-inquirers have not limited their investigations to the human species, but have given a wider interest to the study, by exhibiting its relations with an extended range of phenomena presented in common by man, the inferior animals, and the vegetable kingdom. In this part of the subject, the value of Dr. Prichard's labours cannot well be exaggerated,

* Dr. Carpenter.

since he has brought together a mass of evidence of the most conclusive kind, showing the extent to which both physical and psychological changes may be carried by the long-continued action of external causes. As many of the facts are very curious, a few may be cited in illustration of the kind of evidence that has been brought to bear upon the subject, especially selected from the domesticated quadrupeds.

We have few opportunities of comparing these animals with the parent stock from which they sprang. The original of the common milch cow is probably lost. It is a disputed question, whether the breeds of tamed sheep are descended from the Argali of Siberia, from the Mouflon of Barbary, or from some other stock not yet identified. But though, in such cases as these, we have not the means of making the comparisons adverted to, we can subject many of them to a definite and somewhat similar test. Horses, dogs, cows, swine, sheep, goats, geese, and barn-door fowl, have been carried by man into new climes, where they were surrounded by new influences. In many such cases, they have escaped from human control, and, running wild amidst woods and plains, have relapsed into states not very unlike those from which man's care and culture originally raised them. Some of these changes have merely affected the hue and composition of their tegumentary organs. Others have gone further, and led to transformations of their internal structure; whilst a third class have even altered their psychological natures, and given them new faculties and instincts. It is thus that the well-known variations in the colours and forms of dogs have been produced; the prevailing impression amongst anatomists being in favour of the unity of the species. But their peculiarities of form are less striking than the varieties of instinct with which they are now endowed:—the foxhound, the bloodhound, and the harrier, chasing their prey, guided by the sense of smell; the greyhound merely using its eyes; the springer and the retriever recovering the game; the pointer, the lurcher, the terrier, and the bulldog, all exhibiting peculiar psychological faculties, which they did not primarily possess, but which, having been once acquired, they have transmitted to their offspring as hereditary attributes. That these instincts have severally resulted from altered external circumstances, is rendered probable by the occurrence of similar phenomena, within a recent period. A French writer, M. Roulin, tells us,* that when the dogs employed in hunting the herds of Peccari, on the banks of the Magdalena, are first imported, they rush impetuously into the midst of the herd, and are often destroyed. But the cubs of those which have long been engaged in this pursuit, and have learned greater caution, instinctively exhibit the same prudence as their parents, and merely keep the herd in check. A newly acquired power of a somewhat similar

* *Mémoires de l'Institut.*

character has become hereditary amongst the deerhounds of Santa Fé, in Mexico. These and similar facts demonstrate the possibility of animals acquiring new instincts, and transmitting them to their offspring. It appears that the noisy faculty of barking is merely acquired; for wild dogs never bark. If it might be allowed, it were much to be wished that some of the yelping curs that infest our neighbourhoods could revert to their primary state. It is curious, too, that Grimalkin's hideous midnight caterwaulings are but a second nature, since the wild cats of America are no such disturbers of the rest of drowsy mortals. Here, again, civilization is not synonymous with improvement.

The herds of wild swine, ranging the American forests, and descended from stocks introduced by the early colonists, exhibit similar phenomena. Their legs have become longer, their ears erect, their foreheads vaulted; and, in most cases, their colour is entirely black. The tendency to variation of hue, developed by domestication, ceases to manifest itself, when the influences of human culture are withdrawn. On the cold mountains of Paramos, the short scant bristles of our Irish porkers have been replaced by a thick fur, beneath which is often a species of wool. The hoofs of some varieties of swine are solid; in others they are not only divided, but occasionally even five-cleft. Yet, no doubt exists that all the known varieties are descended from one native stock, now represented by the wild boar, which has long since reverted to its primary condition.

The other animals referred to present similar phenomena. The physical varieties in the size, shape, colour, &c., of the domestic cow, which are almost as marked as those of the dog, have all been acquired during the lapse of years. But we further learn that the power of furnishing a constant supply of milk through long-continued periods is one that the animals do not possess in their wild state. In the latter case, the supply is dependent on the presence of the calf; and when the young animal is removed, that supply ceases. It is fearful to think what might have been the character of London milk, had not man effected this improvement in the habits of the "lowing herd."

We have still more obvious examples of the influence of external causes on the breeds of sheep. Dr. Prichard remarks that—

"In Europe, the breeds of sheep vary much in stature, in the texture of their wool, the number and shape of their horns, which are in some large, in some small, in others wanting to the female, or altogether absent from the breed. The most important varieties in Europe are the Spanish breeds, some with fine, others with crisp, wool, in which the rams have long spiral horns; the English breeds, which differ greatly in size and in the quality of the wool; and, in the southern parts of Russia, the long-tailed breed. The breeds of sheep in India and in Africa are remarkable for the length of their legs, a very convex forehead, and pendent ears; these also have long tails. Their covering

is not wool, but a long smooth hair. In the northern parts of Europe and Asia, the sheep have short tails. The breeds spread through Persia, Tartary, and China, have the tails transformed into a double spherical mass of fat. The sheep of Syria and Barbary, on the other hand, have long tails, but likewise loaded with a mass of fat."*

Wide as are these divergences, most naturalists are agreed that the animals belong to one species: the existence of this tendency towards modification has also been demonstrated by the changes produced in our own time by the farmers of Leicestershire and Sussex.

The examples quoted show that the most obvious effects produced by domestication, have been those connected with the colour and composition of the skin and its appendages, such as hair, horns, hoofs, and feathers. We have seen that, in the case of the wild swine, there exists an obvious tendency towards uniformity of hue. The same remark applies to the horse, the ox, and probably to the dog; showing that the variations in our domestic breeds are not natural to them. This is a curious circumstance; since, when we come to consider the chief varieties of the human race, we shall find that these are precisely the portions of man's organization that present the greatest diversities. And after all, painful as is the fact to the Bond-street exquisite, or the gay frequenters of Almack's, there is the closest possible resemblance between all that is typical and essential in man, and the lower animals. Organized after the same pattern, and acted upon by the same influences, very similar results have followed their common distribution over the earth.

It is a remarkable fact, that the capacity for variation is most strongly indicated in the animals that accompany man in his widely-extended migrations; supplying his wants, multiplying his comforts, and aiding him in overcoming the wild beasts of the field. Has this resulted from the pre-ordination of a wise and considerate Creator, who has adapted these creatures, above all others, to subserve human purposes? or has it merely resulted from the circumstance that man, by his wanderings from the tropics to the poles, has subjected them much more extensively to the test of experiment, than he has done those creatures of whose services he had less need? The answer to this query is not easy, but we are disposed to believe that the goodness of God to man has here found a specially manifested expression. What would man have done without his faithful companion the dog? From the Esquimaux of the North, to the Kangaroo hunters of Australia, he is everywhere dependent upon its aid. The only animal that has accompanied him in *all* his wanderings, it is scarcely too much to say with Baron Cuvier, that his varied attributes "were perhaps necessary for the establishment of the dominion of mankind over the animal creation." Of what vital importance was

* "Natural History of Man," pp. 42, 43.

it that the faithful creature should possess the power of adapting himself to every clime, and of acquiring his diversified instincts! Surely the hand of God was here in a more than ordinary manner.

The conclusions which Dr. Prichard has drawn from his extensive researches on this subject, are the following :—

“1. That tribes of animals which have been domesticated by man, and carried into regions where the climates are different from those of their native abode, undergo, partly from the agency of climate, and partly from the change of external circumstances connected with the state of domesticity, great variations.

“2. That these variations extend to considerable modifications in external properties, colour, the nature of the integument, and of its covering, whether hair or wool; the structure of the limbs, and the proportional size of parts; that they likewise involve certain physiological changes or variations as to the laws of the animal economy; and, lastly, certain psychological alterations or changes in the instincts, habits, and powers of perception and intellect.

“3. That these last changes are in some cases brought about by training, and that the progeny acquires an aptitude to certain habits which the parents have been taught; that psychical characters, such as new instincts, are developed in breeds by cultivation.

“4. That these varieties are sometimes fixed in the breed so long as it remains unmixed.

“5. That all such variations are possible only to a limited extent, and always with the preservation of a particular type, which is that of the species. Each species has a definite or definable character, comprising certain undeviating phenomena of external structure, and likewise constant and unchangeable characteristics in the laws of its animal economy, and in its psychological nature. It is only within these limits that deviations are produced by external circumstances.” *

These generalizations bring us to the consideration of two other important questions, viz., What constitutes a species? and what practical test will avail to distinguish between *species* and mere *varieties*?

Many attempts have been made to define the term *species*. Cuvier and D candolle have been followed by several others in the adoption of definitions, embodying the idea of community of descent from a single being or pair of beings. According to this idea, all the descendants from any pair of protoplasms are specifically the same, however wide or persistent the variations which time and external circumstances have produced. Definitions resting upon this basis are probably correct, but they afford us no help in settling moot cases,—in deciding upon the specific unity or diversity of any series of objects that may be before us. We want to know, for instance, whether the wolf and the dog are descended from common parents. So far from helping us to obtain the information required, definitions of the kind referred

* “Natural History of Man,” pp. 74, 75.

to pre-suppose us to know the very thing that we wish to learn. Consequently, we must seek in some other direction a mode of rendering an hypothetical *dictum* capable of a practical application.

Natural objects may be arbitrarily divided into two very different classes. In one of these, the most minute peculiarities of organization are transmitted from parent to offspring, with no appreciable variation. Whatever number of individuals of one such species may be brought together, they are all exactly alike; and we may sometimes (*e. g.*, in the case of the mummies of the Egyptian Ibis) have the means of proving, that what they are now, they were hundreds and thousands of years ago. In such a case, the relationship of the individuals would be readily recognised from their common resemblances; an unvarying permanency of form and colour being a characteristic of the species.

But there are other cases, in which the absence of such uniformity is an essential characteristic; in which a potentiality for a wide range of variation is one of the specific features of the organism. Cases of this class occasion great perplexity to the naturalist, since the extreme forms differ far more widely from each other than they do from some independent species with which they have no real relationship. The same brood of kittens will often contain individuals that are black, white, and grey. Here difference of colour obviously does not indicate difference of species. Hence, the rule that would guide us aright in the previous case is not applicable here. We thus learn, that, whilst in some species a capacity for a wide range of variable-ness is a specific characteristic, in others the opposite feature of a permanent uniformity equally constitutes a specific distinction. In deciding upon the claims of individual objects to the rank of independent species, the considerations above mentioned must be borne in mind. A large number of differing objects are arranged in a linear series, the two extremities being occupied by those which present the greatest differences. If we find that these extreme types are united by intermediate forms, in which the transition is shown to be gradual,—the gradations being scarcely perceptible,—we may conclude that the entire series belongs to one species. The indications of difference are not sufficiently decided to constitute specific features: consequently, we may infer that the whole group is the progeny of a primary pair of protoplasms, which have acquired differences of size, form, and hue, under the influence of external circumstances, altogether resulting from a potentiality impressed upon the protoplasms at the time of their creation.

But, on the other hand, if each one of our series of objects present well-marked, though small, differences from those on either side of it; and if the distinctive features can be traced in a large number of similar examples, without the occurrence of any blending transitional forms; we may, with great probability,

conclude, that we have before us the representatives of several closely allied, but perfectly distinct, species, descended from a corresponding number of protoplasms which have resulted from as many distinct creative acts.

This process of inquiry enables us to avail ourselves of the definitions employed by Cuvier and D candolle, and to apply them to the solution of the claims of the different varieties of the human race to rank as independent species. But there is yet one more difficulty to be removed, before the demonstration of man's unity can be made complete, arising from the existence of *hybrids*, such as the mule, the offspring of parents which were specifically distinct from each other. Take the mule, as a well-known illustration. It is obviously neither a horse nor an ass; yet it partakes of characters in common with both. Is the mule a distinct species, that has thus been produced independently of any primary creative act on the part of the Creator? The answer to this involves the entire question, whether the varieties produced by external influences are, or are not, to be regarded as permanent species. The response is furnished by nature herself. She has not only made no provision for the perpetuation of these hybrids, but she has even thrown every conceivable hinderance in its way. The vast majority of such objects amongst animals are absolutely sterile; and, even in the few cases where the reverse has obtained, it has only done so through two, or at most three, generations, beyond which there appears to be no well-authenticated example of a fertile hybrid. In the vegetable world, things are somewhat different; but even there nature seems to have placed a ban upon such mongrel productions. It is with the utmost trouble that the horticulturist can retain his best varieties of fruit and vegetables, beyond a limited number of years. A good Ribston pippin is now difficult to find. This variety of the apple has run to seed, and its place has been taken by others of more modern growth; showing clearly that that which is spurious and artificial must pass away, in obedience to primeval and immutable laws. It is impossible that objects thus unfitted for maintaining their own permanent existence can be regarded as *species*. It is true, that there are natural influences which successively cause existing forms to become extinct; and geology tells us, that such influences have been in operation through all past time. But, to obtain evidence of their operation, we require a review of the vast cycles of ages, with which geology alone has made us familiar. To bring these magnificent periods into the same category with the ephemeral existences of the hybrids in question, is to compare the orbit of Neptune with the circle of a wedding-ring, or the thunders of heaven with the crack of a popgun.

Having thus prepared the way, let us now see what are the

leading phenomena presented by the human race, which require to be explained. We cannot introduce this part of our subject better than by again quoting Dr. Prichard.

“Numerous are the divisions which different writers have adopted, in distributing and classifying the varieties of the human family. Amongst those who consider mankind as made up of different races, no two writers are agreed as to the number of separate tribes. As there is no fixed principle of division, it seems to be, in a great measure, arbitrary, and left to the choice of individual writers, whether they shall enumerate more or fewer of such groups; and it happens that every new ethnologist subdivides the nations which his predecessor had connected, and brings together some which he had separated.”*

The fact is, that the great writers occupying the front ranks in the ethnological army, have adopted different methods of investigation, and arrived at somewhat varied results. But, though this is the case, we must not suppose that the entire study is a delusion. The differences are of such a kind as tend to confirm the general tenor of their conclusions. They chiefly relate, as the above quotation points out, to the number of the varieties which the human race presents, the boundaries of the geographical areas over which they are spread, and the best names to be assigned to them. The last of these points is of small moment; the second is merely a question of detail; and the first is of less real than apparent importance. Discrepancies of opinion, as to the best number of primary subdivisions, arise from the fact, that no natural boundary-lines separate the groups. This is a fact requiring constant reiteration, since both the phraseology and the systems of the men with whose names the public mind has hitherto been the most familiar, have tended to keep alive the contrary notion. The extreme examples of opposite contours, whatever be the organ selected for comparison, are often very distinct from each other, and may be received as types with which to compare other forms; but there are so many intermediate conditions uniting these extremes, that it is impossible to separate them by any natural line of demarcation. Then, again, the number of the types will vary according to the organ to which prominence is given. One ethnologist will trust mainly to the skull, or even to some particular aspect of it; a second will select the colour of the skin; whilst a third may be disposed to ignore all these, and found his classification upon the structural varieties of language. Diverse conclusions are the necessary results of these circumstances; but they only tend to demonstrate what we believe to be both philosophically and scripturally true, namely, that God “hath made of one blood all nations of men.”

One of the earlier investigators, Camper, classified men according to their “facial angle.” He drew a line from the external aperture of the ear to the lower border of the nostril, and

* “Natural History of Man,” p. 132.

intersected this horizontal line by a vertical one touching the anterior border of the upper jaw, and the most prominent part of the forehead. The angle contained within these two lines, he termed the "facial" one. When this angle was small, man approximated to the condition of the brute; when it was large, he exhibited the highest form of humanity. The fallacy of this test may be shown by two facts. In most men, the point where the vertical line would touch the forehead, would be at the eye-brow. This organ is much more prominent in the man than in the child, wholly irrespective of any development of the brain; since, as the child approaches adolescence, a large cavity is found in the bone over each eye, by the gradual separation of the outer from the inner bony plates of the cranium. These "frontal sinuses" may be very large, whilst the brain may be relatively small. Consequently, their prominence, though it increases the facial angle, does not necessarily imply ascent in the scale of civilization. On the other hand, Professor Owen has shown, that whilst the brain of the chimpanzee attains its full development at an early age, the bones of its face continue to grow, and to be pushed forwards, for a long time subsequently; so that, as the parent increases in years, and should do the same in wisdom, the facial angle steadily diminishes, and causes the matured creature, if measured by this test, to occupy a much lower position than its immature offspring. This method of distributing men into groups, modified as it was by Cuvier, though not without collateral uses, was soon found to be too imperfect for the primary purposes of classification.

A much more philosophical system was propounded by the celebrated Blumenbach; a system which not only became exceedingly popular, but has left its impress upon those that have more recently taken its place. Whilst he regarded mankind as consisting of but one species, he recognised five great subdivisions or varieties,—namely, the Caucasian, the Mongolian, the Ethiopian, the Malay, and the American; meaning by the latter term, not the Anglo-Saxon population of the United States, but the native races that once peopled the entire continent and its adjacent islands. Of these, he regarded the Caucasian, or great European family, as the primary stock; and the other, as its immediate off-sets.

Cuvier reduced Blumenbach's sub-divisions to three,—the Caucasian, the Mongol, and the Negro. Respecting the Malay he was doubtful, and the American he referred to the Mongol race.

Dr. Prichard, one of the most learned of modern ethnologists, in what Humboldt designates his "admirable work," gives it as his opinion, that men can be more conveniently divided into *seven* primary groups:—1st. Those allied to the European race, but including many Asiatics and some Africans; 2nd. Those allied to the Calmucs, Mongols, and Chinese; 3rd. The native

Americans, excluding the Esquimaux ; 4th. The Hottentot and Bushman race ; 5th. The Negro ; 6th. The Papuan or woolly-headed nations of Polynesia ; and, 7th. The Alfours and Australian races. The first and second of these correspond closely with Blumenbach's Caucasian and Mongolian varieties ; but for these terms Prichard substitutes Iranian and Turanian. The former of these Humboldt prefers to Caucasian ; remarking, at the same time, "that geographical denominations are very vague, when used to express the points of departure of races."* It appears that Blumenbach's term, "Caucasian," originated in an accidental circumstance. His finest example of what he regarded as the European type of skull, happened to be that of a Georgian female. "Never," says Dr. Latham, "has a single head done more harm to science than was done in the way of mischief by the head of this well-shaped female from Georgia."† The result has been the prevalence of the idea, that the mountain-ranges of the Caucasus were the centres of the race designated by their name. But, so far from such being the case, the Georgian and Circassian nations have no affinity with the Caucasians of Blumenbach, but are Mongols, who have migrated from the interior of Asia to the borders of Europe, and acquired physical peculiarities different from those of the stock from which they sprang. On the other hand, there are many circumstances connecting the early history of the European race with the ancient Iran, now embraced in the Persian empire. It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers, how limited a value Dr. Prichard assigned to all these *large* groups.

Dr. Latham, the latest and most distinguished of living English ethnologists, only admits *three* great primary divisions:—1st. The Iapetidæ, corresponding, in the main, with the Iranians of Dr. Prichard ; 2nd. The Mongolidæ, identical with Cuvier's similarly-designated group, embracing the Malay, the American, and the Australian ; 3rd. The Atlantidæ or African race, including the Semitic nations spreading through Arabia and Palestine to the borders of Kurdistan.‡

Such are a few of the principal classifications adopted by ethnologists ; but, though these, and any others hereafter adopted, may be of some slight use in affording centres around which to group known facts, we suspect that, on the whole, they have been productive of more evil than good, simply because they have led to the entertainment of false views respecting the true relationships of nations. We are convinced that a more philosophic mode of handling the question is that adopted by Dr. Prichard in his "Natural History of Man ;" namely, breaking up the human family into numerous small groups ; this plan being employed in connexion with the examination of particular parts and

* "Cosmos."

† "Varieties of Man," p. 108.

‡ Dr. Latham's term, "Iapetidæ," had previously been employed by Fischer and Bary St. Vincent.

functions of the organization, without any primary reference to systems of classification. Thus, for instance, we may take the colour of the skin as one of the subjects of study; but we cannot make this test conform to our artificial groupings: so many exceptional and anomalous varieties are constantly intruding themselves upon us, from quarters that do not square with our favourite subdivisions, that we are obliged to abandon it as a leading guide. But if, after a little squeezing of some facts, and ignoring of others, we succeed, as Lessow thought he had done, in thus throwing mankind into tabulated groups, and then turn our attention to another organ, as the skull, and again obtain a second series of tabular results, we shall find that the two sets of conclusions will not agree. Neither the number nor the distribution of the families, obtained from these two sources, will correspond; simply because they bear no necessary relation to each other. On the one hand, we shall obtain affinities where there should be diversities,—ethnology in such cases, like poverty, giving men strange bedfellows,—whilst other races, which ought to be united, are widely separated. Thus we find some of the types of organization which chiefly prevail in Central Asia, recurring among the swarthy nations of Southern Africa. This circumstance has led some writers to regard the latter as having once been connected with the Semitic races of the North, if not with the Mongols of Asia; a supposition strengthened, in their opinion, by the extensive prevalence of the rite of circumcision amongst the Kaffir tribes. But this really indicates no relationship of descent, since the Hottentots, who present more of the Mongol element than the Kaffirs, do *not* practise this Judaic custom; whilst the Ghá, of Cape-Coast, who are, in all respects, genuine Negroes, and as remote from Mongols as from Europeans, adopt the same custom in a still more marked degree. In fact, the insuperable difficulties which attend this plan of subdivision into large groups, and which have led both Dr. Prichard and Humboldt to express a decided disapproval of the method, only tend to confirm the scriptural theory of man's unity, by showing man's utter inability to establish any well-defined groups, which can be regarded as representing separate species.

We will, therefore, adopt what, as we have already remarked, we believe to be a better mode of dealing with the subject, and review some of the phenomena presented by individual parts of the human organism; ascertaining how far we can discover well-defined boundary lines, or whether we are not rather every where met by those gliding transitions from one extreme type to another, which we have already maintained to be incompatible with the idea of independent species.

The skull has ever been regarded as the most important of the organs of the body, viewed in relation to ethnology. This was to be expected. Independent of the passing reflection of human passions in the countenance, the general expression of

the latter is materially affected by the more permanent contour of the cranium, which contains the brain, the instrument of thought and volition. Without admitting the details of the phrenological delusion, we believe in some of its broad truths, and, as a general rule, connect with the healthy expansion of the cerebral organ a corresponding power in the functions which it performs. At the same time, it appears probable that, as in the other organs of the body, those functions will obtain additional vigour by exercise; whilst the organ which is their instrument will undergo a corresponding increase in its size. Few persons doubt that the passions and the intellect, respectively, bring into action different portions of the brain. Hence, on philosophical grounds, we should expect to see the subjective attributes of the man portrayed in his physiognomy. What daily experience declares to be true in its application to individuals, is almost equally so in reference to races and nations. There is a national, as well as an individual, intellect, the prevailing tendencies of which are manifested in the national head and facial expression. If these propositions are correct, what may we expect to have resulted from the degrading influences to which many nations have been exposed, century after century, without the intervention of any of the benign agencies which check the downward tendencies of humanity? How fearful to realize the past condition of the cannibals of Feejee, or the Alfours of Australia! Thousands of years have rolled over their heads without one glimmering ray penetrating the thick darkness of their moral atmosphere. Borne down by vice in its most diabolical forms, one generation has succeeded another, leaving no record of the past, save what is now written on the sensual countenance, as clearly as it is seen in the habitual life of shameless crime. But what a fearful history is engraven there! How little can we now recognise the offspring of that noble pair, in whose

“Looks divine

The image of their glorious Maker shone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude, serene and pure!”

The features have gradually degenerated, until they have approximated towards those of the orang and of the chimpanzee,—creatures which, unlike fallen man, are still true to their primeval instincts. Surely the veriest of infidels must acknowledge that Satan has done his worst amongst these unhappy outcasts of creation.

Though all ethnologists are agreed in regarding the skull as affording the most trustworthy distinction between differing races, they have varied in their methods of employing it. The profile, the front or facial, the vertical, and the basal aspects of it have been, in turn, dwelt upon by Camper, Prichard, Blumenbach, and Owen; whilst the length of the internal or cranial cavity, in proportion to its breadth, has been considered by

Retzius to be a point of importance. The fact is, all these methods of viewing the head must be taken into the account; and, when they have been so employed, we find that all known skulls may be reduced to three primary types, termed, by Prichard, the Prognathous, the Pyramidal, and the Orthognathous, and which would be respectively illustrated by the Negro of the Coast of Guinea, by the Chinese, and by the Englishman.

The first of these, or Prognathous type, is chiefly characterized by the remarkable projection of the jaws, and its consequent approximation to the form seen in the skulls of the lower animals. This contour, combined with the "foreheads villanous low," gives an aspect of ugliness to the countenance which betokens sensuality and degradation. It is seen, in its most marked form, amongst the true typical Negroes dwelling on the shores of the Mozambique Channel, and the low alluvial plains bordering the Gambia and the Senegal; but it is not confined to these, or even to the African races generally. It characterizes the Negro races of Blumenbach and Cuvier, including the Alfours and Papuans of New Holland, New Guinea, and Feejee, who are regarded by Dr. Latham as having closer affinities with the Mongol than with the Negro. Wherever the type is found, it is associated with habits of the lowest kind, and indicates the most miserable condition of which humanity is capable.

The second, or Pyramidal, type of skull is very different from the Prognathous, and usually indicates such an advance in civilization as would attend the abandonment of the hunter's life and the adoption of pastoral habits. Its chief peculiarity is conspicuous either in the facial or the basal aspects, but especially the former. It consists in the height and breadth of the cheek-bones, which by their prominence give a remarkable flatness to the face, and which, when combined with a narrow and retreating forehead, cause the cranium to assume that pyramidal aspect whence it derives its name.

This form of skull is chiefly found amongst the wide-spread nomade tribes inhabiting the vast plains or steppes of Asia, including the Chinese race, as well as those who wander along the shores of the Icy Sea. Amongst these latter tribes, the hunter's habits are still retained from imperious necessity; the inhospitable nature of their climate alike preventing the cultivation of the ground, and the formation of herds of cattle: but elsewhere the pastoral life prevails. It is a curious circumstance, that the Pyramidal skull recurs amongst the Hottentots of Southern Africa,—a race having no kind of direct relationship with the Asiatic nations; the two regions being separated by the wide area of Africa, inhabited by true Negroes. Amongst the Chinese, the peculiar physiognomy caused by the Pyramidal skull is made still more striking by the oblique position of the eyes: the outer angles are lifted up, so that lines drawn through the axes of the two eyes meet near the middle of the nose. This

is not a Mongol feature, neither is it exclusively Chinese, since it recurs elsewhere, as in the modern Copts, and amongst some Australians. As a general rule, the Pyramidal head may be regarded as characterizing the Mongolian or Iranian race.

The third form of skull is that which Prichard has termed Orthognathous, because, owing to its more ample development, the forehead ascends from the face in a nearly straight and vertical line. It has also been termed oval or elliptical; because, when perfectly developed, it combines the length of the Negro cranium with the breadth of the Mongol or Pyramidal skull. Heads of the oval or Orthognathous type prevail amongst the potent and intellectual nations of Western Europe, and characterize the Caucasian race of Blumenbach,—the Iranian of Prichard. They indicate that higher development of the brain, through which organ we trace the connexion between external physical peculiarities and moral attributes; and help to demonstrate the correctness of the conclusions at which we arrived respecting the past moral degradation of the Negro, as indicated by his diminished brain and Prognathous skull. Throughout many succeeding ages, the races exhibiting the Orthognathous head, possessing, as they have done, a high combination of mental and moral attributes, and a well-developed physical frame, have become the virtual masters of the world. Amongst them religion finds its purest and loftiest expression,—science and art have attained their fullest expansion. Amongst them even war itself, in which ruder nations might be expected to excel, has assumed its most deadly, but successful, form. Hence, whenever fairly opposed to other races, either in the conflicts of the battle-field, or in the more peaceful callings of social life, the European has obtained dominion over all the other nations of the earth. It is now, and will probably be through much of future time, the arbiter of the destinies of mankind.

But though we admit the existence of three types of heads, let it not be imagined that these occur with clear and definite boundaries, confining them either within geographical areas, or to particular races. The true Negro skull passes into the Mongol type through several lines. The Kaffirs of Lagoa Bay have more of the Negro aspect than the Southern Kaffirs; who, in turn, conduct us to the Hottentots. In these latter people, as already indicated, we have the Mongoliform head, and even the oblique eyes, of the Chinese. We can pass in like manner from the typical Negroes of Sennaar, through the Nilotic nations, to the Semitic races, in whom we find an unmistakeable blending of the Mongol and Iranian or Orthognathic head. Thus we learn that the skull, the most important organ to the ethnologist, affords no countenance to the notion, that mankind are of more than one species.

Ethnologists have drawn attention to other parts of the skeleton; and Professor Retzius has especially dwelt on the *pelvis*.

But the characters derived from this source appear to be of small value, and to indicate habitually half-starved and rickety tribes, rather than distinctions of race.

None of the outward indications of diversity have made so strong an impression upon the popular mind as that exhibited in the varying hues of the skin. Nor is this to be wondered at, since it is hard to believe that the fair and blooming maidens who grace our hearths and homes, can be of one blood with the native daughters of Africa. But the proof that they are not, remains to be discovered. It was the apparent obviousness of the distinction referred to, that for so many years blinded the advocates of Negro slavery. By coming to the conclusion that the Negro was not a man and a brother, they considered themselves free from all the obligations of the moral law, which defined the relative duties of men to each other. They thus justified themselves in inflicting the most atrocious cruelties upon their hapless victims. Even now, in the great American Republic, a difference of hue, however slight, constitutes a line of demarcation, splitting society into two great sections, in one of which man holds a social position little higher than that of an eastern Pariah. Even the members of the Church are not prepared to receive the eucharistic elements by the side of men for whom the Saviour died, and the skins of many of whom are probably fairer than hers who was the

“ Fairest of all her daughters, Eve.”

Over this fearful example of human inconsistency, history would gladly draw her thickest veil.

Ignorance of the anatomy and physiology of the skin, even amongst professional men, long tended to keep alive the popular fallacies respecting it. Some writers taught that in the Negro it contained a greater number of layers than in the European. At that time anatomists supposed that it usually consisted of three layers:—a true vascular skin constituting the innermost layer; an external cuticle or epidermis; and an intermediate layer, called the *rete mucosum*, which latter was thought to be the seat of the differences of hue seen in the inhabitants of various climes.

It is now known that there are but two layers,—a *cutis vera*, or “true skin,” and an *epidermis*, or “scarf skin.” On the upper surface of the inner or true skin, a constant development of small cells or vesicles is in progress. Those which are first formed give place to others subsequently generated beneath them, and are consequently impelled towards the surface, where they become flattened, and form the superficial layer known as the “scarf skin.” The colouring matter is secreted within these small cells, which are so many little bladders full of pigment. It is most abundant when the cells are first developed; and the intensity of the dermal hue depends mainly upon the number of the dark-coloured granules which each individual cell contains. The superficial

specks, commonly known as "freckles," originate in local accumulations of the same kind of colouring matter as that which darkens the skin of the coppery American, the swarthy Arab, and the jet-black Negro of Mozambique.

On endeavouring to trace the extent to which the varying hues of the skin are to be relied on, as indicating diversity of race, we soon find that there exists within the limits of the same race a greater amount of difference than is ordinarily thought. A black skin is commonly regarded as marking the Negro, a tawny one the Mongol, and a fair one the Iranian, race. As a general rule, this is correct; but the number of glaring exceptions to it which exist, is so great as to destroy the value of colour, as a proof of independent species.

If we take the Negro of Mozambique, or of Senegal, as an extreme type of the African family, we shall find the deepest black to prevail amongst the swampy plains of those unhappy regions. But a very small number of Africans exhibit the Negro type of colour, any more than of skull. Wide differences exist, even where the tribes are the undoubted descendants of a common stock. The Negro of Sennaar, in North-eastern Africa, presents very close resemblances to the typical Negro of Western Guinea, with whom his blood-relationship is exceedingly remote. But the same native of Sennaar is closely related to the inhabitants of Kordofan and Abyssinia, being a direct descendant from a common stock, and exhibiting a close relation to them both in manners and in language. Here we see resemblances between those whose relationship is remote, and differences between those who are closely related, since in these and many nearly-allied tribes, especially amongst the Semitic nations, we find the complexion becoming as light and tawny as amongst the typical Mongols. An analogous, but opposite, variation occurs in India, where the nations are Mongolian and tawny. But there are tribes in Northern India and in Ceylon, who, without having the slightest relation to the Negroes of Africa, exhibit skins as black as any to be found on the banks of the Gambia or the Senegal. The gradual transition from the hues found amongst the modern Semitic races, to the pale complexions of Northern Europe, is obvious enough. The dark skins of the dwellers on the northern shores of the Mediterranean establish a connexion between the Syrian and Arab tribes on the one hand, and such Anglo-Saxons as possess the true bilious temperament—with its dark hazel eyes and black hair—on the other. Thus we obtain an unbroken chain, connecting the darkest Negro with our own fairer brethren. Hence we must admit, that so far from variations in the colour of the skin indicating differences of species, they cannot even be relied upon as absolutely characterizing any of the larger divisions of the human family.

Another part of the body to which great importance has been attached, is the hair. This not only varies in colour, but even in

its modes of growth, within the limits of the same family. The colour ranges from black, through all the shades of brown, to a snowy white, within the limits of our own island, where it appears to be much under the influence of temperament; black (and in old age grey, and sometimes white) indicating the bilious; red and brown, the sanguine; and the lighter hues, the nervous and phlegmatic temperaments. From this circumstance, it is evident that the colour of the hair cannot be trusted to, as a means of discriminating between varieties, much less between species. Greater importance has been attributed to variations in its modes of growth; and woolly, crisped or frizzled, flowing or wavy, and straight, are terms frequently applied to its different appearances. There is, doubtless, a considerable distinction between the black, woolly hair of the Negro, and the fair flowing ringlets of an English Blonde. To a certain extent, the wool-like form may be regarded as indicating the extreme types of the Negro race, but it is very far from being characteristic of the Negro. There are tribes, closely related to him by descent, who possess long and curling hair. Thus, in passing from the Negro of Sennaar, with his jet-black skin and woolly hair, we have a transitional form amongst the Nubians, in many of whom, according to Costaz and Rüppell, the hair is long, strongly crisp and frizzled, but never woolly. In the Gallas of the Nile, we have the hair hanging in long twisted plaits; whilst in the closely-allied Semitic races we have not only the curled and wavy locks of the Arab, but the peculiar dark flowing hair which marks the Jewish people in most parts of the world. Between the various races enumerated, close relationships exist, as indicated by their respective languages,—“phenomena which break down the broad line of demarcation that is so often drawn between the Semitic and the African nations.”*

We thus learn that though woolly hair is mainly confined to the typical Negro, the straight black hair is prevalent amongst the Mongol or Turanian races, and a large excess of flowing forms and lighter (xanthous) hues is apparent in the Iranian stock, yet such peculiarities are by no means confined to these respective races. Within each of the groups there exists such an amount of variety as demonstrates the utter impossibility of establishing distinctions of species upon any of the modifications.

Attempts have been made to found specific distinctions upon supposed differences in the functions of some organs of the human body; but these differences have either been proved to have no existence at all, or to have arisen under the influence of external circumstances. The supposed early puberty of the inhabitants of equatorial regions, and the differences in the duration of life and of pregnancy, have each been shown to be purely imaginary.

* Dr. Iatham's "Varieties of Man," p. 500.

Thus far we have failed to discover amongst man's physical features any of those well-marked boundary-lines, which, according to the principles laid down in a previous page, indicate distinctions of species. The transitions, as in the hues of the rainbow, are gradual and indefinite. But having thus brought man into court, and, after a candid cross-examination of him, failed to elicit anything that favours the separation of the white man from the Negro or the tawny Mongol, it is but fair to show that there are some testimonies of a positive kind, tending to establish the correctness of the opposite conclusion. We have already pointed out the fact, that hybrids amongst animals are rarely fertile; and that, when they are so, it is but for one or two generations. If we apply this test to man, we find that we have not only a fertile offspring resulting from the union of the European on the one hand, and either the Negro or the Mongol on the other, but an offspring that frequently exhibits the best qualities of both its parents. In New Zealand, for example, the frequent marriages of the settlers with the native women are leading to the production of a fine race of half-breeds, who are destined, at no distant period of time, to play an important part in the movements of the Polynesian world. The inferences to be drawn from facts of this kind are clear and obvious.

When endeavouring to trace back the various races of men to the stocks from which they primarily sprang, written history soon fails us. This failure is the most complete where light is chiefly needed, namely, when we endeavour to ascertain the origin of barbarous nations, possessing, like the Negro, strongly-marked physical peculiarities, or when we seek to know the early movements of once savage people who have subsequently become civilized. Of late years, a new adjunct has been brought to bear upon the inquiry; one which not only promises, but has already led to, important results. This is the comparative study of languages, or what is termed "*philology*." If we review the history of any language of which the origin and modifying circumstances have been recorded, we shall find that it has from time to time undergone important changes. Some of these only affect the modes of spelling or of pronunciation; but others go further, and affect the radical character of the language. In the latter case, new principles of grammatical construction have been introduced; and not unfrequently the source of these foreign elements, thus engrafted upon a primary tongue, can be accurately ascertained. We have all experienced the difficulty of perusing the "*Fairy Queen*." Shakespeare, as we now read him, has been dressed up in a modern garb. If we recede still further into the past, we shall find that our power of comprehending the vernacular of our ancestors has undergone a proportionate diminution, as the readers of Piers Langtoft and Robert of Gloucester will soon discover; and on reaching the period of our Saxon and Celtic forefathers, we meet with a language which is almost as foreign

to us as Latin or Greek. In the case of our own language, historic records remain, explaining all this. We learn from them that, as successive bodies of men found their way hither from other countries, they brought with them the phrases and idioms of their native lands. They have come in the form of Roman legions, under the eagles of Cæsar and his successors,—as Saxons, led on by the weak-minded Hengist,—as piratical Danes, ravaging the eastern coast,—as Normans, following the triumphant standard of William the Conqueror,—and as banished exiles, seeking a retreat from the persecutions of intolerant Rome. Whatever the causes that led these hordes successively to abandon their continental homes, they have all been instrumental in modifying our native tongue; and their modifications now reflect light upon the history of the nations by whom they were produced. In studying the English language, as it now exists, we must take into consideration, not merely the Anglo-Saxon and Norman, from which it has derived its more essential elements, but also the Latin, the Celtic, the Scandinavian, and the old Teutonic, all of which have left their permanent impress upon our current speech. Thus, the names of places terminating in *ton*, (as Skipton, Bridlington,) as well as those in *ham* and *ley*, (Birmingham, Barnsley,) speak of the Saxon occupancy of this island; *by* (as Whitby) indicates the Danish invasions; whilst *fells*, *becks*, and *dales*, as applied to our hills, streams, and valleys, point to Norway, as the home of the race who first expressed these physical features in the nomenclature which is now so prevalent in Northern Britain. If we turn to our continental neighbours in Southern Europe, we meet with a similar illustration. We find the Latin phraseology of their progenitors gradually yielding to the influence of engrafted tongues, and developing into the Provençal and the French, the Wallachian, the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Though this branch of literature is yet in its infancy, some important results have already been attained; proximate classifications of the known languages have been attempted, and with some degree of success. Though various writers regard the subject from different points of view, some relying upon vocabularies, whilst others properly insist upon a more accurate knowledge of grammatical construction, they agree in the general conclusion that languages are capable of being arranged in several great groups, which have certainly had some common bond of union, and probably a common origin. A recent communication read by Professor Key to the Philological Society of London affords us an excellent illustration of this point. We have in the Latin tongue the verb *torquere*, signifying “to twist,” or “to hurl:” from this verb the Latins have derived a number of other words, as *tornus*, “a lathe;” *teredo*, “a boring worm;” *tortor*, “a hurler;” *tormen*, “a twisting or writhing of the bowels;” *torquis*, “a chain or collar for the neck;” *terebra*, “an auger;” *tortuosus*,

“full of windings and turnings.” In English we have many words derived from the same root: *to turn*, *torsion*, *tornado*, and others of the same kind. In Greek we have *τόνος*, “a lathe;” *τορύνη*, “a stirrer, or ladle;” *τόμος*, “the socket upon which a door-post turns, or a turning-post in a race-course;” *τορός*, “piercing,” from the noise made by the turning of a centre-bit; *τέρ-ε-τρον*, “a gimlet;” *σπρόβος*, “whirling;” *στρεβλός*, “twisted.” It is unnecessary further to multiply examples: those here enumerated obviously agree in being derived from a primitive base, *ter* or *tor*, signifying “twisting or turning;” this base being modified by the addition of other syllables either before or after the radical one, indicating its special signification. By pursuing inquiries of this kind, we learn that there exists, amongst other subdivisions, one comprehensive group of languages, termed Indo-Germanic, or Arian, which connects the Zend and Sanscrit, the ancient languages of Persia and Hindustan, not only with the classic tongues of Greece and Rome, but also with the ruder speech of the Gothic, Slavonic, and Livonian races. Other similar groups are recognised by the best authorities; each one being characterized by the existence of some common features pervading its various members,—resemblances seen not only in the recurring use of certain radical terms, but in the common existence of fundamental principles of grammatical construction.

By tracing the demonstrable influence which migratory changes recorded in history have had on various languages, we obtain a method of inquiry which is capable of being inverted, and that may be made to throw light upon early movements of nations, respecting which history is either wholly silent, or speaks only in the obscure language of myths and legends. Many important problems are now in process of settlement in the hands of acute men who are devoting themselves to this most fascinating study. The past is yielding up secrets long thought to be irrecoverably lost; whilst the means which have already accomplished so much, afford abundant promise of future harvests.

The time has not yet come when absolute decisions can be obtained respecting the relative antiquity of all known languages. Still less can it be determined which, if any, has the strongest claim to be regarded as the primary tongue,—that which was uttered by our first parents, when

“Such prompt eloquence
Flow’d from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
More tunable than needed lute or harp
To add more sweetness.”

A recent writer very properly observes, “that these great questions must wait their final solution until the principal languages shall all have passed through the ordeal of comparative grammar.” This is undoubtedly true; but, meanwhile, it is satisfactory to the Christian believer to find that all the tendencies of modern

investigations are in the direction of primary unity; and it is much to hear such a high authority as Dr. Prichard declare, as the result of his arduous labours in this field of inquiry, "that, with the increase of knowledge in every direction, we find continually less and less reason for believing that the separate races of men are separated from each other by insurmountable barriers." Let not the biblical student fear that, in adopting this idea of a unity of origin for all languages, he is conceding something that is incompatible with the Mosaic narrative. That "the whole earth was of one language and one speech," is the clear and emphatic declaration of Holy Writ; and, though the Lord came down to "confound their language, that they may not understand each other's speech," it does not follow that all evidences of a common origin at once disappeared from the new dialects that were employed. Such a confusion as time and circumstances have introduced into the Latin tongue, developing out of it the modern Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Wallachian, Provençal, and French, would amply suffice for the purposes of the Almighty, and yet leave the sacred record in strict conformity with the teachings of inductive science.

Having thus glanced at some of the leading differences which now distinguish men in widely-remote regions, it remains to consider how far the reasonings and conclusions advanced in connexion with our notices of the lower animals will apply to man, and explain the origin of the diversities now so apparent. The absence of definite boundary-lines we have seen to be every where obvious, affording us the first great proof of unity. The fertility of mixed breeds, as of the Mestizo of Spanish America, of the Mulatto in the West Indies, and of the mixed descendants of the European and the New-Zealander, gives evidence of a universal law, which again demonstrates man's specific oneness. But how are we to explain the physical differences that have arisen?

From the facts already advanced, it may be admitted, as an ascertained truth, that external conditions—such as climate, temperature, food, and long-continued habits—are capable of modifying animal forms to a material extent, and that these modifications are capable of hereditary transmission, without leading to the production of new or permanent species. The tendencies in this latter direction are counteracted by the operation of another and more potent law, which compels all organisms, sooner or later, to revert to their primary conditions; a tendency against which the florist and horticulturist continually struggle, but in vain. There are abundant reasons for believing that the variations in man's physical frame have been produced in a way similar to those of the lower animals. As a general rule, we find that the colour of the skin is darkest in the tribes residing in the low, swampy plains near the equator; its intensity diminishing both as we approach the poles, and as we ascend to cooler regions on the slopes of tropical mountains. There are,

of course, many exceptions to this rule; but we require more information than we now possess respecting the migratory movements of the exceptional tribes, before we can conclude that they militate against the general law. That exposure to certain atmospheric influences affects the colour of the skin, is as undoubted as that exclusion of light blanches plants, that is, prevents the cells from secreting their coloured granular contents. The terms "freckled" and "sunburnt," applied to those who have freely exposed themselves to the action of the sun's rays, mean the development of an additional quantity of the coloured granules in the cells of the outer skin. In the sunburnt complexion these additional pigments are equally diffused. In freckles they appear in patches. These facts demonstrate the possibility that the dark skin of the Negro *may* be due to the long-continued operation of similar causes. Another proof is afforded by the present condition of the Jewish race. "Scattered among all people from one end of the earth even unto the other" by the mysterious providence of God, their unity of descent is unquestioned; whilst the purity of their blood has been preserved through successive centuries by the agency of their religious creed, which has required them to remain a distinct and peculiar people. But, dispersed through every country and under every climate, they have exhibited a wonderful tendency to assimilate to the condition of the races amongst whom they have dwelt through long periods of time. The black hair, the dark eye, the swarthy skin, and the projecting profile of the western Jew are constantly before us. In Germany and Poland a more florid complexion, with blue eyes, is not uncommon. The Portuguese and Syrian Jews are considerably darker than those of England; whilst there are colonies of the race of Abraham that have been settled in India through many centuries, whose skins are nearly as black as those of any of the native Hindus.

That the character of the hair can be altered by a change of external conditions, is capable of easy demonstration amongst the lower animals, and, by parity of reasoning, in man. It is this potentiality that has enabled the breeders of cattle to accomplish so much in improving the fleeces of the sheep, the goat, and other animals that have been subjected to their fostering care. In the case of the sheep, we have every conceivable variety between the long straight hair of the Spanish breed, and the close, thick, curly wool of our own South Downs. Yet no naturalist doubts that these are merely varieties of one primary stock. What may be the exact influences to which man must be subjected to produce similar results, is not very obvious; but it appears certain, that the woolly covering of the typical Negro has already lost some of its peculiarities amongst the Nubian tribes, — a change which we have many reasons for regarding as the result of cognate alterations of the habits and external conditions of the people.

The chief causes that have produced the diversities of language, have been already referred to,—namely, the migrations and subsequent interminglings of separate races. In some cases, the relative periods at which the offshoots have separated from the primary stocks, may be approximately ascertained; the *numerals* forming, in some instances, one of the chief instruments by which this can be accomplished. The following remarks by Dr. Latham, bearing upon this subject, are full of interest :—

“ Out of two tribes, wherein the intelligence of each is so little capable of generalization as not to have evolved abstract and absolute numerals, like those of the Indo-European nations, (one, two, &c.,) the only way of counting is by the adoption of some material object, in which the number of its parts is a striking characteristic; in which case there is so much room for arbitrary selection, that allied languages may take up different words. It is not to be supposed, unless the English, Greeks, Gaels, Slavonians, and the members of the Indo-European stock in general, had broken off from the common stem at a period subsequent to the evolution of absolute numerals, that their names, for the first ten units, would be so like as they are. On the contrary, there would most certainly have been a difference; “two” being expressed in one quarter by a word like *brace*, in another by such a term as *couple*, in a third by *pair*, and so on. Now this latitude exists and bears fruit with the American languages. One takes the name for (say) ‘two’ from one natural dualism, another from another: one calls it by the name for a *pair of hands*, another by that of a *pair of feet*, a third by that of a *pair of shoes*, &c.”*

There is also another fact, too peculiar to be passed over without notice. The closest physical affinity may and does exist between races whose languages are the most remote from each other, whilst, in other tribes, there are close philological relations unaccompanied by any corresponding resemblances of physical contour. Resemblances in the languages of two races indicate either a community of descent, or some former connexion between the nations, more strongly than does similarity of physical form. New external physical conditions might have materially modified the outward features of the human frame, without in any degree altering the national dialect. In an analogous, but opposite, manner, distinct nations, employing different languages, may have influenced each other’s speech, without producing the slightest change in their respective physical peculiarities. Some of the cases exhibiting discrepancies of this kind, are capable of easy explanation; but in others the nature of the disturbing causes remains to be discovered.

Slight as this outline has necessarily been, we have probably said sufficient to show the nature and tendencies of modern ethnological science, and especially its relation to the Mosaic record, We are indeed of one brotherhood. The Negro, the Bushman,

* “The Varieties of Man,” p. 377.

and the Australian Alfourou, are "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh;" and, though the mark of Cain is branded upon the foreheads of these unhappy wanderers, they are embraced in the covenant of mercy, and are heirs of eternal life. What may be their final condition upon earth, is hard to say. Many native tribes are fast disappearing. It is but a brief period since the forests of New England resounded with the war-whoop of the red Indian; his hunting-grounds and his battle-fields are now covered with the emblems of European civilization, whilst the miserable remnants of his race are exiled beyond the "Father of Waters." The Islands of the Carribbean have long been inhabited by the stranger. The native Australians are being subjected to analogous depopulating influences; and it would almost seem as if the energetic Anglo-Saxon was finally destined to over-run all lands. Notwithstanding the sad errors that have been committed by our colonial administrations, Britons are predisposed, by their national associations, to deal righteously with all men, and to raise humanity from the state of social and moral degradation which is now so characteristic of the heathen world:—

"Men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic, unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so."

Meanwhile the high mission of the church is unmistakeably indicated in Holy Writ. The poor beings who now crouch and tremble before their idol gods, are entitled to become heirs of heaven. Almost lower than the savage beasts which they pursue, they were designed to rise, perhaps, higher than the angels. It is for the Church to perform its sacred duty, and to labour on amidst its manifold discouragements, until the whole earth shall have been regenerated by a pure and practical Christianity.

ART. III.—1. *Report of the Forty-ninth Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.*

2. *Jubilee Tracts relating to the British and Foreign Bible Society.* Nos. I.—X.

3. *Jubilee Record of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* Nos. I.—III.

4. *Speech delivered by Dr. Duff at the Jubilee Meeting in Exeter Hall, March 8th, 1853.*

5. *The Bible in many Tongues.* London Tract Society.

6. *Bible Triumphs, a Jubilee Memorial.* By REV. THOMAS TIMPSON. 12mo.
7. *The Bible of every Land.* 4to. London: Bagster. 1851.
8. *The Bible in India.* 8vo.

BEYOND the multiplication of copies for the use of the more intelligent or affluent believers in Christianity, the early Church seems to have made little or no effort to circulate the sacred Scriptures. When, however, the paucity of books even in the palmiest days of classical antiquity is considered, this can scarcely produce astonishment. Viewing, as we do, the distribution of the Divine oracles as an agency eminently calculated to originate and sustain spiritual life, and to render it permanently operative, and to win access for the truth to persons secluded from all *viva voce* instruction, it appears to us somewhat surprising that the Christians of the purest age did not to a greater extent avail themselves of a machinery so important. It is always, however, the wonder *after* any discovery, that no one saw so simple a thing before. What more simple than steam-boats, railroads, the magnetic telegraph, and many of the improvements in the arts of weaving, mining, agriculture, and chemistry,—all the inventions of the present century? and yet these inventions, naturally arising out of self-evident truths, lay hidden from the great wits and profound thinkers who for so many thousand years have been passing through this world. Moreover, the fact is the less surprising, when we remember how savagely and continuously the spirit of Jewish and Pagan persecution assailed the Church throughout and far beyond the imperial territories, for the first three centuries of its existence; while within there raged, for a still longer period, a melancholy passion for dogmatic controversy, which alike defied the anathemas of Councils and the persuasives of Christian love. And by the time that the controversial passion had spent itself, the priestly element in the Church had become intolerantly dominant; and, in proportion to its growth, that Christian fervour which alone can sustain extensive missions and prompt laborious translations, had subsided. So that when the crescent had become the antagonist of the cross, it seems to have placed a gulf between the huge nations of the East,—weltering in their idolatry and wars,—and the Churches of the West; and very few translations of the Scriptures were made during the ages immediately subsequent to the commencement of the eighth century.

Even had the Church, at any time previous to the discovery of printing, conceived the scheme of communicating the Scriptures to all nations, it could not have executed the purpose, noble as it would have been, because each written copy of the Bible would have employed the most dexterous caligraphist for months; and it is questionable whether such a writer could have completed three copies *per annum*. Or, if the desire

had pervaded the Protestant Churches, between the discovery of the art of printing and the close of the eighteenth century,—to omit the mention of other difficulties,—the want of stereotype plates and of the printing-machine would have been an insuperable obstacle to the issue of any very large supply of Bibles, as the utmost that the common printing-press would perform was two hundred and twenty-five sheets per hour, and that on one side only, while, in the same period, the printing-machine now completes one thousand sheets on both sides. We may add to these, that the division of labour, the science of applying large capital, the use of machinery in paper-making and binding, were little understood; and, above all, the absence of translations into the great majority of the living foreign languages would have proved an insuperable bar. Nor were these the only impediments to an earlier formation of an extensive Bible Association; for, until the application of steam to ships and land-carriages, when the Scriptures were printed, they had to travel by waggon, or by the scarcely less tardy coach; and even when fairly afloat on the sea, slow indeed was the rate of progress to their destination; where, again, the selfishness of commercial fears, and the jealousies of local authority, would have often consigned the precious cargoes to warehouses, while the diplomatic battle was fought for their rescue.

The various works, the titles of which appear at the head of this article, are exceedingly diverse in quality. None of them, however, it may be assumed, affect to be considered literary productions, or, at least, are likely to be so regarded, with the exception of the precious and elaborate volume from the Bagster press, without which no Christian library can be complete. This volume contains a classified list of the languages into which the Scriptures have been translated; another, of the typographic specimens; ten important ethnologic maps, exhibiting the districts over which the various languages prevail, with expository illustrations; a series of more than fifty alphabets in these languages, with a critical history of the versions, and a multitude of collateral subjects, which, with the extract, in most of the languages, of some portion of Scripture, furnish the intelligent student with a most important collection of aids to linguistic study. To the intelligent Christian, who desires to know how much has been done towards the transfusion of the Scriptures into the various living, and even the dead, languages, "The Bible of every Land" will prove no less delightful as a companion, than accurate as a book of reference for occasional consultation. Such a volume, compiled with adequate erudition and written in a catholic spirit, has long been a *desideratum*; because, although the facts with which it is filled could scarcely be called recondite, they lay scattered in various works, some of which are rare. Not to mention those which have been derived from oral sources, it was extremely difficult to such students as live remote from libraries like

those of the Metropolis and the Universities, to acquire a general knowledge of the important history of biblical translation. But, by the publication of Mr. Bagster's volume, all Churches may learn what share of the honourable toil has been performed by the members of their respective communities. We regard the memoirs, both of the languages and of the translators, as especially valuable to the student; while the beautiful specimens of the different characters of the languages into which the Scriptures have been rendered, will furnish to younger students ready means of comparison, and, perhaps, suggest, to the more advanced, grounds for a new classification of the various languages. As a manual to ethnologic study, "The Bible of every Land" will, we are persuaded, be found invaluable, and will enable those who consult it to correct many of the obvious errors of the *Atlas Ethnographique* of M. Balbi and his eminent coadjutors, as well as some of the conjectures of Dr. Prichard and others.

The work of Mr. Timpson, entitled "Bible Triumphs," is the fruit of industrious compilation, and is adapted to the use of those for whom it has been prepared. It breathes an excellent spirit, is concise and explicit, and presents a more complete view of the operations of the Bible Society, from its origin to the present time, than is exhibited in any other small volume with which we are acquainted. Possessing neither the eloquence of Mr. Dudley's volume, nor the literary qualities and minute details of Mr. Owen's work, for a numerous class of readers it is superior to both.

The little volume issued by the Tract Society, and entitled "The Bible in many Tongues," is reported to be the production of Dr. Angus, and is written in his characteristic style. It is imbued with a fine spiritual feeling; and, although, for the most part, a mere grouping of facts and figures, it is yet soundly logical, and full of sturdy English sense, that contents itself with an explicit utterance. In addition to these advantages, the reader will find in it a comprehensive view of the relations of biblical knowledge to political and commercial life. We particularly commend to his observation the felicitous use made by the author of the comparative results of distributing the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue,—a policy in which all true Protestants are agreed,—and of either withholding them, as the Papacy does, discouraging their constant perusal, or shutting down the word of life under the dismal hatches of a dead language.

The other publications, issued by the Bible Society itself, are not so much designed to be a formal history of its proceedings, as to supply fresh fuel to lagging zeal, or to stimulate such as may be in danger of concluding, that, because so many biblical victories have been won, the enterprise may now be considered complete. They are, however, well stored with important facts, such as the Society alone could have supplied;

but, we confess, we should have been glad to see, among its publications for the Year of Jubilee, a dignified, terse, and ample history of the entire course of the Institution; and we opine that the library and shelves of the Society contain abundant materials for a history proof against the impugnors of the scheme of making the knowledge of the Book of Revelation co-extensive with the dwellings of men. Whenever that history is written, however, Mr. Owen's volumes must not supply the model; for, much as we admire his ardent Christian wisdom, and especially his magnanimity of faith, in uniting with the Society before a dignitary of his own Church had ventured to approve, his volumes are far too prolix, and are open to the German charge of being *einseitig*.

We are unwilling to controvert any of the statistics of the honoured Institution to which this article chiefly refers; but we regret to see, in No. III. of its "Jubilee Papers," the following assertion, because we feel assured that it cannot be substantiated, and, in our judgment, it is not probable:—"Fifty years ago it was estimated that there could not then be more than 4,000,000 Bibles and Testaments in the world." We are fully convinced that the total number of copies of the Scriptures in existence was, half a century ago, deplorably incommensurate with the wants of even the Christian world, and sadly condemnatory of those who were called by that name. But when we remember that, between 1526 and 1804, there were, at least, 308 editions or reprints of the Bible, or the New Testament, in our own island, and that some of these editions were very large,—that in the space of 111 years there were 140 editions of Luther's Bible alone,—that the Canstein Institute circulated above 3,000,000 copies of the Scriptures in the 95 years succeeding 1712,—that the Naval and Military Bible Society was in operation 20 years before the British and Foreign Bible Society, and had distributed, at least, 130,000 copies of the Scriptures,—that 10,000 Arabic copies of the New Testament were printed in 1720,—to say nothing of the equally numerous editions of the Scriptures in the other Protestant countries of Switzerland, Holland, Bohemia, Scotland, and America, besides the many editions of the Scriptures in France, Denmark, Sweden, and even Spain and Italy; we cannot but believe there must have been considerably more than 4,000,000 copies of the Bible and Testament in existence in 1803. Nor do we think it is quite correct to say,—“Fifty years ago, the Holy Scriptures had not been printed in more than 50 languages.” Having paid some attention to this subject, we were startled by this assertion; and, proceeding to set down the various languages (as they occurred to us at the moment) in which the Scriptures had been printed previously to 1803, we soon found our doubts of the above assertion verified. We regret to find this inaccuracy; for, however trifling it may be, whatever is not rigidly accordant with facts may have the effect of casting doubts

on other statistics proceeding from the same source. We are sure that the inaccuracy of these averments is purely accidental, but we regret their appearance in print,—the more so, as there could be no necessity for their being made. The biblical wants of the world are still appalling, and the position of the Bible Society could well have foregone any assertions which are questionable, or which cannot very easily be verified. The dreadful fact, that from 600,000,000 to 700,000,000 of our fellow-creatures are *still* without the word of life, is enough to warrant all the zeal and sacrifice of any number either of private or associated Christians, to do what, if they had always done their duty to their neighbours, would have been performed long ago.

While we are fully inclined to yield to the British and Foreign Bible Society all the honour that its advocates can claim, for its invaluable services in extending the knowledge of the word of God to some large districts, where it was unknown before,—in multiplying and cheapening the boon where it previously existed,—in aiding meritorious but poor biblical scholars or Societies to acquire a power of usefulness, which, but for the funds of the Earl-street Institution, they could scarcely have attained,—in promoting Christian Missions, and general education, and almost every other enterprise of Christian philanthropy,—we must not forget that this Society owes a large share of its means of usefulness to foreign labourers that preceded itself, or who have subsequently taken part in this great enterprise. We feel this to be the more due, because some indiscreet eulogists, in their laudations of the polyglott results of the Bible Society, have unwittingly indulged in terms calculated to mislead their auditors, and which, we are sure, the true friends of the Bible Society would be the first to deplore. It was this occasional indiscretion which, at an earlier stage of its existence, perhaps, led such objectors as Bishop Marsh,* and some of his Episcopal brethren, unjustly to accuse the Society of pedantry and arrogance; and similar incautiousness is still occasionally made the plea for refusing to aid its income, or to co-operate with its friends. We, therefore, entreat the forbearance of the reader, while we remind him of those honourable precursors who, at remoter periods, and amidst great disadvantages, were animated with a sense of duty, and a compassion for the spiritual wants of mankind, such as led to the formation of our *national* Society in 1804.

The first printed editions in the vernacular dialects of the Holy Scriptures, seem to have been made mostly from the Latin Vulgate. This was partly owing to the high reputation of that authority in Europe, and partly to the scanty knowledge of Hebrew and Greek among the Clergy; a circumstance which almost inevitably led to the grave defects which disfigure many of those proto-vernacular translations. Such was the case with the first printed edition of the

* See "History of Translations of the Scriptures. By Dr. Marsh." 8vo. London, 1812.

German Bible, executed, if we rightly remember, at Leipsic, in 1467, as well as with the Italian, translated and printed at Venice in 1471; with the Dutch, at Cologne, in 1475;* with the first French translation, printed at Paris in 1487; with the Bohemian, printed at Prague, 1488; and with the first printed Spanish Bible, in the Valencian dialect, printed at Amsterdam about 1506. Translations from the Vulgate, however, were not likely long to satisfy the new spirit that was then renovating the world; and, accordingly, we find Germany again taking the lead in the person of Luther, who, between the years 1522–32, published his translation of the Bible, in the mother-tongue, from *the original languages*. But the evil of making translations from versions merely was not yet felt to be intolerable; for, in 1533, at Lubeck, an edition was published from Luther's, in the dialect of Lower Saxony. The Pomeranian Bible was first published at Barth, in 1588: the first Swedish Bible was printed at Upsal, in 1541; the Danish, at Copenhagen, in 1550; the second Dutch, in 1560: the Helvetian, in Zurich, about 1525–29. The Icelandic Scriptures were first printed at Hóla, in 1584; the Finnish, at Stockholm, in 1642; and the Livonian, at Riga, in 1689. The Bible was not printed in the dialect of Upper Lusatia till 1728; nor the Lithuanian (at Königsberg) till 1735. The whole of these eleven translations into the vernacular of the respective countries of continental Europe, seem to have been made chiefly on the basis of the Lutheran,—a fact which, perhaps more than any other, shows the prodigious scholastic, as well as opinionative, authority which the great Teutonic Reformer had already acquired.

In no country does the free spirit of the Reformation seem to have taken a more general hold than in Poland: hence we find a translation of the Scriptures was printed by *the Roman Catholics* in 1561, at Cracow; another by the Socinians, at the expense of Nicolas Radzivil, in 1563; and one by the Calvinists, in 1596. In 1589–90, the first printed edition of the Welsh Bible, and the first Hungarian, made their appearance. A translation of the Scriptures into the Venedi, a branch of the Slavonian, was printed as early as 1584; though the modern Russ Bible, by Glück, was not printed till 1698, and then at Amsterdam.

While this important process of printing the entire Scriptures in the vulgar languages of Europe was adding to the other influences that combined to lay the foundation of the Protestant Churches, *portions* of the Bible were printed, where the lack of funds, or of an adequate translation, did not admit of more. It is thus that we find the New Testament alone was first published in 1553, in the Croatian dialect, at Tübingen; and in 1571 the Basque New Testament first made its appearance at Rochelle, though it was not till 1638 that Geneva had the honour of

* The first edition of the *authorized* Dutch version was not published till 1636.

making the first printed issue of the same part of the Bible. Ten years later, it appears that the New Testament also was translated into the Wallachian dialect, and printed in 1648, at Belgrade; but a copy of it is now so scarce, that many bibliographers have doubted its existence.*

Whilst Providence was thus preparing the materials indispensable to the Society's labours in Europe, it had also, in its world-wide provisions for human indigence, already raised up a noble band of Oriental scholars, who aimed at the diffusion of the Scriptures at a date anterior to the commencement of the nineteenth century. The appearance of that glorious result of Gallic erudition, the Paris Polyglott Bible, first presented part of the Syriac, and also of the Arabic, Scriptures in 1645; and by its publication gave a great impulse to Oriental studies. But, sixteen years previously to the first edition of this Polyglott, Ruyt had published the first two Gospels in the Malay, and in the following year (1646) Van Hassel issued the Gospels of Luke and John in the same language. And to the Christian enterprise of Holland we owe it, that, in 1688,—a year so gratefully celebrated in our own annals,—the whole of the New Testament was published in the Malay language; and, in 1731, the Old Testament was also printed at Amsterdam. In 1723, the entire Scriptures were published at Tranquebar, in Tamul, from a translation which was the joint work of the memorable Missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Schultze. The latter scholastic Missionary completed also translations into Hindustanee of the New Testament and parts of the Old, which were printed at Halle, between the years 1745 and 1758.

We now approach the most extraordinary epoch, in regard to translations, to be found in the history of Christianity! It commenced about the year 1799, with the labours of the celebrated Serampore Missionaries, Messrs. Carey, Marshman, and Ward, who, by the year 1811, had printed the Old and New Testament in Bengalee; the New Testament in Sanscrit,—so important as the tongue of the archives of the Hindu superstitions; the same book in Hindustanee, the Mahratta, and the Guzerattee; two Gospels in the Chinese; the New Testament, and parts of the Old, in the Telinga, the Carnata, and the Sikh tongues; and portions of the Scripture in the Burmese, the Cashmere, and other languages. It is true, that the Bible Society voted £2000, about 1809, to this noble little staff of Christian scholars; but it must not be forgotten, that their plans were laid, and their labours far advanced, before they received any other assistance than such as came through the Treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society, or was subscribed in India or in London. These were the men whom the Twinings would have expelled from India; and

* That this translation was really made and printed, seems to be decided by No. 5,225 of the Catalogue of Bodleian MSS., where it is called "*Novum Testamentum Vallachium impressum.*"

such were the glorious labours which the petulant and timorous Major Scott Waring would have quashed, lest they should alarm the fears of the Hindus ! It is almost impossible for us to over-estimate the important services which these gifted, but long-derided, Missionaries of Serampore rendered to the Christian Church in general, and to the vast population of India in particular, as well as to the Bible Society, and generations yet unborn. When we remember that the one hundred and fifty millions of Asiatics who inhabit the country bounded by the Indus, the eastern branch of the Ganges, Cape Comorin, and Lahore, speak twelve different languages ; that the venerable Sanscrit is read all over India by the educated ; that the Hindustanee is generally used by the lower and commercial people ; that the Bengalee is used in the country which contains the capital of our eastern empire ; that the Telinga is spoken by the northern Circars ; that the Tamul is employed from the Kristna to Cape Comorin ; that the Malayalim embraces Travancore on the coast of Malabar ; that the Carnata was the vernacular of the Mysore ; that the Mahratta was of great consequence, on account of the character of its residents ; that the Guzerattee was common from Surat to the borders of Persia ; that the Cashmere covered the north of Hindustan ; and that the Burmese was the dialect of a vast, and then unsubdued, people,—we have no adequate terms in which to describe the comprehensive benevolence which, in less than twenty years, and in the face of incredible difficulties, supplied all these hordes of idolaters with the means of becoming acquainted with the true God. When the logic of the world has become pure, and men estimate all things by their true value, we are persuaded that the Clives, the Hastings, and the other conquerors of India, will be esteemed far less the benefactors of mankind than the Serampore Missionaries ; and it will then, in no small measure, redound to the honour of the Bible Society, that, as soon as it was able, it furnished these champions of biblical literature with means to extend their usefulness, and *that* at a time when shallow politicians in the British Senate were generous only in their witless reproaches and now-forgotten gibes. Such, then, were some of the providential pre-arrangements that facilitated the labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and without which it could have accomplished comparatively little of the noble work which it is the delight of all Christians now to behold. We have not room, or we might mention other scholastic harbingers, who had laboured in the translation of the Scriptures into the Turkish, the Armenian, the Sumatran, the Georgian, and some of the more general languages of Africa and America.

Among other Societies which, in our own country, previously to the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, promoted the dissemination of the Scriptures, must be mentioned “the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England,” which rose from the Long Parliament in 1647, and was owing

to the joint labours of Thomas Eliot, the Nonconformist Missionary to the Indians, and Messrs. Calamy, Marshall, and Whitaker, under the patronage of the Hon. Robert Boyle.* This Society contributed some £300 a-year towards the diffusion of the word of God among the American barbarians. Among many of his other noble plans, Oliver Cromwell projected a Biblio-Missionary Institution, which was to be governed by seven commissioners and four secretaries, who were to have their offices in Chelsea College, with an income of £10,000 *per annum*, but which never came into full activity, on account of the death of the Protector in 1658. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales" owed its origin to Thomas Gouge, one of the ejected Ministers, who printed a large edition (8,000) of the Welsh Bible, for gratuitous distribution, and established between 300 and 400 schools. "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" was formed in 1698; and, though avowedly the representative of the Established Church only, has been the means of putting into circulation several editions of the Bible in different languages. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which was chartered by William III., in 1701, pursued the same object, but its exertions have been more particularly devoted to the British Colonies. A "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland," was established in 1705, and rendered essential service to the same hallowed cause, but is more particularly remembered as having sent out from Edinburgh that rare model of the missionary character, David Brainerd. "The Book Society, for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor," was founded, in 1750, by several catholic Episcopalians and Dissenters, and directed its principal attention to the distribution of Bibles. "The Naval and Military Bible Society," to which our army and navy are incalculably indebted, has been in operation since 1780. To these, in fairness, we must add, as important auxiliaries in this diffusion of the word of God, "the Wesleyan Missionary Society," which commenced in 1784; "the Baptist Society," formed in 1792, at the suggestion of the then obscure Mr. Carey, who, in twenty-five years from that date, was, by almost universal consent, admitted to be the most extensive Orientalist of his age; "the London Missionary Society," formed in 1795, under whose patronage Dr. Morrison laboured so successfully in the Chinese translation of the Bible; and "the Church Missionary Society," formed in 1800, which has been honoured as having employed some of the best men of the age, though it laboured for a long period without the positive sanction of most of the Episcopal dignitaries.

* This nobleman was very zealous for the distribution of the Scriptures, and, if Bishop Burnet may be relied upon, devoted more than £1000 a-year to this object. It is more certain, that to him was mainly owing an edition of the Welsh and Irish Bibles, upon the latter of which he expended £700.

The gift of the Bible to nations in their vernacular tongues, if not attempted by the Apostles themselves, was evidently undertaken by some of their contemporaries and immediate successors : else, how came we by traditions of the early versions referred to by Jerome and Origen, and by the indubitable evidences that we possess of the existence of early translations of the Scriptures into the Syriac, the Sahidic, the Æthiopic, the Coptic, the Arabic, the Mæso-Gothic, and the Armenian? In fact, it appears to us impossible that Christianity should long continue anywhere pure, unless it be supported and verified by widely diffused copies of the Bible, in the vernacular tongue of the people by whom it may be received. And though such early versions have mostly perished, and the proofs of their existence may therefore have become very obscure, we hold firmly to the belief, that such versions were made, wherever any considerable number of Churches were planted and remained prosperous. Nor would it be difficult to show, that the tendency of erudite Christians and zealous Churches has always been, to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular tongues of nations among whom the true faith had made progress. Yet when the Papacy became rampant, and the Greek and Oriental Churches lost spiritual vitality, and all learning and power had degenerated, and deposited their lees in the hands of the Priesthood, the work of translation shared the fate of all the Christian virtues. Nothing illustrates more emphatically to what a fearful extent Christians had neglected the obvious duty of giving free circulation to the Scriptures, than the fact, that though many of the old versions had become entirely obsolete, some of the languages in which they existed having ceased to be spoken, the Papacy was so far from making new ones, or encouraging their being made, that there was a general Church law, to discountenance the common use of the Scriptures in the vernacular dialects.* And, at the dawn of the arts, when Bartolomeo, Perugino, and Leonardo da Vinci were inaugurating the magnificent era of the *pencil*, which has been so long the boast of the Papacy, *there is no proof that the Scriptures were accessible to the people, as being in authorized vernacular use, in any single nation that avowed homage to Rome.* This, in our judgment, more loudly than any error of doctrine, or even than flagitiousness of manners, proclaims the irredeemable infamy of the Papal system.

This assertion, however, so gravely inculpatates the Romish Priesthood, that it is necessary briefly to investigate the fact. Let us look, then, at the biblical state of the European nations in the beginning of the fifteenth century ; and let us begin at home, without making the Papacy responsible for any other faults

* That this was the case as early as the twelfth century, is evident ; because, when Waldo presented his translation of the Scriptures to the Pope in the Lateran Council of 1179, it was discountenanced ; and in 1229 it was prohibited by the Council of Toulouse, *because* it was in the vernacular tongue of Languedoc, or the Provençal.

than its own. When the Anglo-Saxon, about A.D. 1250, had ceased to be the vernacular of our ancestors, how is it that the Papal Clergy allowed two hundred and seventy-six years to elapse between that period and 1526, (when Tyndale's New Testament first made its appearance,) without providing a vernacular translation of the Scriptures for a realm, the third of whose landed estate, virtually or in fact, was in their hands, beside an incredible yearly income, drawn to the Pope's exchequer by the clerical horse-leeches, of Peter's Pence, first-fruits, tenths, confirmation, legatine levies, pensions, appeals, dispensations, indulgences, pardons, relics, jubilees, pilgrimages, offerings, collections, courts, ambassadors, forfeitures, canonizations, masses, &c.? It is true that Wickliffe's translation was finished in 1380; and equally so, that the Clergy and their puissant cronies of the Upper House all but suffocated it. This version had been preceded by some fragmentary efforts of Richard Rolle, the Hampole hermit, who died in 1349, and by the "Ormulum" MSS. now in the Bodleian Library; where also will be found a similar production, called "Sowle-Hele;" both of which, however, were merely rude poetic paraphrases of parts of the Scriptures, but were never approved by the Clergy, who were ready to devour either John de Trevisa, or any one else that projected the liberation of Divine truth from the old patched and dark cells of the Vulgate.

About the time of Wickliffe, Richard Armachanus* made the first known translation into the Irish, but of the New Testament only; and, though a Bishop, he was obliged to conceal his version;† nor was it until 1571 that another was made by John Hearney, Michael Welsh, and Nehemiah Donellan, at the express desire of Queen Elizabeth. We do not even hear of any translation into Welsh much before the appearance of the first printed edition in 1567, although Bede tells us that in his time the Scriptures were "read in their own language by the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins." This is quite unsupported; for there is no trace of a Gaelic translation prior to the Reformation, nor of any into the Manx until the seventeenth century: indeed, we are quite doubtful whether there ever was an Anglo-Saxon version of more than parts of the Bible. The first version into the German was made at the expense of Wenceslaus, about 1405; the MSS., in three volumes folio, are in the Vienna Library; but they comprise only parts of the Old Testament. The Dutch seem to have had none previously to the bad version made from Luther's about 1550, although the Flemings are said to have had a translation as early as 1300; but we suspect it

* Bishop of Armagh.

† This good Bishop, in his Autobiography, said, "The Lord taught him, and brought him out of the profound subtleties of Aristotle's philosophy to the study of the Scriptures of God." Richard Armachanus hid his MS. of the Irish New Testament in the wall of his church; and when the building was repaired in 1530, the treasure was found, having written on its last leaf, "When this book is found, truth will be revealed to the world, or Christ will shortly appear!"

was nothing more than a rude attempt in verse on certain parts of the Scriptures. Of stuff like this there was abundance, where a little knowledge of the Vulgate and an affectation of poetic feeling happened to meet in the same person; and it is possible that the first essays at translation would almost everywhere take a rude poetic form. Gustavus Vasa in 1523 originated the first Swedish translation of the New Testament from Luther's version. Spain is said to have had early versions of the Scriptures in the vernacular, some of which might have been made by the Albigenes; but they existed rather as rarities, against which the Clergy had a strong prejudice, than as well-known books. Portugal had none until the close of the seventeenth century; and what they had was made by the Dutch, and printed out of the country, for the benefit of their Indo-Portuguese subjects! Italy can only boast of one vernacular version before the Malermi, which was first printed at Venice in 1471; and that, the disputed one of Voragine, of which no traces remain, and which is more likely to have been a translation of Comesator's "Synopsis of Sacred History." No Russian version was known previously to the sixteenth century, when a poor translation from the Vulgate was finished by Skorina the physician; and Hungary had no vernacular Bible till 1541, when John Silvestre made an indifferent version of the four Gospels and the Acts.

If such were the biblical destitution of the greater European nations, who, either as serfs or neighbours, were important to the Pope, we may infer how much worse would be the condition of the lesser peoples. It is true that Bohemia seems to have had a vernacular copy of the Scriptures at the end of the fourteenth century, and to it may be attributed the appearance of such noble martyrs as Huss and Jerome of Prague; and it is equally true that at the very period when the Papacy was most inimical to the distribution of Bibles in the mother-tongue of its European subjects, it professed to send the knowledge of the word of God to the nations of India and China! We acknowledge the existence of their Missions, and that many of the Papal agents were men of rare fervour and attainments. But to what did all this pretended biblical scholarship amount? Did these Missionaries leave behind them, at their death or departure from those Pagan territories, copies of the Bible readable by the millions who only knew some one of the Indo-Chinese or Indian tongues? These Missionaries are said to have translated a part of the Scriptures into the Mantchou; but, so far as we know, it was never printed. Similar achievements are carried to the credit of Francis Xavier and others, who are reputed to have bestowed versions of the Bible on the people speaking Mongolian, Malay, Japanese, and Turkish; but where are these versions? If they were good, why were they not preserved and printed? and if inadequately performed, are they worth the boast that is so frequently palmed upon the less-informed Pro-

testant? An active missionary spirit did indeed exist in those times, as before and since, among the Papal auxiliaries; but it was a spirit more akin to the hordes of Tamerlane, or the fanatics of Mecca, than to the Apostles of Jesus Christ: and its object was less to enlighten, to purify, and to console the Heathen, than to change their task-masters; substituting beads for ruder amulets, and images of the Virgin for those of the different incarnations of Brahma, and the shorn and subtle Priests, more expert at shampooing troubled hearts, for the ruder and ancient Bonzes. The cross was no doubt planted on the Himalayas by the heralds of the *Propaganda*, but it was rather as a symbol of enchantment than as one of moral history and aggression; and we need no other evidence to prove how execrably these *quasi*-Christian Missionaries betrayed their trust, by turning artists, mechanics, doctors, and engineers, than the memoirs which they have thought proper to give to the world. Of such remanent Churches as these and more modern Papal Missionaries have left in India, the reader will find every thing that needs to be known in the Letters of the Abbé Dubois.

The origination of the British and Foreign Bible Society is an illustration of the manner in which the greatest developments may arise from apparently trivial, if not insignificant, causes. The excellent Thomas Charles, of Bala, who, after quitting the Established Church in 1785, had long and successfully devoted his attention to the Sunday-school system in North Wales, was powerfully impressed on one occasion by a little girl of a certain Sabbath-school, (to attend which she had to walk seven miles,) complaining to him with tears, that the severity of the weather, on the previous Sunday, had prevented her reading the Bible as usual at school. Mr. Charles had often mourned over the paucity of copies of the Scriptures in the Principality; but this was the incident that suggested the scheme of a Bible Society, on the catholic basis of the Religious Tract Society. On the next annual visit, therefore, of this apostolic man to the metropolis, in 1802, at a committee-meeting of the latter institution, of which he was a member, he first broached the subject to his coadjutors, among whom were the justly venerated Matthew Wilks, Steinkopff, Hughes, Townshend, Alers, Freshfield, Gouldsmith, Pellet, Shrubsole, Tarn, &c., most of whom have long since ceased from their labours. These capacious-hearted men responded to the appeal of Mr. Charles for a better supply of the word of life to Wales, but asked, "If for Wales, why not for the empire and the world?" At the next meeting of the committee, Dec. 21st, 1802, the secretary "read a paper on the importance of forming a society for the distribution of Bibles in various languages;" other preparatory meetings immediately followed: some drew up rules for the proposed society; others ascertained, by extensive correspondence, the great dearth of Bibles, even in England; while a still greater number investigated the prospect of procur-

ing requisite funds. At the fourth annual meeting of the Religious Tract Society, in 1803, the formation of the Bible Society was the predominant theme; and the title of the institution, after some delay, was decided to be, "The British and Foreign Bible Society." A circular, subscribed by fourteen gentlemen, at the head of whom was Granville Sharpe, produced a public meeting in the London Tavern, March 7th, 1804, attended by some three hundred gentlemen, the result of which was the formation of the Bible Society; and thus, from the opportune tears of an anonymous Welsh child, arose the noblest institution in Great Britain, whose present issues would defy almost any form of arithmetical computation. The importance of the occasion will justify our borrowing the descriptive record of that memorable meeting from the pages of the Rev. John Owen, the first clerical secretary.

"The business of the day was opened by Robert Cowie, Esq.: William Alers, Esq., followed, and he was succeeded by Samuel Mills, Esq., and the Rev. Mr. Hughes. These gentlemen explained the nature and design of the projected Society; demonstrated its necessity, from the great want of the Holy Scriptures, and the insufficiency of all the means in existence to supply it; and, in a strain of good sense, temperate zeal, and perspicuous information, urged the importance of its immediate establishment. After these speakers had sat down, there arose another advocate, in the person of the Rev. Mr. Steinkopff, whose address corroborated what had been already advanced, and in the happiest manner completed the effect." (Mr. Owen adds,) "The author had yielded, he would confess, a reluctant assent to the pleadings of those by whom Mr. Steinkopff was preceded: but the representation which *he* gave of that scarcity of the Scriptures which he had himself observed in foreign parts, the unaffected simplicity with which he described the spiritual wants of his German fellow-countrymen, and the tender pathos with which he appealed on their behalf to the compassion and munificence of British Christians, spoke so forcibly both to the mind and the heart, as to subdue all the author's remaining powers of resistance, and decide him in favour of the institution.

"After Mr. Steinkopff had resumed his seat, the author rose, by an impulse which he had neither the inclination nor the power to disobey, in order to express his conviction that such an institution as that which had been recommended, was needed. His emotions, on rising, were such as he would not attempt to describe. Surrounded by a multitude of Christians, whose doctrinal and ritual differences had for ages kept them asunder, and who had been taught to regard each other with a sort of pious estrangement, or rather of consecrated hostility, and reflecting on the object and the end which had brought them so harmoniously together, he felt an impression, which the lapse of more than ten years has scarcely diminished, and which no length of time will entirely remove. The circumstance was new; nothing analogous to it had, perhaps, been exhibited before the public, since Christians had begun to organize among each other the strife of separation. To the author it appeared to indicate the dawn of a new era in Christendom; and to portend something like the return of those auspicious days, when 'the multitude of them that believed were of

one heart and of one soul;’ and when, as a consequence of that union, to a certain degree at least, ‘the word of God mightily grew and prevailed.’

“After giving utterance to these feelings, in the best way he could, the author moved, as requested, the following resolutions :

“‘I. A Society shall be formed, with this designation,—THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY; of which the sole object shall be to encourage a wider dispersion of the Holy Scriptures.’”

From this unromantic and comparatively recent knot of Christian agents has arisen a movement all but co-extensive with civilized life, and which has collected the following annual amounts from the public, and required its contributions in forms that will appear in the course of the present article.

EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
During First Year	619	10	2	Brought up.....	1,615,287	12	2
Second.....	1,637	17	5	Twenty-sixth.....	81,610	13	6
Third.....	5,053	18	3	Twenty-seventh.....	83,002	10	9
Fourth.....	12,206	10	3	Twenty-eighth.....	98,409	10	9
Fifth.....	14,565	10	7	Twenty-ninth.....	88,676	1	10
Sixth.....	18,543	17	1	Thirtieth.....	70,404	16	7
Seventh.....	28,302	13	7	Thirty-first.....	84,249	13	4
Eighth.....	32,419	19	7	Thirty-second.....	107,483	19	7
Ninth.....	69,496	13	8	Thirty-third.....	103,171	5	2
Tenth.....	84,652	1	5	Thirty-fourth.....	91,179	14	11
Eleventh.....	81,021	12	5	Thirty-fifth.....	106,509	6	4
Twelfth.....	103,680	18	8	Thirty-sixth.....	110,175	8	5
Thirteenth.....	89,230	9	9	Thirty-seventh.....	133,934	18	9
Fourteenth.....	71,099	1	7	Thirty-eighth.....	90,968	9	5
Fifteenth.....	92,237	1	4	Thirty-ninth.....	86,964	10	6
Sixteenth.....	123,547	12	3	Fortieth.....	84,669	8	3
Seventeenth.....	79,560	13	6	Forty-first.....	85,817	15	9
Eighteenth.....	90,445	6	4	Forty-second.....	105,851	2	9
Nineteenth.....	77,076	0	10	Forty-third.....	128,525	3	3
Twentieth.....	89,493	17	8	Forty-fourth.....	105,042	19	1
Twenty-first.....	94,044	3	5	Forty-fifth.....	88,831	1	2
Twenty-second.....	96,014	13	7	Forty-sixth.....	97,246	2	0
Twenty-third.....	69,962	12	3	Forty-seventh.....	103,543	10	10
Twenty-fourth.....	86,242	9	8	Forty-eighth.....	103,930	9	10
Twenty-fifth.....	104,132	6	11	Forty-ninth.....	108,449	0	10
Carried up.....	£1,615,287	12	2	Total.....	£3,963,935	5	9

Thus, at the time when most of the European nations were involved in the martial excitement consequent on their transition from the old forms of worn-out absolutism to a freer condition; when novel theories of civil liberty had matched the ardent, the imaginative, and the discontented labouring classes against the ancient privileged orders; when all the bonds of international amity were in a state of apparent dissolution; when commerce, restrained by feudal laws, was as much in need of freedom as the middle and lower orders of society; when a fierce spirit of infidelity, rising chiefly in France, discovered how congenial it was to other countries, where empty professions of Christianity and a corrupted Priesthood had degenerated, as they ever must, into

various forms of scepticism; and when the vast majority in almost every European country could hardly be said to write or read their own language; Providence was preparing in this institution the means of stemming these various evils, and of enabling the oppressed and the neglected to make reprisals, in a form the most desirable for all. There may, indeed, be readers who think that the distribution of the Scriptures has nothing to do with the extension of commerce, the adjustment of civil institutions, or the impulse of education; but they cannot deny that these have followed the formation of the institution; and we are persuaded that, in combination with other causes, the events are more illustrative of the *propter hoc* than of the *cum hoc*. At all events, it is no ordinary gratification to the friends of the Bible Society, which has derived no part of its income from sectarian zeal, that the institution has maintained the integrity of its catholic foundation, unimpaired by any of those denominational influences, which have gathered around it.

In reviewing the transactions of this Society, and others of a kindred character which arose during the stormy period of the Napoleon wars, a multitude of pleasing and of disagreeable reflections equally solicit our attention. That the Society would become a vast literary establishment for issuing new translations and revising old ones,—and that, as the Queen of all other voluntary institutions for the promotion of Christian objects, it would, in that character, receive from all parties a tribute larger than was ever annually contributed to one object before,—and that, by the continued issues of copies of the Scriptures, it would mould the destinies of nations, which had previously been little the better for the existence of Christianity,—were results such as were scarcely contemplated at the first, to the extent to which they have appeared within so short a period; or, possibly, the magnitude of the scheme might have been a hinderance to its being undertaken. But the founders of the Society began with aiming at what was actually practicable,—not doubting that in the continuance of their work they would be abundantly rewarded. And, if we may believe that minds of kindred taste on earth renew their special fellowships in heaven, and are there still cognizant of the progress of mortal history, with what ecstasy must the group of biblical translators, from Jerome and Origen downwards, to Morrison, Carey, Marshman, and Leyden, now contemplate the rapid transfusion of that word, to which they owe their salvation and earthly fame, into more languages than were known to exist, when Peter dispatched his Epistle from Babylon, or when Strabo finished his Geography!

A singular felicity has attended the Society from its origin, in its having had for Secretaries, Presidents, Editors, and other coadjutors, persons eminently qualified by appropriate talents for business, and that rarest of the gifts of Christian men,—a temper at once energetic and courteous, abounding in charity

without the forfeiture of dignity. Such, we conceive, were, on the whole, its first two Presidents, Lords Teignmouth and Bexley ; the former of whom, himself an eminent oriental scholar, and successor in the government of India to Lord Cornwallis, presided over the Society, and wrote its earlier annual Reports, for thirty years. Lord Bexley, his successor in 1834, filled the same office for seventeen years ; and though, at the time of his accession to the chair, he had lost, in a considerable degree, the political importance which had belonged to him, as the colleague of Lord Liverpool, during the latter period of the war, he was distinguished as a zealous and successful champion of the Society, amidst the controversies by which it was assailed. Of similar qualifications were the Rev. John Owen, who was the first Clerical and gratuitous Secretary for eighteen years ; the Rev. Joseph Hughes, to whom the Society mainly owed its formation, and who was the Dissenting Secretary for twenty-four years ; the Rev. Andrew Brandram, who succeeded Mr. Owen, and ably filled his post for twenty-seven years ; and the Rev. Dr. Steinkopff,—the estimable Pastor of the German Church in the Savoy, and the only survivor of the founders,—who rendered the most important services gratuitously for eighteen years, as the Foreign Secretary to the Society. The institution was not less happy in having for Editors Messrs. Platt and Greenfield ; to the former of whom the Christian world is indebted for the gratuitous superintendence of the Amharic version of the Bible ; and to the latter, for the translation of the New Testament into Hebrew,—since improved by Dr. M'Caul,—and other most valuable productions. Important aid was rendered to the institution, through a series of years, by Drs. Paterson and Henderson, as foreign agents ; and it was by the editorial skill of the latter that the Icelandic translation of the Scriptures was successfully carried through the press ; while Mr. Dudley has for nearly thirty years contributed largely to the triumph of the enterprise, by his felicitous method of engineering into operation the various Bible associations, which constitute the extremities of the organization.

All these gifted officers would, however, have been comparatively ineffectual, if Providence had not opportunely raised a congenial band of translators, among whom were most conspicuous the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore, to whom the East is indebted for the invaluable boon of the word of God in above thirty different languages and dialects ; while Morrison, Milne, and Gutzlaff have performed a similar service for China. Indeed, every section of the Protestant Church that has occupied the missionary field, has shared in the honour of contributing translators of the Scriptures ; and it is but an act of justice to present, as far as we are able, a view of their respective shares in the collateral operations of the Bible Society. Besides these, the twelve MS. volumes in the Earl-street Library contain illustrations of the extensive and gratuitous services rendered by

numbers of domestic and foreign scholars, who, though neither occupying office, nor known to the public as important benefactors to the institution, contributed in no small degree to the perfection of the literary labours on which the credit of the Society mainly depended. Among this class, we have pleasure in selecting the names of Dr. Adam Clarke, Professor Carlyle, and the Rev. Mr. Usko, all of whom combined to enable the Society to correct the text of the Arabic in Walton's Polyglott; and it was owing to the wisdom of the first-mentioned of the three, in constructing a scale of types, that the Society was enabled to print the Scriptures in the Tartar language.*

The progress of a good idea, however self-evident when it has attained its practical maturity, is always slow at first: it has to fight its way through the prejudices of the imbecile, the lukewarm, and the hostile, who, though dissident in their antagonism, virtually combine to preserve the old conditions of hardship on which truth has ever achieved its victories. It was thus with the British and Foreign Bible Society. The project alarmed the orthodox Churchman, and startled the rigid Dissenter, while it excited the sneers of the profane, and to the thrifty worldling of the metropolis and the provinces, appeared nothing better than superlative extravagance. The lifeless religionists of all parties seem to have opined that the siege intended to be instituted by means of the Bible, in every locality of ignorance and vice, boded no other result than either the development of a questionable enthusiasm, or the growth of an inordinate love of theologic controversy. The manufacturer read the programme for the formation of the Society with evident distrust, and thought that some plan to increase the power of human muscles, or that of a more stolid endurance, on the part of his workmen, of long hours and low wages, would have been more opportune.

Magnificent as the auspices of the institution were, after it had existed only a few years, and although a spirit of eminent piety breathed in all its operations, it soon became evident that its goodness was no protection from assault. A small, but pertinacious, band of antagonists, both clerical and laic, appeared, with Bishop Marsh at their head, in a long succession of pamphlets, which were designed to stop the circulation of the Scriptures, except when accompanied with the Book of Common Prayer, issuing under the sanction of the Established Church. Dr. Marsh, Mr. Norris, of Hackney, Bishop Randolph, Dr. Wordsworth, the writers in the "*British Critic*," Mr. Twining (an East Indian Director), Major Scott Waring, and Mr. John Croker, brought their respective contribu-

* How much the Committee felt itself indebted to Dr. Clarke, was evident from its voting to him for his services £50, which he thus nobly refused: "God forbid that I should receive any part of the Society's funds! Let this money return to its source." It was mainly owing to Dr. Clarke and his colleagues that, in 1809, the Wesleyan Society, by a general collection, presented the institution with the sum of £1,300. At a later period, the Centenary Committee also voted £1,000 to the Society.

tions. Some of these writers accused the Society of being a heterogeneous medley of all parties, whose co-operation could only endanger the Church,—of being officious in obtruding its gifts where they were not needed, or of making an ostentatious display of their patronage and their success. Others represented it as a rival to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; while one of the hostile Clergy appealed against the Society, because he thought “a Bible given away by a Papist will be productive of Popery; the Socinian will make his Bible speak and spread Socinianism; while the Calvinist, the Baptist, and the Quaker will teach the opinions peculiar to their sects. *Supply these men with Bibles, (I speak as to a true Churchman,) and you supply them with arms against yourself!*” Nor was this the worst that was said. One Mr. Norris, a Clergyman, denounced the Bible Society as “a device for extorting their pence from the poor,” nay, as “a revival of the Solemn League and Covenant;” and, in a strain of mawkish ridicule, blamed the “provision of seats for ladies,” which had been announced in some of the advertisements of the Society, as a scheme likely to deteriorate their modesty! Other opponents viewed the Bible Society as a new phase of Antichrist, or a libel on the bench of Bishops; and, while they disowned the need for its existence, they professed to account for its success merely from its novelty, and as confidently predicted its speedy fall. Some affirmed that “to familiarize the poor with the Bible would be to lessen the reverence they felt for it,” and that its distribution among our soldiers and sailors could have no other effect than to foment mutiny, or interfere with discipline. The friends of the institution, who meanwhile looked with complacent pity on this impotent scolding of the wind, had greater cause for alarm, when their operations were assailed by Messrs. Twining, Major Scott Waring,* and other political writers, who were connected with the East India Company, and the *animus* of whose sentiments was in harmony with the following sample of illiberal and self-refuting sophistry, which we quote from Mr. Twining’s pamphlet:—

“*My fears of attempts to disturb the religious systems of India* have been especially excited by my hearing that a Society exists in this country, the *chief* object of which is the *universal* dissemination of the Christian faith, particularly among those nations of the East to whom we possess a safe facility of access, and whose minds and doctrines are known to be most obscured by the darkness of infidelity. Upon this topic, so delicate and solemn, I shall for the present make but one observation. I shall only observe, that if a Society having such objects in view does exist, and if the leading members of that Society are also leading members of the East India Company; and not only of

* Mr. Twining’s pamphlet, which appeared in 1808, was in the form of “A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company, on the Danger of Interfering in the religious Opinions of the Natives of India,” &c. The title of Major Scott Waring’s performance was, “Observations on the present State of the East India Company,” &c.

the East India Company, but of the Court of Directors; nay, Sir, not only of the Court of Directors, but of the Board of Control; if, I say, these alarming hypotheses are true, then, Sir, *are our possessions in the East already in a situation of most imminent and unprecedented peril; and no less a danger than the threatened extermination of our eastern sovereignty commands us to step forth and arrest the progress of such rash and unwarrantable proceedings.*"

Major Scott Waring, however, demanded "the immediate recall of every English Missionary, and a prohibition to all persons dependent on the Company from giving any assistance to the translation or circulation of our Holy Scriptures!" So that, had the vaticinations of these sages been regarded, we should now have possessed neither a Christian mission on the banks of the Ganges, nor a distributor of the Scriptures among a people second only to the Chinese in number and antiquity. But, though these writers appealed to the strongest passion that moves all wealthy corporations,—the fear of losing estate and power,—and to the not less dominant passion of the many, and the rights of conscience, whatever may have been thought of their productions among the men of Leadenhall-street and the Exchange, they produced no more interference with the current of the Bible Society's fortunes, than does the dabbling of the goatherd's feet in the stream of the Arno. And, in compassion to the friends of many of the earlier antagonists of the institution, some of whom probably lived to abjure their ill-founded fears, it is but charity to wish their productions safely in oblivion.* If they failed to answer the object for which they were written, they accomplished worthier ends: for they instigated to a closer inspection of the biblical necessities of the world,—a calmer retrospect of the principles on which the Earl-street Society was founded; and, while they exhibited a new form of the bigotry that never dies, and, like Cerberus of old, barks at nothing so furiously as at the morning sun, they taught the brave band of good men that belonged to the *true* catholic Church of Christ the importance of more cordial unity; and, what was not less opportune, this controversy reminded the merely political and commercial adventurers, who are always ready to lead the charge against anything, however noble, that moves from Divine impulses alone, that a war against the religious convictions of men who can prove that their projects are warranted by Scripture, is as hopeless an attempt as to command the rainbow from the sky, or to stay the progress of frost in the Polar Seas.

The Society, of course, first applied itself to the wants of our own countrymen, and was thus exempt from the charge, that

* The war against the Bible Society raged, on various grounds, from 1803 to 1818; and in the library of Earl-street there are to be found sixteen volumes in 8vo. of the various controversial pieces that appeared on all sides. Some few other *brochures* have been published since the above period; but they chiefly refer to the translations, &c.

has been often preferred against other institutions, of promoting the welfare of nations remote and unknown, while they entirely neglected the equally necessitous inhabitants of Great Britain. For, though the Society has always availed itself of the resources of art to make its benefactions as nearly universal as possible, it has uniformly done more for our own fellow-subjects than for those of any other nation. Of this the reader will be easily convinced, when he remembers that it has issued, in the English language, 16,023,266 copies, either of the Old or New Testament; 117,543 copies for the use of the Irish; 816,759 copies in Welsh; 143,645 in Gaelic; and 7,250 copies in the Manx language; making an aggregate of 17,108,463 copies of the word of God. To insure the judicious distribution of this almost unimaginable number of volumes, the Society has called into existence, in Great Britain and its colonial dependencies, 8,819 auxiliary associations.

But the Bible Society did not long limit its services to our own country; for it became the means of raising sixty-three other parental institutions, whose localities, names, and issues we learn from one of the publications of the Society.

FOREIGN SOCIETIES,

FORMERLY OR AT PRESENT ASSISTED BY THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, WITH THE AMOUNT OF THEIR ISSUES.

WESTERN EUROPE.

<i>French, Breton, Spanish, Catalanian, Portuguese, German, &c.</i>	Copies of Scriptures.
1. Protestant Bible Society at Paris, instituted 1818, with 132 Auxiliaries	261,303
2. French and Foreign Bible Society at Paris, instituted 1833, with Auxiliaries	205,877
3. Strasbourg Bible Society, instituted 1815 (chiefly German Bibles and Testaments)	73,918
Issued from the Society's Depôt in Paris, from April, 1820, 2,198,366 copies.	

NORTHERN EUROPE.

<i>Icelandic, Swedish, Finnish, Lapponese, Danish, Faroese, &c.</i>	
4. Icelandic Bible Society, instituted 1815	10,445
5. Swedish Bible Society, instituted 1809, with Auxiliaries	660,432
The Agency at Stockholm, formed 1832, has issued 508,463 copies.	
6. Norwegian Bible Society, instituted 1816	33,733
The Agency at Christiania, formed 1832, has issued 71,302 copies.	
7. Stavanger Bible Society, instituted 1828	7,017
8. Finnish Bible Society, instituted 1812, at Abo, with many Branches...	110,561
9. Danish Bible Society, instituted 1814, with Auxiliaries	193,692

CENTRAL EUROPE.

10. Netherlands Bible Society, with Auxiliaries	456,420
The Agency at Amsterdam and Breda, appointed 1843, has issued 305,659 copies.	
11. Belgian and Foreign Bible Society, at Brussels, instituted 1834	7,623
12. Belgian Bible Associations, instituted 1839	14,909
The Agency at Brussels, appointed 1835, has issued 189,005 copies.	
13. Antwerp Bible Society, instituted 1834	439
14. Ghent Bible Society, instituted 1834	8,980

Carried forward..... 2,045,229

Copies of
Scriptures.

Brought forward.....	2,045,229
15. Sleswick-Holstein Bible Society, instituted 1815, with Auxiliaries	130,296
16. Eutin Bible Society, instituted 1817, for the Principality of Lübeck ...	5,296
17. Lübeck Bible Society, instituted 1814	14,644
18. Hamburgh-Altona Bible Society, instituted 1814, with Branches	97,631
19. Bremen Bible Society, instituted 1815, with an Auxiliary	26,913
20. Lauenburgh-Ratzeburgh Bible Society, instituted 1816	10,675
21. Rostock Bible Society, instituted 1816	19,154
22. Hanover Bible Society, instituted 1814, with Auxiliaries	125,539
23. Lippe-Deilmold Bible Society, instituted 1816	3,569
24. Waldeck and Pyrmont Bible Society, instituted 1817	2,800
25. Hesse-Cassel Bible Society, instituted 1818	30,000
26. Hanau Bible Society, instituted 1818	3,316
27. Marburg Bible Society, instituted 1825	7,932
28. Frankfort Bible Society, instituted 1816	73,565
The Agency at Frankfort, appointed 1830, has issued 1,230,880 copies.	
29. Hesse-Darmstadt Bible Society, instituted 1817, with Auxiliaries	31,484
30. Duchy of Baden Bible Society, instituted 1820, with Auxiliaries	18,585
31. Würtemberg Bible Society, instituted 1812, with Auxiliaries	601,797
32. Bavarian Protestant Bible Institution at Nuremberg, instituted 1821, with Auxiliaries	169,849
33. Saxon Bible Society, instituted 1814, with Auxiliaries	209,664
34. Anhalt-Bernburg Bible Society, instituted 1821	4,786
35. Anhalt-Dessau Bible Society	3,310
36. Weimar Bible Society, instituted 1821	3,773
37. Eisenach Bible Society, instituted 1818	4,938
38. Brunswick Bible Society, instituted 1815	700
39. Prussian Bible Society at Berlin, instituted 1805, with Auxiliaries.....	1,678,677
Issued to the Prussian troops since 1830.....	344,938
The Agency at Cologne, appointed 1847, has issued 209,022 copies.	

SWITZERLAND AND ITALY.

German, French, Italian, and Romanese.

40. Basle Bible Society, instituted 1804.....	423,814
41. Schaffhausen Bible Society, instituted 1813	13,179
42. Zurich Bible Society, instituted 1812, with an Auxiliary at Winterthur.	15,163
43. St. Gall Bible Society, instituted 1813.....	37,436
44. Aargovian Bible Society, instituted 1815.....	19,454
45. Berne Bible Society	44,646
46. Neuchâtel Bible Society, instituted 1816	19,016
47. Lausanne Bible Society, instituted 1814	47,692
48. Geneva Bible Society, instituted 1814	69,474
49. Glarus Bible Society, instituted 1819	5,000
50. Coire or Chur Bible Society, instituted 1813	12,267
51. Waldenses Bible Society at La Tour, instituted 1816	4,238

GREECE AND TURKEY.

52. Ionian Bible Society, instituted 1819, at Corfu, with three Auxiliaries .	7,377
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RUSSIA.

53. Russian Bible Society, St. Petersburg, previous to its suspension by an Imperial Ukase, in 1826, had 289 Auxiliaries, and had printed the Scriptures in various languages, the circulation of which is still allowed	861,105
54. Russian Protestant Bible Society at St. Petersburg, instituted 1826, with numerous Auxiliaries	250,325
The Agency at St. Petersburg, formed 1828, has issued 308,505 copies.	

Carried forward..... 7,499,266

	Copies of Scriptures.
Brought forward.....	7,499,266
INDIA.	
55. Calcutta Bible Society, instituted 1811, with various Branches	674,654
Serampore Missionaries	200,000
56. North India Bible Society, at Agra, instituted 1845	46,574
57. Madras Bible Society, instituted 1820	701,409
58. Bombay Bible Society, instituted 1813	185,632
59. Colombo Bible Society, instituted 1812, with various Branches in Ceylon	39,263
60. Jaffna Bible Society	102,323
AMERICA.	
61. American National Bible Society	7,572,967
62. American and Foreign Bible Society	686,696
63. Philadelphia Bible Society	233,039
Total copies of Scriptures.....	17,941,823

There is one aspect, however, of the labours of this Society which, viewed in relation to their ultimate moral results on millions of our fallen world, must be pronounced as purely incommensurable. It was no part of the original design of this institution to become a great scholastic establishment, nor has it ever affected the praise of erudition, at any period of its existence. But we very much mistake the judgment of our scholastic readers, if, when they have carefully examined the following *précis* of the translations of the Bible Society, they do not claim for it the credit of a far greater erudition than could be imputed, at any period, to the most celebrated scholastic institution of any part of the world. We must entreat the reader's forbearance while we lay the substance of these extraordinary achievements before him. We do not intend, for a moment, to assert that the whole of the ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE new translations of parts, or of the whole, of the word of God, have been made on the Society's premises, or immediately by its agents in London or other parts of Great Britain; but, if there be any truth in the old legal maxim, "*Qui facit per alium, facit per se*," then, whether the Bible Society procured such translations of the Scriptures by suitable grants to the poor Christian scholars of other nations, or furnished types, paper, and temporary salaries to learned Missionaries employed in such works, it is only fair to yield to it the credit of that enlightened Christian wisdom, without the aid of which such works could never have been accomplished, or, if performed at all, would probably either have lain on the shelf as mere MSS., or, even if printed, would have appeared in number so ridiculously inadequate, as to be virtually useless.

In reviewing this remarkable array of new translations of the Scriptures, made, for the most part, not into those languages with which the long researches of scholarship had made European *literati* more or less familiar, but into those more recondite

branches of human speech which belong to the Ugro-Tartarian, the Indo-Chinese, the Sanscrit, and the Polynesian families, one can scarcely believe the result, even with the evidence before his eyes. We have not forgotten what a parade of learning has often been thought necessary, in some former instances, when the object was, not to make a new translation, but only to supersede a few obsolete or inept terms in an old version; and what feats were thought to have been performed when the work was done. But here are more than a hundred new translations, wrought for the most part in obscurity, in less than fifty years; and, although Roscommon had long ago justly said,—

“Good translation is no easy art;”

and Jerome had observed, in a sense strongly apologetic for his own work, “*Post priorum studia in domo Domini, quod possumus laboramus;*” and although theorists have marshalled an all but deterrent host of the qualifications indispensable in the translator of the Scriptures,—the work done is not more extraordinary for its amount, than it is for the comparative correctness with which it has been performed. It has happened with this department of labour as in the fabrication of the epic. Critics have framed rules for its formation, which they have insisted upon as essential canons; but those who have written epics worth reading either wrote without a knowledge of these rules, or laughed at them: and so the modern translators of the Bible have performed their work, either in ignorance of the pre-requisites on which collegiate critics have insisted, or certainly without much normal observance of their literary statutes. Necessity, the mother of all good achievements, in concurrence with the Divine aid imparted to conscientious and able Missionaries, has produced the work of translation as far as it has gone; and, under the same influence, in a century more, we have strong faith that the Scriptures will have been rendered into every language on earth, spoken by any considerable number of people. While we trust that such will be the result, we are aware that we cannot expect to find in every Missionary the sacred heroism that enlarged the hearts of Carey, Morrison, Jowett, and Martyn; but we may reasonably hope that their example, the greater facilities we now possess for linguistic studies and travel, and the more profound conviction of the Churches that such translations are a legitimate part of the great work of the Evangelist, will impel our well-educated Missionaries to give adequate attention to a work that must indefinitely increase their posthumous usefulness.

To perceive, however, how far the large editions of the various translations of Scripture are from meeting the wants of the respective nations for whom they are prepared, the reader has only to cast his eye over the portentously disproportionate figures presented on the following page.

TOTAL KNOWN PRINTED COPIES OF THE SCRIPTURES.	FOR WHAT COUNTRY.	ESTIMATED POPULATION.
3,122,121	India, with its Dependencies	150,000,000
Not 200,000	Persia	7,000,000
2,000	Afghans	5,000,000
50,000	Armenians	5,000,000
About 800,000	Sweden	3,100,000
About 400,000	Denmark	3,600,000
2,000	Albania	1,200,000
25,000	Modern Greece	1,200,000
207,000 (Protestant Translation)	Italy	22,400,000
280,000 (Ditto)	Spain	12,000,000
73,800 (Ditto)	Portugal	6,500,000
10,000	Wallachia	3,000,000
1,400,000 in Russian language...	Russia	60,000,000
None since 1804	Bosnia	1,000,000
None since 1804	Styria, &c.	2,200,000
500,000	Poland	10,000,000
Less than 100,000	China	{ 352,000,000 in China Proper.
About 50,000	Turkey	12,000,000
Few or none	Japan	50,000,000
None known	Formosa	2,500,000
3,500	Java	9,500,000
About 30,000	Madagascar	4,700,000
250	North Africa (Berbers)	3,000,000
None known	Ashantee	3,000,000

The stirring facts that are indicated by these simple figures, and which none but the Christian can be expected adequately to feel, are by no means the whole of the evil; for if some Divine impulse should induce the whole population of Great Britain, Germany, France, and America alone, to resolve on the immediate possession of a copy of the Scriptures, it is questionable whether such a want could be supplied before a large portion of the present generation had passed from the earth.

Very few, probably, of our readers are aware of the important result of the Society's labours, as it appears in the progressive formation of its invaluable biblical Library: we shall therefore be excused for laying before some of our remoter biblical students a general summary of this unique Library. The bulk of the volumes are copies of the Scriptures, including, in addition to those in which the Society has been immediately concerned, rare copies of first or early editions of the Bible in various languages, many of which have been presented to the Library by generous contributors, who wisely concluded that volumes so scarce and precious were thus likely to be more useful and more safely preserved, than if retained in private possession. We well know that some of our Collegiate Institutions may boast even rarer treasures of this nature; but we are persuaded that no national, collegiate, or private biblical library can approach that which is to be found on the Society's premises in Blackfriars. In addition to the printed Bibles there are also valuable copies of more or less of the

Scriptures in manuscript, in about fifty different languages, some of which have never yet appeared in print. The MSS. are, indeed, not all strictly parts of the Bible, but they all relate to it, and form a most important *apparatus* to departments of bibliographic criticism entirely new. A considerable portion of this curious collection consists of lexicons, grammars, and other philologic treatises, which refer to the business of translation. This Library contains also a large assortment of commentaries, liturgies, catechisms, books of topography and travel, and the Reports of all the Bible Societies in the world, together with a great variety of miscellaneous works, all converging on the existence and object of the Society. But the feature of the Library which is most attractive to ourselves, next to the Bibles in all languages, and the MSS. to which we have referred, is a collection of twelve folio volumes, also in manuscript, containing the history of the translations in ninety-four languages, in which the Society had been concerned, down to 1829. And we are informed that similar materials are preserved for continuing these historic records to the present time. It is to these most precious pages that Mr. Bagster is largely indebted for the materials of his "Bible of every Land;" and we doubt not that the literary stores of these memorials will be still more extensively useful.*

In preserving the MS. memorials which contain the substantive history of its respective translations, the Bible Society has acted with great and righteous foresight, not only with a view to the defence of its erudite labours, should they ever be assailed; but also as by these records are preserved important aids to future scholarship, when the era shall have arrived to give to these documents that valuable authority which they must needs acquire from the lapse of time and the progressions of society. It would, indeed, have been an invaluable treasure to biblical criticism now, if we had possessed similar records, illustrative of the manner in which, and in the face of what difficulties, the translations and versions of the Scriptures were made, from the Italic, which were probably the earliest of the post-apostolic translations, down to the later translations, accomplished in the days of the Byzantine scholars, as well as those achieved in the fervour of the Reformation. And even to a greater extent than by the formation of this inestimable biblical Library, the Society has been the means of making contributions to scholastic criticism of the utmost importance; not merely, indeed, as some would imagine, by simply increasing the facilities of study, but by having given a vast impulse to the growth of eminent biblical scholars. In 1804, when the Society started its machinery, there was no lack of celebrated linguists, either in our own or other countries; but

* We confess ourselves to be utterly at a loss to explain the fact that this sumptuous collection of books has no Librarian! Fie, gentlemen of the Bible Society! We love you for the economy that appears in every thing, but this is to be "penny wise and pound foolish" with a vengeance.

until after that time very few—the Missionary agents always excepted—had turned their attention seriously to such a cultivation of the ancient and foreign languages, generally unknown even in the best Universities, as would justify their being trusted to translate the Scriptures. Even yet, except the Missionaries, neither Germany, with all its philological pomp, nor France, with its literary ambition, nor England, with its ample collegiate endowments, possesses more than a very few Orientalists at all deserving the epithet, in comparison with the Serampore band, or even with the continental group consisting of Golius, Erpenius, and Schultens. We have, indeed, long had professorships for these things at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere; but we have yet to learn how much the better biblical scholarship has been for *them*, except it be for the occasional purchase of some valuable manuscripts, or the felicitous accident of becoming possessed of an important legacy of Oriental works,—the purchase or the labour of men who needed no collegiate emoluments to induce them to a preference of these studies. But, through the influence of the Bible Society, Europe now contains a considerable staff of well-tested biblical linguists, who, instead of wasting the ripe years of their intellect in the comparatively barren scholarship of Greek and Roman prosody, and poetic erudition, have spent their hard days and unquiet nights in translating the word of God into some language, which was like opening the doors of heaven, to admit millions of our fallen race to its glory.

Let any honest scholar cast his eyes over the Polyglott copies of the Scriptures, that are now cheaply sold in the biblical market, and ask himself the fair and serious question, “How many years might have transpired before any of the Universities would have troubled themselves with the fact, that 700,000,000 of immortal beings had no means of reading in their own tongue the word of God? and how many centuries would have been required for them to have issued only fifty new translations of the Scriptures?” If they be the Protestant ecclesiastic establishments which they boast themselves to be, such an object, surely, was of a nature congenial to the purposes of their existence. With a few honourable exceptions, and those almost all owing to individual enterprise, the great bulk of the translations have been made, it is true, by Scotch or by Englishmen; but, in most instances, *by men whom those Universities would not have admitted to compete for their ordinary honours!* Let the Heads of Houses and their Professors cast their eyes down the lists that show by whom the Biblical translations have been made within the past fifty years into the Monosyllabic, the Indo-Chinese, the Indo- and Medo-Persian, the Sanscrit, the Turkish, the Ugro-Tartarian, the Caucasian, the Malayan, the African, the Polynesian, and the Oceanic groups of languages; and ask, in the words of the Scribes of a former day, “What do *we*?” It is not, however, our object to reproach those who ought to have done this work long ago,

but to claim "honour for whom honour is due." Providence has always superseded men who might, but will not, work; and we have now another remarkable instance before us, in the brilliant army of Missionary translators, nearly the whole of whom were poor,—often persecuted,—and who, when they left their country for the scene of their respective labours, received more sneers than blessings. For the future purposes of biblical learning, the Bible Society, in the persons of its associated translators and revisers, and such noble printing-offices as Mr. Bagster's, have done more than had been previously achieved by all the collegiate linguists since the day of Pentecost. For a few shillings the poor biblical scholar can now obtain the means of pursuing his studies in almost any language that is vernacular to a great nation, or that ever was so; and thus enter into the inheritance of those stores of intellectual wealth, which have been accumulating from times almost as remote as the days of the Abrahamidæ. Let no one imagine that we have the slightest allusion to the question of the comparative scholarship of Church and Dissent; for letters have always been proverbially a republic. Genius is of all churches, and worth peculiar to no party; but it cannot be denied that the bulk, and the best, of the great translations of modern times have been made by men who neither used the Common Prayer, nor acknowledged any power on earth to impose creeds, but who yet loved good men, of all classes, who, like themselves, went about to do good. We solicit attention to the following lists of the more modern Translators, as belonging to the different sections of the Church.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

BY THE AGENTS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Tahitian Bible.....	{ By Rev. Henry Nott, revised by Revs. W. Howe and T. Joseph.
Rarotonga Bible	{ By Revs. J. Williams, C. Pitman, and A. Buzacott.
Samoa New Testament...	{ By the Missionaries collectively in those Islands.
Malagasy New Testament	{ By Revs. D. Jones, J. J. Freeman, D. Griffiths, and others.
Sichuana New Testament and portions of Old Testament.....	{ By Rev. Robert Moffatt.
Buriat Bible	By Revs. W. Swan and E. Stallybrass.
Chinese New Testament.....	By Rev. Dr. Morrison.
Ditto Old Testament	By Revs. Dr. Morrison and Milne.
Ditto New Testament	{ By Revs. Dr. Medhurst, C. W. Milne, J. Stronach, and others.
Ditto Old Testament	{ By Revs. Dr. Medhurst, C. W. Milne, and J. Stronach.
Malayalim Scriptures	By Rev. J. Kain.
Guzerattee ditto	By Revs. J. Skinner and W. Fyvie.
Teloogoo ditto	By Revs. E. Pritchett and J. Godon.

Canarese New Testament	By Rev. John Hands.
Ditto Old Testament	By Revs. J. Hands and W. Reeve.
Uron New Testament	By Revs. W. Buyers and J. H. Shurman.
Ditto Old Testament	By Revs. J. H. Shurman and Kennedy.

TRANSLATIONS EFFECTED BY THE AGENTS OF AMERICAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

Ottawa	Matthew and John	American Board.
Ojibbeway	Part of Gospels	Ditto
Delaware	—	Ditto
Seneca	—	Ditto
Iowa	Portions of Scriptures	Ditto
Chocktau	—	Ditto
Cherokee	—	Ditto
Pawnee	—	Ditto
Ponga	—	American Missionaries.
Grebo	—	American Board.
Hawaiian	—	American Bible Society.

WESLEYAN TRANSLATORS.

Irish	{ Rev. Jas. M'Quig, revised,—his revision now in general use by the Bible Society.
Singhalese	By Rev. B. Clough.
Indo-Portuguese	By Rev. R. Newstead.
Tamul	By Rev. P. Perceval.
Tongan	By several.
Feejee	By several.
Kaffir	By Rev. W. B. Boyce, and others.
Bechuana	By Rev. J. Archbell.
Chippeway	By Rev. P. Jones, and others.
Cree Indian	By Rev. James Evans, and others.
Mandingo	By Rev. R. M. MacBrair.

TRANSLATIONS EFFECTED BY MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES.

Delaware	Parts of New Testament	By David Zeisherge.
Arawack	Ditto	By Theo. Sol. Schleeman.
Negro-English	Entire Bible	—
Greenlandish	New Testament	By B. C. K. Schmidt.
Ditto	Psalter	By Valentine Müller.
Labrador	{ New Testament and Parts of Old Testament	{ By Messrs. Morrkcaht and Fritche.

We should have been glad to add to these lists a statement of translations effected by the valued agents of the Church Missionary Society: but this we have been unable to obtain, and the making of it out would, we are informed, involve much labour on the part of those who have official access to the requisite documents.

The relations which the British and Foreign Bible Society has sustained, from the beginning, with all the various associations which have been devoted to missionary, scholastic, and charitable objects, have been as honourable to itself, as important to them. While they have recruited its resources in some

measure, and at all events made the Bible Society better aware of the indigence of other nations, as well as our own, the Earlstreet institution has always found, in the agencies of such philanthropic bodies, the means of insuring a judicious distribution of the Scriptures. The contemporary institutions of a country rising from the same mental level, and breathing the same air, are generally formed so as to supply each other's need. What could the biblical confederation of Great Britain have done for foreign nations, without the living scholarship, the local knowledge, and the proverbial zeal of the Missionary Agents? And if there had existed no such wide-hearted Society as the one before us, in what comparatively attenuated results would many of our Missions have ended, dependent, as some of them would have been, on the precarious life of those whom love to God and his creatures had inspired with the purest bravery, and a wisdom too exalted and practical to have had its origin in any thing but in religion! But the history of Missions is rich in instances that show how the copies of the Bible which they were enabled to put into circulation, have, when the Station was unavoidably abandoned, brought the long-sown seed to an ample harvest; not to mention the important multiplication of the Evangelist's labours, in circumstances that forbade his personal agency.

Much as the Bible Society has, however, accomplished, through its co-operation with missionary institutions, it can scarcely be supposed to have been less useful in the department of education, especially among the poor. Its grants to schools form in themselves an interesting portion of its statistics; and where those grants have not been altogether eleemosynary, its usefulness has not been less, for bringing within the pedagogic army, and the homesteads of the thoughtful poor, cheap and attractive copies of that volume which is at once the best educator and friend. But for the means which the Bible Society has economically furnished, the condition of our Sunday scholars, whom we may now reckon by millions, would have been very inferior to what it is; for though the competitive laws of trade might have cheapened the Scriptures in some degree, Mammon would have always insisted on its *per-centage*, and our Sunday-schools, the best part of our national police, must have been abandoned to a greater measure of imperfect *vivâ voce* instruction, or to the equally questionable training of mere catechetic rote. And how shall we measure the utility to which the Bible Society may lay honourable claim, for its services to those nondescript organizations of charity, that have employed themselves in visiting prisons, asylums of the unfortunate, hospitals, the galleys, the poor-house, the emigrant ship, the districts of slavery, rapine, and war, the great establishments of commerce, and even the taverns, the barrack-yard, and the sailors'-home? for the Argus-eyes of Charity have surveyed them all. It may be, that the word of God has often been ridiculed, or long lain neglected, in these haunts of

human sadness ; but we have also evidence that the most desperate and callous who are often found in such localities have, through a casual glance at some text of holy writ, or through the patient conning of more taciturn sufferers, been won from their blasphemy and scoffing, into real discipleship to Him who bore all our woes, and converted them into secondary agencies for their permanent cure.

Apart from the especial object of its existence, no reasonable doubts can be entertained, that the Society has conferred important benefits on the community at large. Not to claim credit for the origination of a certain increase of trade, and for the virtual destruction of the Bible monopoly,—the moral condition of the nation is now far better understood, through that extended system of domiciliary visitation, which the agents of the Bible Society have employed, that they might learn and publish the wants of the poor. These visitants have brought to light terrific proofs of educational and religious indigence, which have largely contributed to that better care for the poor which is characteristic of the present age. Most of the friends of Bible distribution are also advocates of education ; and many a school and church owe their foundation to the discoveries thus made ; while to the same cause is attributable the existence of a great number of new charitable institutions, and the increased activity of old ones. To some adequate cause it must be referred, that the national habits are altogether so ameliorated within the present century, that the races of wine-bibbing Clergy and roystering gentry are almost extinct. The solitary churlishness which, a generation ago, often distinguished the man of property, and the rancid acrimony of political intolerance, are also on the wane. The sons of the older gentry have been made to acknowledge that the *parvenus* of successful commerce have proved their equals, whether in the college or on the hustings ; while the well-educated women of the middle classes have approximated to their aristocratic sisters, in almost every particular but that of rank. Drunkenness, improvidence, and rudeness of manners, still remain among the poor ; but even *they* reason better than their superiors of a former age, and many working men are better read in the history of the world, and of the sciences that nourish trade, than the mass of those thirsty squires who served the shrievalty half a century back, and hung men without remorse for poaching a shilling's-worth of fish by night, or passing a base crown over the counter. Even Parliament has caught the influence of improvement, and no longer tolerates duels, or shouts stentorian applause to speeches only remarkable for their rank and excessive imagery, or for their maudlin intolerance ; nor does it now permit its orators to finish harangues against revolution, by flinging a dirk into the floor.

All classes of the community have, indeed, improved, and exchanged mutual advantages, and have thus learned to find wis-

dom and virtue, where it was once supposed that only atheism and rebellion could dwell. Now, whence all this improvement in forty or fifty years? for we have no other half century as a precedent. We conceive that the improved knowledge of the better read, and the augmented circulation of copies of the Scriptures, have given a new impulse to the general intellect, and to all our Churches; and that few things could be mentioned, that have more largely contributed to this general growth of intelligence, and of improved feelings and manners, than the operations of the Bible Society, which, besides being itself a protest against sectarian bitterness, has had in its constant employ many thousands of agents, whose aim has been, not only to cheapen and universalize the possession of the Scriptures, but to induce their being read. It is hardly possible for mind to become familiar with the pure models of character, the judgments that Heaven passes on mortal deeds, and the overwhelming verities of the Bible, without acquiring a wider compass of view on all moral subjects, and even an elevation of feeling; for we see even these results in those sceptical persons who have been compelled to a more assiduous study of the books which they affect to disbelieve.

The Christian community is, however, far indeed, at present, from indicating any adequate sense of its duty to insure the universal cognition of the Book of Revelation. It is true, there have always been found the few, who have lived mainly under the ennobling inspiration that directed itself to the circulation of the Bible. Some small districts have occasionally been distinguished by spring-tides of renovated zeal, and the Society at large has, at certain epochs, exceeded the amplitude of its usual operations. It is cheering to witness even these transitory flashes of more vital energy in the heart of the Church; but the joy they excite is somewhat counteracted by our witnessing also, among the 20,000,000 of conscripts whom death marches yearly out of this world, many that were foremost for zeal, for hallowed scholarship, and for practical sagacity in this good cause; and by the fact that the fall of leaves, and the change of seasons, are often contemporary with the dissolution of once powerful auxiliaries, or with the extinction of families and churches, that had been the means of an effective co-operation. These are, indeed, occurrences that await all that is human, and that would be fatal to our theories of Christian progression, were it not for that other law of Providence, which so often illustrates its sovereign freedom, by raising other "princes from the dunghill," and thus compensating the world for the rare treasures which it is continually withdrawing. There was, indeed, in the year 1833, a Resolution passed by the various American Bible Societies, "*that, with the blessing of God and the co-operation of other Bible Societies throughout Christendom, the world shall be supplied with the Holy Scriptures in twenty years.*" Among many congenial resolves of the Transatlantic Christians, they seem to have conceived, that this *desideratum*

“would not be attained, unless some body of men should intend, purpose, and resolve, to do it *in a definite time.*” It was well that so noble a thought was in the heart of that young nation, that had not much at that period exceeded the jubilee of its own independent existence; but the conception, however magnificent, was rather a proof of the daring temper for enterprise that has marked its whole career, than a judicious resolution, warranted by the possibilities of the case. We are not, indeed, of opinion, that the measure of progression in the first half-century of the Bible Society ought to be indicative of the rate of its future advance; for if it do not transcend the compass of its past achievements, of what use will be the mature experience, the *prestige* of its name, its economized modes of work, its greater command of resources, and the freer intercourse which we now enjoy with the remotest nations of the earth? But we must not forget, that—though it is one of our Christian adages, that truth is a trust, to be freely and faithfully dispensed, at the hazard of entailing upon ourselves the curse of diminished knowledge and enfeebled faculties—it is only “one of a family, and two of a city,” that thus recognise the solemn relations of man to the truth they come to know. The bulk of Christian professors, who, indeed, are more active than ever in giving breadth and show to material and numerical Christianity, are either too intent on the dogmatic difficulties which new forms of scepticism have protruded on the Church,—or too much absorbed in the petty projects of denominational extension,—or too ambitious of presenting the forms of religion they have espoused, in new attractions of literature, economy, and art, to the world,—to set themselves seriously to think, how much nobler a preference it would be, in the estimation of Heaven, “to make all men see what is the mystery” of God manifest in the flesh, by the universal extension of the Bible, than to live through their earthly life in that concealed, but refined, species of selfishness, which may too surely exist in connexion with a gorgeous state of Christian profession. We have need, much need, to return to a better schooling of ourselves in the stern fundamentals of our faith. The ideas involved in the phrase, “the worth of the soul,” which was the living inspiration of the Puritan literature,—the “Awake thou that sleepest,” which ushered-in the successful ministry of the Wesleys,—“the love of Christ,” which threw such magnetic power into the veins of Berridge, Gilpin, Jonathan Edwards, the Erskines, and Whitefield,—the modern Church has never yet sufficiently imbibed. The cry, “To arms!”—“To horse!”—which the earnest warriors of old times shouted to their partisans in the city or the field, betokened a state of valorous fervour that must be seen in the Church, before we can bring within our view the reasonable prospect of “supplying the entire reading population of the world with the Holy Scriptures within twenty years.” And even then, if this high mood of hallowed enterprise could be insured for the period in question, it would be the utmost

adventure of faith to essay the achievement, however desirable the consummation. If the British and Foreign Bible Society has been able to obtain in half a century, from all sources, scarcely four millions of money, and has only itself issued 26,571,103 copies of the Old or New Testament; and if the sixty-three other great Bible Societies, in the other parts of the world, to which it has given birth, have only issued 17,941,823 copies of the Bible, making together a total of 44,512,926, (which, by the way, wastes at the alarming rate of 15 *per cent. per annum*.) we can scarcely be chargeable with an unreasonable want of confidence, if we hesitate to believe that the object can be accomplished within the present century. It is admitted how rapidly a building proceeds when the foundations are once laid, the scaffolding erected, and the work prepared to be put together; and we rejoice to think how much has been done towards the work, by the translation of the Scriptures into about two hundred different languages. Yet, when we glance at the researches of those ninety-two eminent linguists, geographers, and men of science, who enabled M. Balbi to present in so accurate a form his invaluable Atlas of languages,* in which it is shown how these tongues are constantly breeding new offspring, we fear that if the income of the Bible Society be tenfold, at its second Jubilee, what it is now, there will still be more languages into which it will be the duty of Christians to translate the Scriptures, and millions of the human race still ignorant of the Lord of heaven and earth; unless Providence should, as it has often done before, anticipate human plans, by some overwhelming display of its power to dispense, in whole or in part, with human agency.

Not for a moment, however, can the labours of the Bible Society be remitted; for, although so much has been done, both in the work of translation and in that of distributing printed copies of the Scriptures, one half of its labours is yet untouched. Into 615 languages and dialects known to us,† no part of the Bible has yet been translated, in something like the following proportions of the ordinary ethnologic arrangements:—of the African class of languages, 201; of the American, 170; of the Polynesian or Malayan, 62; of the Ugro-Tartarian, 39; of the Slavonic, 10; of the Indo-Chinese, 31; of the Monosyllabic, 13; of the Sanscrit, 23; of the Indo-European, 20; of the

* We heartily recommend our Christian students to compare the lists of languages and dialects in the "Atlas Ethnographique" of M. Balbi, with the compendious view which the Bible Society has issued to illustrate the languages and dialects in which it has printed the Scriptures.

† Kercher reckoned the languages of America alone at 500, and D'Azara believed them to be, at least, 1,000; while many eminent philologists estimate the total number of languages and dialects in the world at 2,000. Adelnug computes the entire number at 3,064; but the Atlas of Balbi presents 800 languages, and above 5,000 dialects; and we agree with that author,—that when we become better acquainted with Central Africa, America, and Australia, as well as with some Oriental countries of which we now know little, the number of languages and dialects will be much increased.

Græco-Latin branch, 10; and of the Celtic, 3 languages. The case of the first four is the more lamentable, because, though the translation of the Scriptures into the language of a semi-barbarous or a savage people is one of the most powerful instruments in their civilization, there have been only 27 translations of the Scriptures—and many of these are fragmentary—into the languages of all Africa; only 30 into those of the American class; only 18 into the Polynesian family; and only 33 into the Ugro-Tartarian. Here, then, is ample work for all the faith, the patience, the Christian scholarship, and the industry of the Church, which will find this part of her work inconceivably more difficult, as most of these languages are either unwritten, and without a grammar, or they contain no literary stores, from which the translator might borrow assistance. Armies, fleets, and colonies, have long tried to subdue the African and his slave-market; but, if that work be ever accomplished, we are persuaded the successful pioneers must be the translator, the missionary, the printer, the schoolmaster, and the artisan; and Africa is amply able to repay them all. The delusions of Budha, of Brahma, and of the Koran, are fast falling in the contest with those European and American agents of Christian benevolence and wisdom; and there is no doubt that the more savage superstitions of Africa, and of South and Central America, will, in due time, share the same fate. We regret that it is not in our power to state the numeric population which these 615 languages and dialects represent; but it must be very great.

Much as the Society has done, we are glad to witness no signs of its becoming supine; for we learn from its Report that “the following are the editions of the Scriptures at present carrying on for the Society in foreign parts:”—

In BELGIUM, at Brussels—
 25,000 French Bibles, (Martin,) 16mo.,
 M.R.
 5,000 ditto (ditto) 8vo.
 5,000 ditto (De Sacy) 12mo.
 10,000 ditto Testaments (ditto) 32mo.
 10,000 ditto ditto (Martin) 24mo.
 5,000 Flemish Testaments, 24mo.
 In GERMANY, at Cologne—
 10,000 German Bibles, 24mo.
 50,000 ditto Tests., (Luther) 12mo.
 50,000 ditto (ditto) 24mo.
 50,000 German Psalms, (ditto) 12mo.
 50,000 ditto (ditto) 24mo.
 25,000 German Testaments (Kistemaker)
 12mo.
 At Frankfort—
 3,000 Lithuanian Bibles.
 In SWEDEN, at Stockholm—
 10,000 Swedish Testaments.
 5,000 ditto and Psalms.
 In NORWAY, at Christiania—
 5,000 Norwegian Bibles.
 In FINLAND—
 20,000 Lettish Testaments and Psalms.

In WALLACHIA, at Bucharest—
 1,000 Bulgarian Psalms.
 5,000 ditto New Testaments.
 In TURKEY, at Constantinople—
 2,500 Græco-Turkish Bibles.
 1,500 Ararat-Armenian Testaments.
 1,500 ditto ditto with
 Ancient Armenian in parallel columns.
 In the EAST INDIES, at Singapore—
 1,000 Malay Testaments, Arabic character.
 In CEYLON, at Colombo—
 2,000 Indo-Portuguese Testaments.
 In China, at Shanghai—
 An edition of portions of the New
 Test., in Mantchou and Chinese,
 in parallel columns.
 In SOUTH AFRICA, at Cape Town—
 An edition of the Psalms in the Sesuto
 dialect.
 In NOVA SCOTIA, at Halifax—
 750 Luke and Acts in the Mic-Mac
 Indian dialect.

It is also particularly gratifying to know that the object of its Jubilee efforts in great part is,—

“To open a correspondence with the several Presidencies in India, and with their friends in China, with a view to some more extended efforts for the benefit of those countries; to send out a deputation, consisting of one or two suitable persons, to Australia and New Zealand, possibly to touch also at some of the other islands of the Pacific; and further, to employ some accredited agent of the Society to visit the colonies of British America, and the West India Islands.

“They have also adopted a scheme for a more extensive system of colportage throughout Great Britain, in connexion with the Year of Jubilee.”

We have thus far traced the infant growth of one among many of the products of Evangelic Protestantism, which in ages to come will distinguish the British ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth century. How many scores of other benevolent institutions have arisen within the same period, to disperse their invaluable benefactions abroad without regard to caste, or climate, or any other condition than that of indigence, it is no part of our present business to narrate. But we cannot help feeling, what a magnificent contrast Evangelical Protestantism sustains with the spirit of the Papacy during the past half century. While the former has been reclaiming savages by missions and schools, and reducing numerous rude oral languages and dialects to grammatical systems, and storing them with the knowledge which at once improves earth and leads to heaven, the latter has been industriously dispersing its emissaries to plot revolutions among peaceful kingdoms, and to reduce free churches to that priestly despotism which never exists but to enslave, to pollute, or to destroy. While Protestant zeal and learning have translated the Scriptures, for the first time, into a multitude of languages, and have disseminated nearly 50,000,000 of copies of the word of God, the Papacy has contented itself with sneering at our erudition, denouncing our activity from its altars, and warning those simple votaries who trust Popery with their salvation, of the heresy of our doctrines, and the insidiousness of our aims. While evangelic Christians have founded thousands of Sabbath and other schools, it has been enough for the Priesthood of that system to fulminate from their pulpits intimidation to their flocks, and to hurl florid anathemas at our “godless colleges.” The one has been adapting herself to the wants of the age, in originating city missions, cheap literature, ragged schools, people’s colleges, and various systems of popular improvement; and the other has concentrated its powers in upholding despotic governments, in resisting the freedom of the press, devising tortures for progressive intellect, and barring all that part of Italy, over which it claims control, against the ingress of the light. The senates of Protestant states have been wedding their statute-books of the unjust provisions of ancient bigotry, and conceding, to the nations they represent, rights that were long withheld; but the mock-

senates in Italy, Austria, and Spain, have chiefly concerned themselves, meanwhile, in devising expedients for prolonging the age of tyranny, or in excogitating pretensive pleas for still withholding the inalienable rights of men. Protestantism has, by the free distribution of the Scriptures, given a healthy impulse to the Greek, the Syrian, the Armenian, and the Coptic Churches; but if the Papacy has, in the same period, interfered with other Churches at all, it has rather been in the ambitious temper of invasion; and if it has excused some of its better-endowed agents from their attendance at the Vatican, it has been with the view of foiling the simple Christian communities of Polynesia, or of sowing discord among the academicians of England. Protestant Christians, who have no greater differences of opinion than have been found for ages and still exist among the Papists, have within the past fifty years abandoned much of their controversial asperity, and have learned to trust and respect each other's conscientious differences of dogma; but the Papal system has made in the same period no advance, but is still as arrogant in its conceit as ever, and stands apart from all other Churches, hating all and respected by none. Protestant intelligence has been attentive to every discovery of science, and has drawn from it some new proof of the Christian faith; and it has laboured to repel the obstinate sceptic, and to meet the wants of the sincere doubter, by a more skilful revision of the evidences of our holy religion; while none know better than men of science and art, how perilous a thing it is to publish a discovery in the realms of the Pope, who suspects the very light of heaven, and treats additions to the catalogue of human ideas as impertinent intruders, that may not travel freely without a priestly passport. Reader, consult, if you doubt the justice of our comparison, the latest issue of the *Index Expurgatorius*, and you will find, among the proscribed, the best authors of every class, whose works, however slightly, seem to skirt the borders of Popedom, denounced as writers dangerous to human souls. Rome has long known that China contained 350,000,000 of Heathens, and India half the number; but though it has paraded its credit for having of old established missions in both those countries, the Scriptures were never translated into the tongue of either, by the learned emissaries of the infallible Church, though the Vatican has long possessed such facilities for the work as no other seat of learning can boast. But why should the Papacy be accused of omitting what it never designed to do? Its tendency has always been rather to mutilate, to burn, or to conceal the word of God, than to propagate it. It cannot mention the period when its scholars were given, or permitted, to make vernacular translations; and we may unhesitatingly affirm, that the Protestant Churches have caused within the past fifty years *ten times more translations of the Scriptures to be made, and copies of them to be circulated among nearly all nations, than the Papacy has accomplished throughout the dreary period of its entire existence.*

It is not our intention to trespass further on our readers than

simply to propose one question to such of them as may happen to belong to one or other form of the many-phased school of modern scepticism. While we admit that these new translations of the Bible are not perfect,—that most, and perhaps all, of them will require frequent revision,—and that many thousands of the distributed copies of the Scriptures have lain unheeded, or have even been abused by being sold, burnt, or at least despised,—and that of others in considerable number we are unable to record valid results,—will the scorner of vital godliness, the repudiator of our Scriptures, or the doubter of their historic and internal evidences, yet dare to censure the biblical results of the past fifty years? While he has been debating which of the systems of cosmogony to prefer,—whether the star-studded heaven had a nebulous or an instantaneous origin,—whether states would be happier with new or old forms of government,—what exact results are to be deduced from geology,—in what form, direct or otherwise, taxation should be levied,—by what tenure rulers should hold their dignity,—or when we shall be able to sail through the air,—whether the *ultimatum* of free trade or protection would be more gainful,—and how it were best to settle the volcanic difficulties of poverty, punishment, and crime,—or through what agency wealth, education, and enjoyment can be best diffused,—the Christians of the Bible Society have accomplished a work which has already changed the aspect of nations; for in fifty years they have distributed nearly as many million copies of the Scriptures, in some two hundred different languages! What have the schools of neology, of scepticism, and of pantheism done in the same period, comparable to this? They have debated with incessant ardour, as did their predecessors on Mars' Hill; but their debates have neither fed the poor, reclaimed the evil, nor blessed the unhappy; and, indeed, all the questions are left as undetermined as they were when this century began. As Christians, we acknowledge difficulties in our faith, disputative material in our records, and in our lives we all lament sad short-comings from our standard; but we are practical men, and give ourselves to such works as these of the Bible Society, while our neighbours who deride its authority content themselves with forming hypotheses. As men of this school are wont to favour the application of the utilitarian test, we invite them to apply it in this instance. Is England the better for its speculatists, or for its distributors and expounders of the Bible? Is India more improved by the metaphysical theorists of Europe, than by its Missionaries, its schoolmasters, and its translators? Cook and Vancouver found the Polynesians all savages: was it by the wand of some little knot of adventurous Secularists that so many of those islands flung their idols into the sea, and quenched their cannibal fires? We repeat, Protestant Churches have within the last fifty years reclaimed savages, explored unknown countries, opened markets, and greatly enriched the general happiness, by increasing knowledge through

the translation and distribution of the Scriptures. This is our work; and we wait to learn what in the same period the men that oppose the Bible can present as a counterpart. We are derided by our antagonists, and we at least derive from their contempt the right to interrogate, "Show me thy faith by thy works." The mere speculatists of Egypt, Greece, Arabia, and the East, have left us nothing more substantial than the transient glitter of their controversies; and their modern successors promise us nothing better than a legacy of polemic or fantastic words.

As the supply of any new want generally awakens the consciousness of others, this enlarged communication of our sacred oracles entails on us the obligation to remember, that the Christian schoolmaster is almost as much needed as the Bible. A glance at the map of the world forces upon us the terrific interrogative,—Can half those 850,000,000 of human beings read intelligibly in *any* language? nay, could a sixth part of them write their own name? We fear the reply in either case would be negative. Shall we then suspend our biblical operations until the army of pedagogues has pioneered the way? No; for, by circulating the Scriptures among those who are able to read them, we not only stir the Pagan, the Islam, and the barbarian, with an anxiety to be saved, but with a desire to be taught, and especially to secure for their children the advantages of education: and thus the Bible prepares the path for the schoolmaster. He alone has often tried, and always failed, either to convince the idolater of his folly, or to persuade the cannibal to wear clothes, and to till the land for his subsistence; for the schoolmaster, without the Missionary and the Bible, would be little better than a trumpeter without his regiment. It is true, that an astonishing number of genuine conversions is reported by most of the Missionaries as having been effected by no other visible agency than that of perusing the Scriptures,* and that many of the *colporteurs* and other agents of the Bible Society bear similar testimony; and perhaps, indeed, we who have enjoyed the benefit of an evangelic ministry have undervalued the simple reading of the Scriptures as one means of producing a genuine regeneration. But, while we admit the fact, the hazards of all imaginable errors, both of opinion and conduct, *commence at that point*; and, unless the school and the Missionary be at hand, the one to develop the mental powers, and the other to supply the converts with adequate progressive instruction, a new crop of as "wild tares and darnel" may be expected in our foreign Churches, as ever Melito of Sardis complained of in his day. The missionary and the scholastic movements of the Church must, therefore, keep pace with its biblical enterprise.

So much for the past operations of the Bible Societies; but

* We advise the reader to consult for this purpose "The Bible in India,"—a pamphlet extracted from the Report of the Calcutta Bible Society, and published by Dalton of Cockspur-street.

who will venture to predict their future influence? Fifty millions of copies of the Scriptures put into circulation in some two hundred different languages, constitutes a new predominant element in the contingencies of human destiny. What will be the effect of this great movement,—whether to bring forth a broad crop of politico-moral revolutions from China to the Bosphorus; or to cast the Asiatic mind into some new type of agitation; to renovate those melancholy pretensions, the Coptic, the Abyssinian, the Armenian, and the Syriac Churches, into life; or whether the early result will be “a rushing mighty wind” from heaven, to smite at once the polybrachial idols of India, and the legion of blasphemers from the towers of Moslem,—who can foretell? “Some great thing” must, however, be the consummation of the enterprise.

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- ART. IV.—1. *Monumenta Historica Britannica, or Materials for the History of Britain, from the earliest Period.* Vol. I., extending to the Norman Conquest. Prepared and illustrated with Notes by the late HENRY PETRIE, ESQ., F.S.A., Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London; assisted by the REV. JOHN SHARPE, B.A., Rector of Castle Eaton, Wiltshire; with an Introduction by T. DUFFUS HARDY, ESQ., F.A.S. Published by Command of her Majesty. Folio. 1848.
2. *The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England; also, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with illustrative Notes, a Map of Anglo-Saxon England, and a general Index.* Edited by J. A. GILES, D.C.L. 8vo. Bohn. 1849.
3. *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England, from the earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen.* By J. A. GILES. 8vo. Bohn. 1847.
4. *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes, concerning the Deeds of Richard the First, King of England, by Richard of Cirencester, and Description of Britain.* Translated and edited by J. A. GILES. 8vo. London, 1841.
5. *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History, comprising the History of England, from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris.* Translated from the Latin by J. A. GILES. 8vo. Bohn, 1849. Two Vols.

It is justly observed by the late lamented Dr. Arnold, in his “Lectures on History,” that no man can write consistently, efficiently, and spiritedly, upon any one given portion of the long drama of the world's life, which has been slowly enacting, scene after scene, and century after century,—unless he first study, deeply and carefully, the developments of its thoughts, as they presented themselves at the period in question. We must acknowledge to a strong sympathy for the future historian who

shall attempt to fulfil such conditions, for a history of our own country in our own times, when the leading newspapers of every day would fill a quarto volume,—when the literary pulse of the nation beats so strong and high, that one might suppose every vein of its body corporate to flow with ink, and every hair to be a goose-quill. At first sight,—setting apart the Herculean labour of the task,—we should be ready to conclude that the facilities for obtaining precise and definite information on the busy events of the present times, and clear, lucid, vivid impressions of the general tone of thought and feeling, must be immensely superior to those enjoyed by the historian of past ages, whose chief resource for information is the result of the labours of the solitary Monk in his quiet cell, penning on smooth parchment, in characters of uniform precision, such tidings as reached his cloistered retreat, long before the active appliances of modern science had annihilated distance, and made a mockery of time.

But is it so? The value of literary labour may be fairly tested by the honesty of literary purpose. Books are now too frequently written to support a preconceived theory, to promote particular views or interests, to amuse the reader, to enrich the writer. Before we take up a work on any given subject, we wish to know what *side* the author embraces; and we read, mentally prepared to combat unfairness of argument, and one-sided statement of facts. In past ages, the motives of authorship, its destinies and its rewards, were alike totally different. No printer's devil was besieging the doors of the luckless writer, to catch his thoughts, before the ink of their expression was dry, and to waft them on wings of steam to every quarter of the habitable globe; no meed of fame was to reward his quiet labours: during his own life-time, he could scarcely expect them to be heard of beyond the limits of his own and a few neighbouring convents, or, at most, beyond the court of the Sovereign; to which should he be so fortunate as to gain admission, the chances were sorely against him that few, if any, of the princely band could decipher a line of the precious MS., over whose quaint illuminations and costly binding they might linger with admiring wonder. With the chroniclers of the far past, writing was its *own* reward: they felt that the transmission of their country's history to future ages was a sacred duty committed to them, and to them alone;—for, in a period of ignorance almost universal amongst the laity, who else could execute the task?—and they wrote with a single-minded purpose to hand down the truth to posterity.

In addition to general history, the affairs of the particular convent and the legendary lore of the age are transmitted with a minuteness and prolixity of detail which would become tedious, were it not that they present a phase of human mind which it is curious and interesting to study. The intellectual path of

nations, like that of individuals, leads from simple, child-like trustfulness, through eagerly questioning incredulity, to firm and rational belief. To these various phases of the world's mental history, the God of the world has pre-eminently adapted his own revealed communications. In the infancy of mankind, visible appearances, and absolute, unexplained precepts, contained the manifestations of his parental will to the people whom He ruled by the simplest and most sublime form of government,—a pure theocracy. Later on, prophecies, grand, mysterious, vague, aroused the expectant awe of the awakening intellect, which was further gratified by their gradual, but visible, fulfilment; whilst the concluding books of Sacred Writ meet man disposed to search into the reason of "the hope that is in him;" meet him with a code of moral law that addresses itself to his understanding, as well as to his heart; meet him with argument, clear, terse, and decisive; meet him with proof, logical and conclusive; and thus guide him, through the mazes of doubt, to the grand temple of truth. The genius of Romanism, essentially hostile to the spirit of free inquiry, ignored the second of the mental phases to which we have alluded, required from the maturing nation or individual an unquestioning belief in the dogmas prescribed to its early faith, and frowned upon and punished the strugglings of the out-bursting spirit to know "whether these things are indeed so." An investigation into the reasons of this policy is beyond our present scope: its results are obvious. It prolonged, materially and sensibly, the intellectual childhood of the nations.

The pages of modern histories convey a very imperfect picture of the prevailing tone of thought and feeling in remoter ages. They deal with the *facts* of the past, not with its inner life. The *modus operandi* of the modern historian presents a strong contrast to that of his literary predecessors.

He marks out the period which he intends to illustrate by his labours; he is careful in selecting his authorities; and, if he rises above the rank of a mere compiler, he collects his materials with a due consideration of their different degrees of authority. He either enters on a field which has not been occupied before, or he avails himself of the labours of his predecessors. He does so on the supposition that he can add to the information already possessed: he treats his subject more philosophically, or with more precision, or greater latitude; and he brings to bear upon it the age of thought of the period in which he lives. He would not dream of reproducing, in his own work, in exactly the same form, and in the same words, the labours of another writer who had preceded him.

But with the monastic chronicles of the middle ages the *author* entirely disappears, and the *man* is lost in his *order*. He is not an independent writer, who plans and executes a work after his own taste and ability; but he is the servant of his house, appointed

to his work. Sometimes, indeed, he is but the chronicler of affairs which concern his own monastery and order. If general events are entered in his work, it is often no more than as they influenced the fortunes of the establishment of which he was a member; and thus that which, to us, is of the greatest consequence, was to him quite of secondary importance.

He is often no more than a continuator or an interpolator; sometimes only a mere transcriber. He avails himself of the labours of his predecessors, and incorporates them with his own, without the least alteration; or he continues the work where it was left by his predecessor, without innovation or change. He builds up the chronicle of his house, just as the architect adds a story or a tower to the building, which had been planned and erected long before; and it is not always easy to detect where he commences, or from what point his work is continued by his successor. Perhaps he adds at the conclusion of his work, "*Ego, frater Johannes, scripsi,*" "*confeci,*" or words of the like import, and fences it well with anathemas against those who may mutilate or falsify it; but whether by these words he means to insinuate that he was author, compiler, continuator, or merely transcriber, we have not always *data* to ascertain. Thus the early part of Matthew Paris is a mere transcript of Roger of Wendover; Florence of Worcester, of Marianus Scotus; William of Malmesbury copies Bede, and enlarges upon Eadmer, &c. This was neither meant nor understood as plagiarism; it was simply done with the view of rendering the chronicle as complete as possible.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that constant repetitions should be found in the works of the mediæval writers; that compilers were much more numerous than original writers, as their labours were easier; and that the same work was reproduced over and over again, with scarcely any difference, or with some few original facts which are easily separated from the main body of the work. When we come to examine a chronicle, we find that a small portion only is original, and that all the rest has appeared before, under the name of its real author. Let it be supposed, for example, that every time a continuation were written to Hume's History of England, the whole were published as a new and independent production, by the person supplying the continuation: thus Smollett's Continuation, published with Hume's work, would be called "Smollett's History of England;" again, the same work, continued by Adolphus, would be equally styled "Adolphus's History of England." This instance, absurd as it may seem, will give no exaggerated idea of the mode in which monastic chronicles were compiled. The result is, that the same works have assumed different forms, and been quoted under different titles, as independent authorities, in the pages of modern histories.

But another cause rendered still more extensive the practice of reproducing the same work under a different title: every

important monastic establishment adopted some chronicle of general history,—such as that of Bede or of Marianus Scotus,—into which they introduced a notice or history of the foundation of their house; a biography, or at least a necrology, of their benefactors, and of persons who, either by their rank or by their connexion with the monastery, were recommended to the notice of the compiler; also, the dates of grants and charters, which are sometimes entered at full length.

A chronicle, therefore, in itself identical, would vary slightly, according as it was preserved and interpolated at Worcester, Ely, Abingdon, &c. It would be the same work in the main, though each of the several MSS. might contain some entries, of mere local interest, not found in the others; and according to the practice of naming chronicles from the depositories where they were written or kept, it would assume different titles, as the Chronicle of Ely, Worcester, or Abingdon, as the case might be.

The existence of such repetitions has caused some of the ablest editors of our chronicles to retrench, without scruple, such portions as were merely copied from earlier authorities. Thus, in his edition of Matthew Paris, Archbishop Parker omitted all that preceded the Norman Conquest. Dr. Gale did the same in the first volume of his collection of British writers; and Henry Wharton, as he excelled all his predecessors in a critical knowledge of the writers of the middle ages, exceeded all editors in retrenching useless repetitions and superfluities. Nor has this method of retrenchment been confined to our own writers: on the Continent it has been adopted by Mabillon, Duchesne, Bouquet, and Pertz, and is the foundation of the plan of the English Historical Society.

The monkish period of English history may be said to commence with the Saxon invasion, and to close with the reign of Henry VII. The number of volumes containing materials for the history of that period, published up to the close of the last century, was about fifty, besides numerous detached pieces in different collections. These, however, do not embrace the *Monasticon Anglicanum*; the biographies in Mabillon's collection; those in the great *Acta Sanctorum*, &c. During the present century, numerous works, bearing upon the history of the same period, have appeared: their number amounts to upwards of one hundred and sixty, and some of them form a series of volumes. These works have been printed independently of each other, and therefore without uniformity, and without any regard to connexion or chronological arrangement: consequently the writer who is engaged in studying any given portion of our early history must seek, in this ill-digested mass of materials, whatever will bear upon his purpose,—happy if he knows of the *existence* of some of the works, to say nothing of *possessing* them, and being himself master of their contents.

It is an astounding fact that, until within the last few years, no country in Europe, with the single exception of France, has

made any attempt to bring out its original chronicles in a consecutive series, adapted to the reading of its intelligent public. France has nobly led the way, not only in the collection and publication of her ancient chronicles in their original forms, for the libraries of the learned, in the great *Recueil des Historiens de la France*, edited by Bouquet and his successors, the Benedictines of St. Maur, of which twenty-two folio volumes are already before the public, but also in the collections and translations—edited, in a popular form, by Guizot, Buchon, Petitot, Monmerqué, and others—of the materials of history, both for earlier and more recent periods.

Since the appearance of Bouquet's work, a similar collection of the national histories of Germany has been sent forth, under the care and editorship of Dr. Pertz. Nine volumes have already been issued; and, when completed, it will probably surpass all other collections of the kind which have yet appeared, in the careful attention, research, and unwearied labour observable in all its pages. We have reason to know that Dr. Pertz is so far from shrinking from the toil involved in his laborious undertaking, that where a MS. requires more than ordinary skill in deciphering, he frequently undertakes the labour of the copyist, and himself carefully collates every syllable that forms part of his work.

In England, until the present century, no attempt has been made to collect and publish our historical materials in a uniform and continuous series. Gibbon and Pinkerton had combined in directing the attention of the public to the subject, in a series of letters, published in the "Gentleman's Magazine," preparatory to a projected collection, to be issued under their joint auspices, after the plan of Bouquet's great work. Gibbon wrote an eloquent prospectus for the undertaking, expressing his hope that he might live yet twenty years, in order to witness its completion; but his death, on the very day on which the prospectus was to have been published, put a stop to the project.

In the years 1818–19 Government took the matter into their own hands, under the conviction that the undertaking was of too great magnitude and importance to be intrusted to private individuals or companies; and the late Henry Petrie, Esq., Keeper of the Tower Records, was requested to draw up a plan for collecting and editing our historical muniments. In some respects his plan was more enlarged than that of Bouquet, since it included copies of inscriptions on marble or stone, coins and medals, and seals, which do not find their way into the French collection. He toiled at his responsible task with indefatigable zeal and assiduity, amidst many discouragements and disappointments, until the year 1835, when a misunderstanding arose between himself and the Record Commissioners, which led to the suspension of his labours. This augmented, if it did not cause, the long course of ill health which terminated in Mr. Petrie's death,

in 1842. He left the text of the first volume in type; and, after ten years' farther delay, a final arrangement was made with Mr. Petrie's executors; and the drawing up of the general introduction, and the supervision of the work, were confided to Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, of the Tower Record Office, already honourably known to the antiquarian world, as the author, amongst other works, of the very elaborate and valuable introductions to the Close, Patent, and Charter Rolls, edited by him for the Record Commission, and also for the able editorship of William of Malmsbury's Chronicle, printed for the English Historical Society. This national volume, published under the title of *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, is a most important boon to the community. It commences with extracts relating to Britain, from one hundred and twenty-seven Greek and Roman historians,—the former accompanied with English translations,—beginning with Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who flourished 445 years before Christ, and ending with Nicephorus Callistus, who was born at the latter end of the thirteenth century: so that we have, within the brief compass of a hundred pages, all that the classic or the low Latin and Greek historians of seventeen centuries have left us on record concerning the "*penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*," of whose future position in the category of nations its Roman conquerors little dreamed.

We diverge a moment from our more immediate object, to listen to what the classic Greek and hardy Roman have to say concerning our remote ancestors. Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about forty-four years before the birth of Christ, after a geographical description of the island, speaks of its aboriginal inhabitants as

"Still preserving the primitive modes of life; for in their wars they use chariots, as the ancient Greek heroes are reported to have done in the Trojan war; and they have mean habitations, constructed, for the most part, of reeds or of wood; and they gather-in their harvest by cutting off the ears of corn, and storing them in subterraneous repositories; that they cull therefrom daily such as are old, and, dressing them, have thence their sustenance; that they are simple in their manners, and far removed from the cunning and wickedness of men of the present day; that their modes of living are frugal, and greatly different from the luxury consequent on riches; that the island is thickly inhabited, and the temperature of the air exceedingly cold, inasmuch as it lies directly beneath the north; and that they have many Kings and Princes, and, for the most part, live peaceably together."—P. ii.

Of the peaceable disposition of the early Britons, other writers speak far less favourably. The Irish are, by one author, declared to be "more savage than the Britons, feeding on human flesh, and enormous eaters, and deeming it commendable to devour their deceased fathers." But he is candid enough to add that this is related, perhaps, without very competent authority.

Caius Julius Solinus, who flourished about A.D. 80, speaks of the Irish as a warlike and inhospitable race.

"The victors smear their faces with blood drawn from the slain. Right and wrong are alike to them. When a mother gives birth to a male child, she puts its first food on the point of her husband's sword, and lightly inserts this foretaste of food into the mouth of the infant on its very tip, and, by family vows, wishes that it may never die, save in war and under arms. Those who study ornament adorn the hilts of their swords with the teeth of fishes swimming in the sea: they brighten them up to an ivory whiteness; for the chief glory of a man is the brilliancy of his arms."—P. 9.

The more lengthened descriptions of Britain by its conqueror, Julius Cæsar, and by Tacitus, are too well known to need quotation, and later Latin writers principally borrowed their ideas from them. The fact, that in Britain Constantine was raised to the imperial dignity, led one of his panegyrists to indulge in the following burst of eulogy upon the country itself:—

"O fortunate Britain! now happiest of lands, since first thou hast seen Constantine a Cæsar! Nature has deservedly endowed thee with all blessings of climate and soil, in which is neither too great winter's cold nor summer's heat,—in which so great is the fruitfulness of the harvest that it suffices alike for the gifts of Ceres and Bacchus;—whose groves are free from fierce beasts,—whose land from noxious serpents. On the other hand, innumerable is the multitude of tame flocks, distended with milk, or laden with fleeces. Certainly, too,—which is most favourable to life,—the days are very long, and no nights are without light, since the extreme flatness of the shores does not cause shadows, and the aspect of night passes over the limit of the sky and of the stars; so that the sun itself, which to *us* appears to set, *there* appears to pass by. Ye good gods! how is it that ever, from some farthest end of the world, new deities descend to be worshipped by the whole world?"—P. lxi.

Distance gives licence to the imagination; and when Britain itself became too well known to be made the stage of marvels, they were transferred to the neighbouring islands. Plutarch writes that—

"Demetrius said that there are many desert islands scattered around Britain, some of which have the name of being the islands of genii and heroes; that he had been sent by the Emperor, for the sake of describing and viewing them, to that which lay nearest to the desert isles, and which had but few inhabitants, all of whom were esteemed by the Britons sacred and inviolable. Very soon after his arrival, there was great turbulence in the air, and many portentous storms; the winds became tempestuous, and fiery whirlwinds rushed forth. When these ceased, the islanders said that the departure of some one of the superior genii had taken place. For as a light when burning, say they, has nothing disagreeable, but when extinguished is offensive to many; so, likewise, lofty spirits afford an illumination benignant and mild, but their extinction and destruction frequently, as at the present moment, excite winds and storms, and often infect the atmosphere with

pestilential evils. Moreover, that there was one island there wherein Saturn was confined by Briareus in sleep; for that sleep had been devised for his bonds; and that around him were many genii, as his companions and attendants.”—P. xcii.

At the close of these classic extracts, the *Monumenta Historica* give us the Roman inscriptions,—that is, those bearing upon history,—with the coins and medals: these close the first part of the work. The second part contains what we may call the national history, *i. e.*, the writings of our British chroniclers, showing how insular predilections and traditions enlarged, modified, and, in some instances, contradicted, the classic story. The principal authors given in this portion are, Gildas, Nennius, Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Gaimar; and last, though not least important, from its not having been before published, comes the “Song on the Battle of Hastings,”—a Latin poem of eight hundred and thirty lines, recently discovered by Dr. Pertz in the Royal Burgundian Library at Brussels, which comprises a period of four months only, but still a period of stirring interest; and, though, in many places, it resembles the Chronicle on the same subject by William of Poictou, presents some original and independent particulars. In each instance the chronicle, if it extended far beyond the Conquest, is cut short at the year 1066, the period at which the present volume closes. The care bestowed upon the text of the different chronicles, the laborious collation with the best MSS., English and foreign, and the critical ability shown in the selection of the readings, are obvious throughout almost every page. The introduction contains a mass of well-digested information respecting the characters and works of our early historians, lucidly and comprehensively brought together.

So much for the contents of the volume before us: when are we to see its successor? A large mass of materials, collected by Mr. Petrie, still remains undispersed. The extent of his researches upon English historical muniments, as preserved in the libraries of Europe, abundantly appears (though their source is not acknowledged) in an appendix to the Commission on Public Records, published by Mr. Charles Purton Cooper; and, for the later periods of our history, much valuable and inedited *matériel* might be thence derived. That editorial ability has not passed away with Mr. Petrie, the introduction to the volume before us abundantly testifies; and, moreover, we have reason to know that a plan has been carefully drawn up, and laid before her Majesty’s Government, by which, at a cost of £1,250 a year, an annual volume of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, with preface and index complete, might be given to the public; yet nothing is done, nor doing. Are our great national publications ever to prove abortive? and is this “first volume” to be added to the “first volumes” of Patent, Charter, and Close Rolls, already commenced and discontinued, as an

additional proof of the indifference with which the first nation in the world regards the steps by which it reached its greatness?

The *Monumenta Historica*, however, even if completed, would be a book for the student, from which to gather, with facility, his *materials* of history; but could never become a book which should convey to the English public a mirror-like representation of by-gone times. The language of the chronicles—Latin, Norman-French, or Anglo-Saxon—would alone suffice to preclude this; and the bulk and expensiveness of the work would also prevent its frequent admission into private libraries. Until within the last few years, the only translation of any of our monkish historians was that, by the Rev. Mr. Sharpe, of William of Malmsbury; a work ably done, but got up in a costly form. Recently, however, several translations have been made by Dr. Giles; and a consecutive series of these is now in course of publication,—forming portions of Bohn's "Antiquarian Library,"—which, for the first time, place within the reach of an ordinary English reader the opportunity, not only of testing the accuracy of historical facts, as contained in the pages of modern writers, but of forming a true idea of the spirit of the earlier ages. The translations themselves are not what might have been expected from the scholastic reputation of Dr. Giles. They are occasionally inaccurate, and fail to convey the true spirit of the original. In reference to one portion of his work, we regret to say, that Dr. Giles has laid himself open to the charge of breach of faith, in borrowing from the Record Commission a portion of Mr. Petrie's then unpublished work, "for common purposes of reference during a certain time," pledging himself "to show it to no one, and return it when done with;" and then employing the portion of the work thus obtained, as the foundation of his own translations. Apart from these considerations, we gladly accept Dr. Giles's works as a boon to historical literature, and shall now endeavour, from them, to give our readers some idea of the modes of thought of past ages. It must be premised that the instances will be generally, if not invariably, selected from the period when the writer himself was a living witness of what he records; for, as William of Malmsbury observes in the Preface to his history,—

"I vouch nothing for the truth of long-past transactions but the consonance of the time; the veracity of the relation must rest with its authors. Whatever I have recorded of later times, I have either myself seen, or heard from credible authority."

And again:—

"There will, perhaps, be many, in different parts of England, who may say that they have heard and read some things differently from the mode in which I have recorded them; but, if they judge candidly, they will not, on this account, brand me with censure; since, following the strict laws of history, I have asserted nothing but what I have learned either from relaters, or writers of veracity. But, be these

matters as they may, I especially congratulate myself on being, through Christ's assistance, the only person, or, at least, the first, who, since Bede, has arranged a continued history of England."

The same writer opens the third book of his history, by observing,—

"I now attempt to give you a clue to the mazy labyrinth of events and transactions which occurred in England during the year 1141; lest posterity, through my neglect, should be unacquainted with them, as it is of service to know the volubility of fortune, and the mutability of human estate, God only permitting or ordaining them. And, as the moderns greatly and deservedly blame our predecessors for having left no memorial of themselves or their transactions since the days of Bede, I think I ought to be very favourably regarded by my readers, if they judge rightly, for determining to remove this reproach from our times."—P. 513.

It need scarcely be said, that one of the most prevailing characteristics of the early ages was the love of the marvellous, and the strong tendency to look upon the *marvellous* as the *supernatural*. The same mental phase which leads a child to revel in Jack the Giant-killer and Tom Thumb, Cinderella and Blue Beard, far more intensely than in all the tales of properly-behaved little boys and girls, which the sense of modern educational propriety has prepared for them, and to revel in them the more from the vague feeling of delighted wonderment which they elicit,—led the monkish writers to a strong susceptibility for the preternatural; and we may readily imagine how easily such a taste could find ample scope for exercise, before the lights of modern science had been brought to bear upon the wonders of nature and art constantly developing, and, by explaining them, to rob them of their mysterious fascination. We may trace another strong point of resemblance between the infancy of humanity and that of its literature. No child can be made to feel satisfied with a tale, however amusingly or elaborately wrought out, unless it concludes with rewarding all the good, and punishing all the naughty, people. The sense of retributive justice is remarkably developed in the temperament of childhood, which yet wants scope and comprehensiveness of grasp, to enable it to look beyond the immediate future, for the final balancing of right and wrong. Similarly, in our early literature, we find instances recurring, not only in which any incidental misfortune is considered as the direct retribution for some known or marked crime, but in which a series of misfortunes leads to the supposition, that the victim must *necessarily* have been "a sinner more than others." If the life of the individual did not afford sufficient satisfaction to this retributive feeling, it was no unusual thing for the excited imagination to overstep the portals of the grave, and endeavour to wring out the solemn secrets of future destiny, which, it need scarcely be added, were in exact coincidence with the preconceived notions of desert.

Bede records the following story :

"I knew a brother myself,—would to God I had not known him!—whose name I would mention if it were necessary, and who resided in a noble monastery, but lived himself ignobly. He was frequently reproved by the brethren and elders of the place, and admonished to adopt a more regular life; and though he would not give ear to them, he was long patiently borne with by them, on account of his usefulness in temporal works,—for he was an excellent carpenter. He was much addicted to drunkenness, and other pleasures of a lawless life, and more used to stop in his work-house, day and night, than go to church, to sing and pray, and hear the word of life, with the brethren. For which reason, it happened to him according to the saying, that he who will not willingly and humbly enter the gate of the Church, will certainly be damned, and enter the gate of hell, whether he will or no. For he, falling sick, and being reduced to extremity, called the brethren, and with much lamentation, and like one damned, began to tell them, that he saw hell open, and Satan at the bottom thereof; as also Caiaphas, with the others that slew our Lord, by him delivered up to avenging flames: 'In whose neighbourhood,' said he, 'I see a place of eternal perdition provided for me, miserable wretch!' The brothers, hearing these words, began seriously to exhort him, that he should repent even then, whilst he was in the flesh. He answered, in despair, 'I have no time now to change my course of life, when I have myself seen my judgment passed.' Whilst uttering these words, he died, without having received the saving *viaticum*, and his body was buried in the remotest parts of the monastery; nor did any one dare either to say masses, or sing psalms, or even to pray for him. This happened lately, in the province of the Bernicians; and, being reported abroad, far and near, inclined many to do penance for their sins without delay; which we hope may also be the result of this our narrative." —P. 257.

Malmsbury records the following amongst other miracles attendant on the death of William Rufus, whose quarrels with, and expulsion of, the good Archbishop Anselm, with his general contempt for religion, rendered him an object of vehement reprobation.

"They relate many visions and predictions of his death; three of which, sanctioned by the testimony of credible authors, I shall communicate to my readers. Eadmer, the historian of our times, noted for his veracity, says, that Anselm, the noble exile, with whom all religion was also banished, came to Marcigny, that he might communicate his sufferings to Hugo, Abbot of Clugny. There, when the conversation turned upon King William, the Abbot aforesaid observed: 'Last night, that King was brought before God, and, by a deliberate judgment, incurred the sorrowful sentence of damnation.' How he came to know this, he neither explained at the time, nor did any of his hearers ask; nevertheless, out of respect to his piety, not a doubt of the truth of his words remained on the minds of any present. Hugo led such a life, and had such a character, that all regarded his discourse, and venerated his advice, as though an oracle from heaven had spoken.

"The day before the King died, he dreamed that he was let blood

by a surgeon, and that the stream, reaching to heaven, clouded the light and intercepted the day. Calling on St. Mary for protection, he suddenly awoke, commanded a light to be brought, and forbade his attendants to leave him. They then watched with him for several hours, until daylight. Shortly after, just as the day began to dawn, a certain foreign Monk told Robert Fitz-Hamon, one of the principal nobility, that he had that night dreamed a strange and fearful dream about the King; that he had come into a certain church with menacing and insolent gesture, as was his custom, looking contemptuously on the standers-by; then, violently seizing the crucifix, he gnawed the arms, and almost tore away the legs; that the image endured this for a long time, but at length struck the King with its foot in such a manner that he fell backwards; from his mouth, as he lay prostrate, issued so copious a flame, that the volumes of smoke touched the very stars. Robert, thinking that this dream ought not to be neglected, as he was intimate with the King, immediately related it to him. William, laughing repeatedly, exclaimed, 'He is a Monk, and dreams for money like a Monk; give him a hundred shillings.' Nevertheless, being greatly moved, he hesitated a long while whether he should go out to hunt, as he had designed; his friends persuading him not to suffer the truth of the dreams to be tried at his personal risk. In consequence, he abstained from the chase before dinner, dispelling the uneasiness of his disturbed mind by serious business. They relate that, having plentifully regaled himself that day, he soothed his cares with a more than usual quantity of wine. After dinner, he went into the forest, attended by few persons, of whom the most intimate with him was Walter, surnamed Tirel, who had been induced to come from France by the liberality of the King. This man alone remained with him, while the others employed in the chase were dispersed as chance directed. The sun was now declining, when the King, drawing his bow and letting fly an arrow, slightly wounded a stag which passed before him; and, keenly gazing, followed it still running a long time with his eyes, holding up his hand to keep off the power of the sun's rays. At this instant Walter, conceiving a noble exploit,—which was, while the King's attention was otherwise occupied, to transfix another stag which, by chance, came near him,—unknowingly, and without power to prevent it,—O gracious God!—pierced his breast with a fatal arrow. On receiving the wound, the King uttered not a word; but, breaking off the shaft of the weapon where it projected from his body, fell upon the wound, by which he accelerated his death. Walter immediately ran up, but, as he found him senseless and speechless, he leaped swiftly upon his horse, and escaped by spurring him to his utmost speed. Indeed, there was none to pursue him; some connived at his flight; others pitied him; and all were intent on other matters: some began to fortify their dwellings; others to plunder; and the rest to look out for a new King. A few countrymen conveyed the body, placed on a cart, to the cathedral at Winchester, the blood dripping from it all the way. Here it was committed to the ground within the tower, attended by many of the nobility, though lamented by few. Next year, *the tower fell*; but I forbear to mention the different opinions on this subject, lest I should seem to assent too readily to unsupported trifles; more especially as the building *might* have fallen through imperfect construction, even though *he* had never been buried there."—P. 344.

This confession on the part of Malmsbury, that he will not declare positively the fall of the tower to have been caused by the interment in it of the bones of a king so sacrilegious as William Rufus, is a wonderful instance of candour. The same historian records, with great minuteness, a very different death-scene,—that of Lanzo, a Clugniac Monk, Prior of St. Pancras, Lewes, Sussex, one of the first establishments of the order in England, founded by William Earl of Warren, supposed son-in-law of William the Conqueror. He records with minuteness his seizure with illness, whilst celebrating mass, his resignation during five days of extreme suffering, and his calm and devout preparations for death; and thus continues his narrative:—

“A short time before he became speechless, he gave his benediction to the brethren singly, as they came before him, and in like manner to the whole society. But, lifting his eyes to heaven, he attempted with both hands to bless the Abbot, with all committed to his charge. Being entreated by the fraternity to be mindful of them with the Lord, to whom he was going, he most kindly assented by an inclination of his head. After he had done this, he beckoned for the cross to be presented to him; which adoring with his head, and, indeed, with his whole body, and embracing with his hands, he appeared to salute with joyful lips, and to kiss with fond affection, when he distressed the standers-by with signs of departing; and, being caught up in their arms, was carried, yet alive, into the presbytery, before the altar of St. Pancras. Here surviving yet a time, and pleasing from the rosy hue of his countenance, he departed to Christ, pure and freed eternally from every evil, at the same hour of the day on which, for his purification, he had been stricken with disease. And behold how wonderfully all things corresponded:—the passion of the servant with the passion of the Lord,—the hour of approaching sickness with the hour of approaching eternal happiness,—the five days of illness with the five senses of the body, through which none can avoid sin, and for the purification of which he endured them. Moreover, from his dying ere the completion of the fifth day, I think it is signified that he never sinned in the last sense, which is called the touch. And what else can the third hour of the day, in which he fell sick, and by dying entered into eternal life, signify, than that the same grace of the Holy Spirit, by which we know his whole life was regulated, was evidently present to him, both in his sickness and his death? Besides, we cannot doubt but that he equalled our fathers Odo and Odilo,* both in virtue and in its reward; since a remarkable circumstance granted to them was allowed to him also. For as the Lord permitted them to die on the octaves of those festivals which they loved beyond all other, (as St. Odo chiefly loved the Feast of St. Martin, and St. Odilo the Nativity of our Lord, and each died on the octaves of these tides,) so to Lanzo, who, above all of his age, observed the rule of St. Benedict, and venerated the Holy Mother of God and her solemnities with singular regard, it happened that, as according to his usual custom, both on the demise of St. Benedict and on the Festival of St. Mary, which is called the Annunciation, he celebrated high mass in the convent; so, on the octave of the aforesaid anniversary of St. Benedict, he was stricken with sickness, and on

* The third and fifth Abbots of Clugny.

the octave of the Annunciation departed to Christ. Wherefore he who is unacquainted with the life of Lanzo, may learn from his death how pleasing it was to God, and believe with us, that those things which I have mentioned did not happen after the common course of dying persons, as he was a man surpassed by none in the present times for the gift of the Holy Spirit.”—P. 473.

The fame of a pious man did not expire with his life, neither did his power of conferring blessings, if we may credit our chroniclers. Roger of Wendover, after recording several particulars of the life of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who died A.D. 1200, records, that whilst he was laid out after death,—

“A certain soldier well known to the Canons of the Church, whose arm was eaten away by a cancer till the bone appeared deprived of flesh, placed his arm over the body of the Bishop, and frequently wetted his face with his tears, in imploring him to heal his diseased limb; and immediately the flesh and skin of his arm were compassionately restored by the Lord, through the merits of his saint; for which the soldier returned thanks to God and to the holy prelate, and often showed himself to the Deacon of the Church and other credible persons. At the same time a certain woman, who had been for seven years blind of one eye, in the view and to the wonder of all, recovered her sight. At the same time, a certain cut-purse, in the press and crowd which was assembled around this servant of God, cut away a woman’s purse; but, by the merits of the blessed Bishop, who showed that he was not dead but alive, both hands of the wicked thief were so contracted, and his fingers became so firmly fixed to the palms of his hands, that, not being able to hold the property he had stolen, he threw it down on the pavement of the church, and, looking like a madman, he became an object of derision to the people; and so, after he had been disturbed by an evil spirit for a length of time, he came to himself, and stood motionless. At length he began to weep bitterly, and, in the hearing of all, he then confessed his most base crime to all who would listen to him. At length, when he had no other means of escape, he turned to a Priest, saying, ‘Pity me,—pity me, ye friends of God; for I renounce Satan and his works, to whom I have till now been a slave; and pray to the Lord for me, that he may not confound me in my penitence, but may rather deal compassionately with me.’ And immediately after a prayer had been uttered to God on his behalf, the chains of Satan, by whom his hands had been bound, were loosed, and, becoming sound, he returned thanks to God and the blessed Bishop.”—P. 199.

Another instance of the miraculous punishment of crime is recorded by the same author. The hero of the story was one of a band of freebooters who, during the troublous times of the close of King John’s reign, were prowling about the country, and had pillaged the church of St. Amphibalus, stripping the Monks, and polluting, by the touch of their unholy hands, the relics which still they all shrank from stealing, with the exception of one desperado, more audacious than his comrades.

“One among them seized on a silver and gold ornamented cross, in which was contained a piece of our Lord’s cross, and hid it in his

wicked bosom, unknown to his companions ; but, before he had left the oratory, he was possessed by a devil, and fell down, grinding his teeth, and foaming at the mouth ; then, rising quickly, on the instigation of the devil, he endeavoured to strike at his companions with his sword : they, however, tied his hands, and, pitying his agony, and not knowing the cause of it, took him to the church of Flamstead, in a state of the wildest frenzy. As these robbers were entering that church for the purpose of plundering it, they were met by the Priest, clad in white robes, in order to check the evil dispositions of these impious men : however, being alarmed about their mad companion, whom they had brought with them, they refrained from plunder ; and there, in the presence of the Superior and many others, the aforesaid cross leapt forth from the madman's bosom and fell on the ground. The Superior then took it up with reverence and astonishment, and, holding it up, asked the robbers what it was. At length, on consideration, they found out, by means of this visitation of God, that he had clandestinely taken it from the Monks whom they had robbed in an adjoining town ; and they were all in a state of great perplexity and fear, lest the evil spirit should possess them also, and torture them, as it had done their companion. They therefore, in great alarm, delivered the cross up to the Superior, beseeching him, by the virtue of God and in peril of his order, before he took any food, to go to the place and restore the cross to the Monks. The Superior, therefore, made all haste to the oratory of St. Amphibalus, and with due reverence delivered the cross, and related all the wonderful events connected with it, to the Prior and brethren."

It followed, as a necessary consequence upon the state of feeling in which this intense reverence for sacred things was entertained, even by those whose notions of morality were extremely faulty, that scepticism was all but unknown, and that even doubtful or ambiguous expressions were esteemed crimes of the gravest order. Matthew Paris records the following :—

"In these days [A.D. 1201] a schoolmaster of Paris, by birth a Frenchman, named Simon Churnay, a man of extensive talent and great memory, after having successfully conducted schools ten years in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* which make up the seven liberal arts, turned his attention to theology ; in which he, after a few years, made such progress, that he was thought worthy of the professorial chair ; whereupon he gave lectures, and held subtle disputations, wherein he ably solved and elucidated the most difficult questions ; and he was attended by so many hearers that the most ample hall could scarcely contain them. One day, when he had publicly disputed, using the most subtle arguments about the Trinity,—and the settlement of the disputation was put off till the next day,—all the theological students in the city, forewarned that they would hear many solutions of difficult questions, flocked together in numbers and filled the school. The Professor then resolved all the aforesaid questions, inexplicable though they appeared to the audience, so plainly and elegantly, and in so Catholic a sense, that all were struck with astonishment. Some of his more familiar scholars, who were the most eager to learn, came to him when the lecture was over, and requested him to dictate to them, that they might take notes of his solutions, which, they said, were too valuable to

be lost to posterity. Elated at this, the Professor swelled with pride, and, with eyes uplifted, laughed aloud: 'O my little Jesus!—my little Jesus! how have I exalted and confirmed your law in this disputation! Truly, if I wished to act the malignant, and attack your doctrines, I could find still more powerful arguments to weaken and impugn them.' He had no sooner said these words than he became dumb, and not only dumb, but ridiculously idiotic, and never read nor disputed afterwards; and so he became a laughing-stock to his former auditors. Within two years afterwards, he learned to distinguish the letters, and his punishment was a little mitigated, so that he could, though not without difficulty, learn to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and remember them. This miracle checked the arrogance of many of the scholars. Nicholas de Fuley, afterwards Bishop of Durham, witnessed this fact, and communicated it to me. From this high authority I have set it down in writing, that the memory of so great a miracle might not be lost to posterity. It is a story altogether worthy to be received."

As the climax of crime consisted, not in violations of the moral law by which man is bound to his fellow-man, but in those actions or opinions which militated against Holy Church, so the standard of sanctity was placed, not so much in the "heart right with God," nor in the exercise of social and domestic virtues, as in the external demonstrations of liberality to the Church, and in those penances by which the sin-stained spirit vainly yearns to purify itself from the actual guilt, and to subdue the depravity, of a corrupted nature. The following account of a pious Monk is given by Bede:—

"He had a private place of residence assigned him in the monastery, where he might apply himself to his Creator in continual prayer; and as that place lay on the bank of the river, he was wont often to go into the same to do penance in his body, and many times to dip quite under the water, and to continue saying psalms or prayers in the same as long as he could endure it; standing still sometimes up to the middle, and sometimes to the neck, in water; and when he went out from thence ashore, he never took off his cold and frozen garments till they grew warm and dry on his body. And when, in the winter, the half-broken pieces of the ice were swimming about him, which he had himself broken to make room to stand or dip himself in the river, those who beheld it would say, 'It is wonderful, brother Drithelm,' (for so he was called,) 'that you are able to endure such violent cold.' He simply answered, (for he was a man of much simplicity and indifferent wit,) 'I have seen greater cold.' And when they said, 'It is strange that you will endure such austerity,' he replied, 'I have seen more austerity.' Thus he continued, through an indefatigable desire of heavenly bliss, to subdue his aged body with daily fasting, till the day of his being called away; and thus he forwarded the salvation of many by his words and example."—P. 258.

The legend of the Wandering Jew has been long devoutly believed through half the western world. Perhaps our readers may not object to an interview, if not with the veritable "Sala-thiel," at least with one who had seen and known him:—

“In this year, [A.D. 1228,] a certain Archbishop of Armenia Major came on a pilgrimage to England, to see the relics of the saints, and visit the sacred places in this kingdom, as he had done in others; he also produced letters of recommendation from his Holiness the Pope to the religious men and prelates of the Churches, in which they were enjoined to receive and entertain him with due reverence and honour. On his arrival he went to St. Albans, where he was received with all respect by the Abbot and Monks: at this place, being fatigued with his journey, he remained some days to rest himself and his followers; and a conversation was commenced between him and the inhabitants of the convent by means of their interpreters; during which he made many inquiries concerning the religion and religious observances of this country, and related many strange things concerning eastern countries. In the course of conversation, he was asked, whether he had ever seen or heard any thing of Joseph,—a man of whom there was much talk in the world,—who, when our Lord suffered, was present and spoke to Him, and who is still alive, in evidence of the Christian faith; in response to which, a Knight in his retinue, who was his interpreter, replied, speaking in French, ‘My Lord well knows that man; and a little before he took his way to the western continent, the said Joseph ate at the table of my Lord the Archbishop, in Armenia, and he has often seen and held converse with him.’ He was then asked about what had passed between Christ and the said Joseph, to which he replied, ‘At the time of the suffering of Jesus Christ, he was seized by the Jews and led into the hall of judgment, before Pilate the Governor, that he might be judged by him on the accusation of the Jews; and Pilate, finding no cause for adjudging him to death, said to them, “Take him and judge him according to your law;” the shouts of the Jews, however, increasing, he, at their request, released unto them Barabbas, and delivered Jesus to them to be crucified. When, therefore, the Jews were dragging Jesus forth, and had reached the door, Cartaphilus, a porter of the hall, in Pilate’s service, as Jesus was going out at the door, impiously struck him on the back with his hand, and said in mockery, “Go quicker, Jesus, go quicker; why do you loiter?” And Jesus, looking back on him with a severe countenance, said to him, “I am going, and you shall wait till I return.” And, according as our Lord said, this Cartaphilus is still awaiting his return. At the time of our Lord’s sufferings he was thirty years old, and, when he attains the age of one hundred years, he always returns to the same age as he was when our Lord suffered. After Christ’s death, when the Catholic faith gained ground, this Cartaphilus was baptized by Ananias, (who also baptized the Apostle Paul,) and was called Joseph. He often dwells in both divisions of Armenia and other eastern countries, passing his time amidst the Bishops and other prelates of the Church. He is a man of holy conversation, and religious,—a man of few words, and circumspect in his behaviour: for he does not speak at all, unless when questioned by the Bishops and religious men; and then he tells of the events of old times, and of the events which occurred at the suffering and resurrection of our Lord, and of the witness of the resurrection: namely, those who rose with Christ, and went into the Holy City, and appeared unto men. He also tells of the Creed of the Apostles and of their separation and preaching; and all this he relates without smiling or levity of conversation, as one who is well

practised in sorrow and the fear of God, always looking forward with fear to the coming of Jesus Christ, lest, at the last judgment, he should find Him in anger, whom, when on his way to death, he had provoked to just vengeance. Numbers come to him from different parts of the world, enjoying his society and conversation; and to them, if they are men of authority, he explains all doubts on the matters on which he is questioned. He refuses all gifts that are offered to him, being content with slight food and clothing. He places his hope of salvation on the fact, that he sinned through ignorance; for the Lord, when suffering, prayed for his enemies in these words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." "'—*Wendover*, vol. ii. p. 512.

Long before almanacs were dreamed of, the compatriots of Alphonso the sage, well remembered by his declaration that, had *he* assisted at the creation of the world, he could have better arranged its movements, had sufficiently directed their attention to astronomical subjects for them to hazard predictions with the utmost confidence. The earnest simplicity of good faith with which the following letter is penned is very amusing: (A.D. 1229:)

"To all the faithful followers of Christ to whom these letters shall come, Master John David, of Toledo, and all the other masters of the same place, wish health, and the consolation of the Holy Spirit. From the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine, for seven years, in the month of September, the sun will be in the sign of Libra; all the planets will then come together, and the sun will be in the tail of the Dragon, and this will be a sign of wonderful and dreadful events; and there will be a storm of wind, and the sea will rise unusually high; and there will be such a great clashing together of the winds that they will blow almost together, and will obscure and darken the whole world; and they will give forth dreadful sounds, putting the hearts of men in disorder, destroying buildings and trees; and several valleys will be raised to a level with mountains; and they will hurl many cities to the ground, especially Babylon, Baldach, Methas, and Tripolis; and chiefly cities lying in gravelly and sandy places. But, before all these things come to pass, there will be an eclipse of the sun, and from the third hour of the day till mid-day the sun will be of a fiery red colour, which denotes great effusion of blood; and after this will follow an eclipse of the moon, of mingled colours, which will denote great confusion among nations; and after this there will be battles and slaughter in the East and in the West, and there will be universal earthquakes throughout the whole world, and a great mortality and disputing of nations and kingdoms one with another, and a great Emperor will die; and after this tempest of winds few will remain alive, but as many as do survive will abound in delicacies and wealth; a doubtfulness will spring up amongst the Saracens, and they shall leave their mosques, and become one with the Christians. Therefore we, in common with all the magistracy and all our learned fellow-astrologers of Toledo, having discovered these facts, have thought proper to disclose them to you, and enjoin you, in remission of your sins, and for the salvation of your souls, to publish them to persons not aware of them, and to provide places of safety for yourselves to remain in, as long as these winds shall continue. They will blow in the month of September, and then it will be difficult to find

on the earth a safe dwelling-place. Prepare, therefore, caves, on plains surrounded by mountains, not covered with sand or gravel, and let the caves be covered with planks, and place earth upon them, and let no trees be near, by which the mouth of the cave can be blocked up: and in these caves lay up food for yourselves for forty days. Know also that in this all the philosophers and astronomers of Spain, Greece, Arabia, Armenia, and the Hebrews, are of the same opinion as ourselves. We have heard, too, that the King of Manichin is building a tower, of excellent materials, in which all his neighbours are assisting him, and the tower will be as large as a mountain. And we also declare to the King of Sicily the dangers which seem to us impending. Nothing, therefore, remains for Christians, at this present crisis, but for each and all of them to endeavour to prepare their minds, by fruitful repentance, by pure and humble confession, and by proper atonement, that when the Bridegroom cometh, they may not meet him with empty lamps, like the foolish virgins who had no oil, and (which God forbid) find the door shut against them; but rather like the wise virgins, with their lamps trimmed, and may be allowed to enter with the Bridegroom to the marriage-feast.'

"We confidently believe," (adds our chronicler, by way of comment,) "that within the seven years following we shall see some things happen, in which, either by analogy or in reality, we may find some adaptation to these letters of the astronomers."—*Wendover*, vol. ii. p. 514.

The incidental notices which occur of the ordinary astronomical and meteorological phenomena, with which even the children of the present day are so familiar, are amusing, in the tone of marvel with which they are related; and any extraordinary contemporaneous event was surely considered as caused, or at least heralded, by them. The following example relates to the death of Henry I.

"This year, (A.D. 1135,) at Lammas, King Henry went over sea; and on the second day, as he lay asleep in the ship, the day was darkened universally, and the sun became as it were a moon three nights old, with the stars shining round it at mid-day. Men greatly marvelled, and great fear fell on them, and they said that some great event should follow hereafter: and so it was; for the same year the King died in Normandy, on the day after the Feast of St. Andrew."—*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, p. 501.

William of Malmesbury had, however, some conception that natural causes produced the obscuration of the heavenly bodies. He mentions that, in 1140, in Lent, there was an eclipse throughout England, and adds, "With us, indeed, as with all our neighbours, the obscuration of the sun was so remarkable, that persons at first feared that Chaos was come again." Afterwards, learning its cause, they went out and beheld the stars around the sun; "but," he adds, "it was thought and said by many, not untruly, that the King would not continue a year in the government."

An eclipse was said to have similarly portended evil on the last departure of Henry I. from England, which took place on

the nones of August, "the very day on which he had formerly been crowned at Westminster."

Our chronicler writes,—

"This was the last, the fatal voyage of his reign : the providence of God, at that time, bore reference in a wonderful manner to human affairs ; for instance, that he should embark, never to return alive, on that day on which he had originally been crowned so long and prosperously to reign. It was then, as I have said, the Nones of August, and on the fourth day of the week the elements manifested their sorrow at this great man's last departure. For the sun that day, at the sixth hour, shrouded his glorious face, as the poets say, in hideous darkness, agitating the hearts of men by an eclipse ; and on the first day of the week, early in the morning, there was so great an earthquake that the ground appeared absolutely to sink down, a horrid sound being first heard from beneath the surface. During the eclipse I saw stars round the sun ; and at the time of the earthquake the wall of the house in which I was sitting was lifted up with two shocks, and settled again with a third."—P. 488.

Notices of earthquakes in England are not unfrequent, and comets also excited a large share of mysterious wonder.

"[A.D. 1088.] In the second year of this reign, (William Rufus,) on the third before the Ides of August, a great earthquake terrified all England with a horrid spectacle ; for all the buildings were lifted up, and then settled again as before. A scarcity of every kind of produce followed. The corn ripened so slowly, that the harvest was scarcely housed before the Feast of St. Andrew.

"On the night of the 8th, before the Kalends of August, [A.D. 1122,] there was a great earthquake throughout Somersetshire and Gloucestershire. After this, many shipmen were at sea and on the water, and said that they saw a fire in the north-east, large and broad, near the earth, and that it grew in height into the welkin, and the welkin divided into four parts, and fought against it, or it would have quenched it ; nevertheless the fire flamed up to heaven. They observed this fire at daybreak, and it lasted until it was light everywhere ; this was on the seventh before the Ides of December."—*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, p. 489.

The electric light called "St. Elmo's fires," frequently seen playing on the mast-head of a ship at sea, just after a storm, was of course construed into a supernatural appearance.

"About this time, [A.D. 1225,] the Earl of Salisbury, who had been fighting with Count Richard in the transmarine provinces, embarked to return to England ; but, being exposed to great danger at sea, and being driven in different directions, by the violence of the winds, for several days and nights, he, in common with his sailors, and all the rest of those on board his ship, gave up all hopes of safety ; and therefore committed to the waves his costly rings, and all his property in silver, gold, and rich garments, which he had on board, in order that, as he entered naked into mortal life, so he might pass to the regions of eternity, deprived of all earthly honours. At length, when they were in the last state of despair, a large and bright shining light was seen, at the top of the mast, by all on board the ship ; and they also saw, standing near the light, a female of great beauty, who kept alive the

light of the taper, which illumined the darkness of the night, notwithstanding the force of the winds and rain which beat upon it. From this vision of heavenly brightness, the Count himself, as well as the sailors, conceived hopes of safety, and felt confident that Divine help was at hand. And though all the rest of the people were ignorant what this vision portended, the aforesaid Earl William alone assigned the honour of this mercy to the blessed Virgin Mary; for the aforesaid Earl, on the day when he was first made a belted Knight, had assigned a wax taper to be kept constantly burning before the altar of the blessed Mother of God, during the mass which was usually chanted every day at the hour of prayer, in honour of the said Virgin, and that he might receive an eternal, in exchange for a temporal, light.”—P. 460.

The comparative silence of birds in the warmer latitudes, during the mid-day heats, probably originated the following marvellous tale recorded of St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Friars-Minors, whose righteous indignation was roused against the Roman people, for neglect of his preaching:—

“ ‘I much grieve,’ said he, ‘for your wretchedness, because you not only reject me, a servant of Christ, but also despise him in me, since I have preached the Gospel of the Redeemer of the world to you: I, therefore, call on him who is my faithful witness in heaven, to bear witness to your sin; and I go forth from the city to your shame, to preach the Gospel of Christ to the brute beasts, and to the birds of the air, that they may hear the life-giving words of God, and be obedient to them.’ He then went out of the city, and, in the suburbs, found crows, sitting amongst the dead bodies; kites, magpies, and several other birds, flying about in the air; and said to them, ‘I command you, in the name of Jesus Christ, whom the Jews crucified, and whose preaching the wretched Romans have despised, to come to me, and hear the word of God, in the name of Him who created you, and preserved Noah in the ark from the waters of the Deluge.’ All that flock of birds then drew near and surrounded him; and, having ordered silence, all kind of chirping was hushed, and those birds listened to the words of the man of God, for the space of half a day, without moving from the spot, and the whole time looked in the face of the preacher. This wonderful circumstance was discovered by the Romans passing and repassing to and from the city; and when what was done by the man of God to the assembled birds had been repeated, the Clergy, with a crowd of people, went out from the city, and brought back the man of God with great reverence; and he then, by the oil of his supplicatory preaching, softened their barren and obdurate hearts, and changed them for the better.”—P. 495.

So slight was the foundation necessary for a marvellous tale, that the mere play of light and shadow over a crucifix, caused by the flickering tapers at an early service, wrought on the dauntless heart of Richard Cœur de Lion, the “pious King Richard,” as our chronicler terms him, the impression of miraculous intervention. This King mitigated the severe game-laws, by which his Norman predecessors had condemned all transgressors to severe personal mutilation, and commuted the penalty

to imprisonment or banishment. A Knight, convicted of deer-stealing, had been deprived of his estates, banished with his wife and children, and reduced to beg his bread in a strange land.

“The Knight, after some reflection, at length determined to implore the King for mercy, and for his estate to be restored to him; and he accordingly went to the King, in Normandy, where he found him, early in the morning, in a church, about to hear mass. The Knight tremblingly entered the church, and did not dare to raise his eyes to the King, who, although he was the handsomest of men to look upon, had still something dreadful in his glance. He therefore went to an image of Christ on the cross, and, weeping incessantly, he humbly, on his bended knees, besought the Crucified One, through his unspeakable grace, compassionately to make his peace with the King, by which means he might recover his lost inheritance. The King, seeing the Knight thus earnestly, and with unfeigned devotion, praying and weeping, witnessed an occurrence wonderful and worthy of narration; for whenever this Knight, whom he knew not to be one of his own retinue, bent his knees to worship the image, the image, in all humility, bowed its head and shoulders, as it were in answer to the Knight; and the King was struck with wonder and astonishment, to see this repeated frequently. As soon as the service of mass was ended, he sent for the Knight to speak with him, and inquired of him who he was, and whence he came. The Knight then replied with fear, and said, “My Lord, I am your liege subject, as my ancestors also have been!” And then, beginning his history, he told the King how he had been deprived of his inheritance, and banished, together with his family, having been caught with some stolen venison. The King then said to the Knight, ‘Have you ever in your life done a good action in respect and to the honour of the holy cross?’ The Knight then, after carefully thinking over the events of his past life, related to the King the following deed, which he had done in his reverence for Christ:—

“‘My father,’ said he, ‘and another Knight, divided between them a town, which belonged to them by hereditary right; and whilst my father abounded in all kinds of wealth, the other Knight, on the contrary, was always poor and needy; and becoming envious of my father, he treacherously murdered him. I was then a boy; but when I arrived at manhood, and was installed in my paternal inheritance, I made a resolute determination to slay that Knight, in revenge for my father’s death. He was, however, forewarned of my purpose, and for several years, by his cunning, escaped the snares I had laid for him. At length, on the day of the Preparation, on which day Christ Jesus bore his cross for the salvation of the world, as I was going to church to hear mass, I saw my enemy before me, also on his way to church. I hastened on behind him, and drew my sword to kill him, when, by some chance, he looked round, and, seeing me rushing upon him, flew to a cross which stood near the road, being worn with age, and unable to defend himself; and when I threatened, with upraised sword, to slay him and dash out his brains, he encircled the cross with his arms, and adjured me, in the name of that Christ who, on that day, was suspended on the cross for the salvation of the world, not to slay him,

and faithfully promised and vowed that he would appoint a Chaplain to perform a mass every day, from that time, for the soul of my father whom he had killed. When I saw the old man weeping, I was moved to pity; and thus, in my love and reverence for Him who, for my salvation and that of all, ascended the cross, and consecrated it by his most holy blood, I forgave the Knight for my father's murder.' The King then said to the Knight, 'You acted wisely; for now that Crucified One has repaid one good turn by another.' He then summoned the bishops and barons who were there with him, and, in the hearing of all, related the vision he had seen,—how at each genuflexion made by the Knight the image of Christ had humbly bowed its head and shoulders. He then ordered his Chancellor to come, and commanded him, by his letters-patent, to order the Sheriff whom the Knight should name, at sight of the warrant, to restore to the Knight the whole of his property, in the same condition as he received it at the time of his banishment."—*Wendover*, p. 549.

Occasionally curious incidental facts in natural history or science are brought before our notice, generally tinged with the marvellous.

"A year after that, [A.D. 894,] and then provision failed in Ireland; for vermin of a mole-like form, each having two teeth, fell from heaven, which devoured all the food; and, through fasting and prayer, they were driven away."—*Chron. Princes of Wales, Mon. Hist.*, p. 846.

"This year [A.D. 1114] there was so great an ebb of the tide everywhere in one day, as no man remembered before; so that men went through the Thames, both riding and walking, east of London Bridge."—*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, p. 484.

"About that time [A.D. 1219] many in the army were assailed by a disease for which the physicians could find no remedy in their art; for the pain suddenly attacked the feet and legs, on which the skin appeared corrupt and black, and in the gums and teeth a hard black substance took away all power of eating; and numbers who were attacked, after suffering thus for a long time, departed to the Lord; some, however, who struggled against it till the spring, were, by the beneficial warmth of that season, preserved from death."—*Wendover*, p. 413.

The state of our own country, as represented by our early writers, presents a laughable contrast to its present condition. Bede, who wrote in the early part of the eighth century, commences his history by a description of Britain, in which he dilates at some length on its natural productions, and its veins of metal, copper, iron, lead, silver, and jet, which last, when heated, drives away serpents, but, being warmed with rubbing, holds fast whatever is applied to it, like amber.

"The island," (he adds,) "was formerly embellished with twenty-eight noble cities, besides innumerable castles, which were all strongly secured with walls, towers, gates, and locks. And from its lying almost under the North Pole, the nights are light in summer, so that at midnight the beholders are often in doubt whether the evening twilight

still continues, or that of the morning is coming on ; for the sun in the night returns under the earth through the northern regions at no great distance from them. For this reason, the days are of a great length in summer, as, on the contrary, the nights are in winter ; for the sun then withdraws into the southern parts, so that the nights are eighteen hours long.

"The island at present, following the number of the books in which the Divine law was written, contains five nations,—the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins,—each in its own peculiar dialect cultivating the sublime study of Divine truth. The Latin tongue is, by the study of the Scriptures, become common to all the rest."—*Bede*, p. 5.

"Ireland," (says the same author,) "in breadth, and for wholesomeness and serenity of climate, far surpasses Britain ; for the snow scarcely ever lies there above three days ; no man makes hay in the summer for winter's provision, or builds stables for his beasts of burden. No reptiles are found there, and no snake can live there ; for, though often carried thither out of Britain, as soon as the ship comes near the shore and the scent of air reaches them, they die. On the contrary, almost all things in the island are good against poison. In short, we have known, that when some persons have been bitten by serpents, the scrapings of leaves of books that were brought out of Ireland, being put into water and given them to drink, have immediately expelled the spreading poison and assuaged the swelling. The island abounds in milk and honey, nor is there any want of vines, fish, or fowl ; and it is remarkable for deer and goats."—*Bede*, p. 7.

Richard of Devizes, writing four centuries later, puts the following words into the mouth of a Jew, counselling one of his fellows, about to visit England, as to his place of residence :—

"Canterbury is an assemblage of the vilest people, entirely devoted to their somebody, I know not whom, but who has been lately canonized, and was the Archbishop of Canterbury.* Here, as everywhere, they die in open day by the streets for the want of bread and employment. Rochester and Chichester are mere villages, and they possess nothing for which they should be called cities but the sees of their Bishops. Oxford scarcely—I will not say, satisfies, but—sustains its Clerks. Exeter supports man and beast with the same grain. Bath is placed, or rather buried, in the lowest parts of the valleys, in a very dense atmosphere and sulphury vapour, as it were at the gates of hell. Nor yet will you select your habitation in the northern cities,—Worcester, Chester, Hereford,—on account of the desperate Welchmen. York abounds in Scots,—vile and faithless men,—or rather, rascals. The town of Ely is alway putrefied by the surrounding marshes. In Durham, Norwich, or Lincoln, there are few of your disposition among the powerful ; you will never hear any one speak French. At Bristol, there is nobody who is not, or has not been, a soapmaker, and every Frenchman esteems soapmakers as he does nightmen. Account the Cornish people for such as you know our Flemings are accounted in France."—*Idem*, p. 61.

The simple earnestness with which legal documents were drawn up,—the Monks being the sole lawyers,—presents an

* Thomas à Becket.

amusing contrast to the dry technicalities of the present day. It was not the mere hand and seal which subscribed and authenticated a charter. The general ignorance of writing, even in the highest classes, caused the adoption of the cross as confirming the signature; and the Prelates and Ecclesiastics, who could have written their names, either from courtesy, or to preserve uniformity, used the same symbol. Thus, this mode of signature, originated by ignorance, became invested with a sacred character, and was considered a more formal and solemn authentication than would have been a signature with the hand. To the crosses were frequently added expletive sentiments. In the "*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*," after a long account of the foundation (A.D. 655) of St. Petersburg Abbey, and its enrichment by Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, its consecration is thus described:—

"At the hallowing of the monastery, King Wulfhere was present, and his brother Ethelred, and his sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith; and Deus-dedit, Archbishop of Canterbury, hallowed the monastery; and Ithamar Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of London, who was called Wina, and the Bishop of the Mercians, who was called Jeruman, and Bishop Tuda; and there was Wilfrid the Priest, who was afterwards a Bishop, and all his Thanes who were within his kingdom were there. When the monastery had been hallowed in the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, then the King stood up before all his Thanes, and said with a clear voice, 'Thanked be the high Almighty God for the worthy deed which here is done, and I will this day do honour to Christ and St. Peter; and I desire that ye all assent to my words. I Wulfhere do this day give to St. Peter and Abbot Saxwulf, and the Monks of the monastery, these lands and these waters, and meres, and fens, and wears,' &c.,

—recapitulating large tracts of land, stretching twenty miles in one direction, ten in another, six in a third, &c., given in free and entire possession to the Monks subject to Rome alone; since it was the King's good will, that all who were unable to go to Rome should perform a pilgrimage to this second St. Peter's. The needful forms being already prepared, he then called upon those around him to witness the grant.

"'I beg of thee, my brother Ethelred, and my sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith, that ye be witnesses, for your soul's redemption, and that ye write it with your fingers. And I beg all those who come after me, be they my sons, be they my brothers, or Kings that come after me, that our gift may stand, even as they would be partakers of the life eternal, and would escape everlasting torment. Whosoever shall take from this our gift, or the gifts of other good men, may the heavenly gate-ward take from him in the kingdom of heaven; and whosoever will increase it, may the heavenly gate-ward increase in the kingdom of heaven.' Here are the witnesses who were there, who subscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and assented to it with their tongues. King Wulfhere was the first who confirmed it by word, and afterwards subscribed it with his fingers on the cross of Christ, and said thus: 'I, King Wulfhere, with the Kings, and Earls, and

Dukes, and Thanes, the witnesses of my gift, do confirm it before the Archbishop Deus-dedit, with the cross of Christ, †. And I, Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, the friend of this monastery and of Abbot Saxwulf, approve of it with the cross of Christ, †. And I, King Sighere, grant it with the cross of Christ, †. And I, King Sibbi, subscribe it with the cross of Christ, †. And I, Ethelred, the King's brother, grant it with the cross of Christ, †. And we, the King's sisters, Kyneburg and Kyneswith, we approve it, †. And I, Deus-dedit, Archbishop of Canterbury, grant it, †. After that, all others who were there, assented to it with the cross of Christ, †."

The Pope confirmed the gift, with the prayer that, if any one violated the charter, St. Peter might exterminate him with his sword; and that for its observers St. Peter might open the gates of heaven. Among the signatures to a later deed, conferring, on the part of the Pope, fresh privileges, and, on that of the King, fresh lands to the abbey, confirmed with "Christ's token," are the following:—

"I Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this charter, and I confirm it with my signature, and I excommunicate all those who shall break any part thereof, and I bless all those who shall observe it, †. I Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, I am witness to this charter, and I assent to the same curse, †. I Saxwulf, who was first Abbot and am now Bishop, I give those my curse, and that of all my successors, who shall break through this." "I Cuthbald, Abbot, assent to it, so that whoso shall break it, let him have the cursing of all Bishops, and of all Christian folk. Amen."

The seals, in earlier ages, before heraldic charges gave them their specific distinction, were often mere lumps of wax appended to the document by parchment bands, and not unfrequently bore the impress of the thumb-nail or the fang-tooth of the principal covenanting party, sometimes a few of his hairs, to add to its identity.

The above cases afford a sample of a few of the leading points in a class of literature which will amply repay the investigation, not only of the historian and antiquary, but of the moral philosopher who interests himself in the investigation of a phase of the human mind, of which scarcely a type now remains in the civilized nations of Europe, and which, in some of its peculiar features, is as incapable of reproduction as is the childhood of a matured life. The attempts, skilful and ingenious, but fallacious, made in the present day, to imitate our ancient literature, and, by a false coinage of black-letter and quaint phraseology, to evoke the spirit of the past, only prove how impossible it is (were even the technical difficulties of language and modes of expression well mastered) for the age to grow young again, to divest itself of its maturity of thought, and to return to the simplicity of its childhood; and we would, *en passant*, deprecate an innovation which can only lead to an entire misapprehension, on the part of the uninitiated, of the true genius of our Monkish Literature.

ART. V.—*History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena; from the Letters and Journals of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, and official Documents not before made public.* By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M.A. Three Vols. 8vo. London: John Murray. 1853.

A GREAT nation cannot with impunity become indifferent to its moral interests, and aim exclusively at material success. As in private life character is found to second the efforts for advancement of the individual, so in national affairs the reputation which a country bears for good faith and elevated principle, is a fund to its credit, from which it can draw in the attainment or increase of external prosperity. The position which England occupies among the nations of the world, enabling her, on occasions, to achieve by the exercise of her moral influence much that in former times would have been yielded only to physical force; and the comparatively stationary position, amidst surrounding prosperity, of certain States of America which have dared to repudiate acknowledged engagements,—amply testify to the truth and potency of the principle. No government or people can, either from conscious innocence or from indifference to the opinion of mankind, safely neglect to rebut any charge brought against its honour, and thus let judgment pass by default, if it possess the means requisite for a defence. By such conduct history becomes falsified, and the negligence of one generation leaves a stain upon the escutcheon of its posterity. It is for these reasons that we now propose briefly to examine the volumes placed at the head of this article, in which are made public, for the first time, those documents from which alone historical evidence can be derived, to enable the world to judge of the truth or falsehood of the charge, credited by millions throughout Europe, and we believe by many amongst ourselves, that England disgraced herself by her treatment of Napoleon when in exile.

We would here make two observations: first, the volumes we are about to notice consist not simply of the answer of the defendant, but contain all the documents, on both sides, by which the judgment of the court must be formed; and, secondly, the delay in the production of the evidence, though much to be regretted, is to be attributed partly to the unhappy procrastination of the chief defendant himself, and partly to the death of a previous editor, and must not be laid to the charge of those who will themselves be affected by the verdict passed upon the person principally accused. Indeed, it must ever be a matter of surprise that Sir Hudson Lowe, overwhelmed as he was with charges so deeply affecting his own honour and the honour of his Government,—loaded with the burden of asserted crimes and still darker suspicions,—should have gone down to the tomb, leaving to the risk of accident those precious documents, which he should have

cast into the faces of his accusers, and which we honestly believe would have freed him from at least the most onerous part of the accusations brought against him.

We trust to be able to show that no just cause exists for asserting that England was vindictive or ungenerous in her conduct towards the wonderful man placed in her power by the chances of war.

Our readers are acquainted with the circumstances under which Napoleon came into the hands of the British. The battle of Waterloo had effectually shattered his army. Fear of the Republican and Constitutional parties in the capital, some of whose leaders had, previously to his joining the army, urged his abdication as the only remedy for the distresses and dangers of France, led to his hasty retreat to Paris. On his arrival he found the Chambers intractable, disposed to act independently of his authority, and more than hinting an opinion that nothing less than abdication would meet the case. His brother Lucien, neglected and slighted in prosperous times, exerted all his powers to restrain the hostile proceedings of the Chambers, but in vain; whilst Napoleon declined to employ force to maintain his authority, from well-founded fear lest the National Guard should take the part of the Representatives,—Davoust, who was sounded, having previously refused to act against the Chambers. “On the morning of the 22nd of June,” we are told, “only four days after the defeat at Waterloo, the Chamber of Representatives assembled at nine in the morning, and expressed the utmost impatience to receive the Act of Abdication.” This was finally signed, after many struggles on the part of Napoleon, and appeared in the *Moniteur* of the following day. There were various reasons, in the existing state of things, why the popular party should desire the absence of the abdicated Emperor from the neighbourhood of Paris, in addition to the fact that the British and Prussians were approaching the capital; and a gentle compulsion was used to induce him to depart for Rochefort, where two frigates were ordered to transport him to the United States.

But here the difficulty of making his escape meets him. It is true there are two French frigates, with a corvette and a brig, ready to convey him; but how escape the watchful guard of British cruisers, which dotted the waters from Brest to Bayonne, from Ushant to Cape Finisterre? Now the circumstances which follow are of much importance to the national honour, since it suited Napoleon’s purpose afterwards to insist that he voluntarily came on board the “*Bellerophon*” as the guest of England, not as her prisoner. The facts of the case are these. The “*Bellerophon*,” commanded by Captain Maitland, was appointed to cruise off Rochefort. Her Captain, a man of high birth and unsullied honour, had received instructions of which the following formed a part. Admiral Hotham writes to Captain Maitland, July 8th, 1815, the following order:—

"The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, having every reason to believe that Napoleon Buonaparte meditates his escape, with his family, from France to America, you are hereby required and directed, in pursuance of orders from their Lordships, signified to me by Admiral the Right Honourable Viscount Keith, to keep the most vigilant look-out, for the purpose of intercepting him, and to make the strictest search of any vessel you may fall in with; and if you should be so fortunate as to intercept him, you are to transfer him and his family to the ship you command, and, there keeping him in careful custody, return to the nearest port in England, (going into Torbay in preference to Plymouth,) with all possible expedition; and, on your arrival, you are not to permit any communication whatever with the shore, except as hereinafter directed; and you will be held responsible for keeping the whole transaction a profound secret, until you receive their Lordships' further orders."

Now it is quite clear that Captain Maitland had no authority to make any terms or conditions with Napoleon, should he come into his power; and with equal certainty we may rely upon his well-known and honourable character for assurance that he was incapable of merely pretending to possess any such power. We therefore fully credit the statement of Captain Maitland, in his letter to Mr. Croker, the Secretary to the Admiralty, dated "Basque Roads, July 14th, 1815:—That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Casas, that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; but all I can do is to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as His Royal Highness may deem expedient." After several visits from two of Napoleon's suite, Savary and Las Casas, in which Captain Maitland repeatedly, and in the presence of other officers, refused to make any promise whatever, on the 14th the well-known letter to the Prince Regent was sent to Captain Maitland, and the following day Napoleon came on board the "Bellerophon." The above circumstances being borne in mind, and it being also remembered that the latter step was not taken until, as we learn from officers in the ex-Emperor's suite, a variety of plans of escape from the ubiquitous British war-ships had been canvassed and rejected,—it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the surrender of Napoleon was simply the case of a fugitive giving himself up as a prisoner of war, when he found it impossible to do otherwise. He preferred to rely upon the generosity of the British, rather than to fall into the hands of the Prussians;* but the circumstances of the case gave him no right to claim, nor did Captain Maitland give him any promise that he should receive, any treatment different from that which might be resolved upon by the Government of Great Britain and her allies.

* What would have been his fate, had he fallen into the hands of the Prussians, we learn from the recent publication of Baron Von Müffling's "Memoirs." From this interesting work we find that it was the expressed intention of Marshal Blücher, to have had him conveyed to the grave of the Duc d'Enghien, and there shot.

This is not the place to discuss the propriety of banishing Napoleon to St. Helena. That the British Government had the right so to dispose of a prisoner of war, seems undoubted; and the only question appears to be as to the generosity of the measure. Now generosity is not a virtue to be exercised at the risk of others; and the safety of the lives of thousands required that he should be effectually restrained from again lighting up the flames of European war. To rely upon his word, after the escape from Elba, would have been fatuous; and his detention near the scenes of his recent exploits, retaining as he did such influence over the minds of men, would have been attended with much danger, and led to constant disquietude. England may well be excused for having desired to prevent the recurrence of wars, which had cost her so much blood and money; but it was also impossible she should neglect the interests of her ally the King of France. Sir Walter Scott justly remarks that, "while France was in a state of such turmoil and vexation, with the remains of a disaffected army, fermenting amid a fickle population,—while the king (in order to make good his stipulated payments to the allies) was obliged to impose heavy taxes, and to raise them with some severity, many opportunities might arise, in which Napoleon, either complaining of some petty injuries of his own, or invited by the discontented state of the French nation, might renew his memorable attempt of February 28th."

We are strongly of opinion that the British Government were bound to inflict no greater hardship upon Napoleon than the circumstances of the case required:—

"Since he, miscall'd 'the Morning Star,'
Nor man, nor fiend, hath fallen so far:"—

and, notwithstanding his moral deficiencies, and the appalling amount of suffering he had inflicted upon Europe, it is impossible to view without interest and pity the condition of one hurled from such power and splendour; or to contemplate without sorrow the future of a man to whose happiness activity and command were essential.

But we cannot agree with Mr. Forsyth, that the refusal of the title of Emperor was a mistake. To grant, under then existing circumstances, what had been peremptorily and continuously refused during the whole period of his power, would have been ridiculous. If Emperor,—Emperor of what country? He had twice abdicated the throne of France; and Lord Castlereagh expressly declined to accede to the Treaty of Paris because he was there acknowledged as Emperor of Elba. But could we have allowed him the title of Emperor, which, if it had any meaning at all, must have referred to France, without insult to our ally, the King of France? And again,—the title would have led to practical difficulties of a serious kind. It would have appeared to necessitate a mode of treatment which might have nullified every regulation necessary to his

security as a prisoner. It may be asked,—Who ever heard of an Emperor restricted in his promenades, or subjected, in certain cases, to the surveillance of an officer, and the restraint of sentinels? Or how could those precautions against escape have been taken, without irreverence to the person of so high a prince, which, in the circumstances of Napoleon Bonaparte, were indispensably necessary? As it was, he fenced himself around with the forms of etiquette, rendering access to his person, even to ascertain his presence, difficult. But what additional facilities to his meditated escape would have been afforded by a title, which would seem to carry with it a claim to imperial respect!

Assuming that the British Government would have incurred a most serious responsibility, had they neglected to secure the person of Napoleon at a distance from the scenes of his mighty triumphs,—was the choice of St. Helena one of which we can approve? Napoleon and his friends pertinaciously insisted that the island was unhealthy, and was chosen in order to shorten his life. From some of the passionate expressions that fell from Napoleon's lips, on being informed of his destination, one would suppose he had been condemned to experience such rigours and fearful alternations as Milton's genius has embodied; and was doomed to

——“Feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes,—extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging fire to starve in ice.”

Now, with respect to the question of salubrity, not to dwell upon the fact that the island was continually being chosen as a place for recruiting the health of invalids from India,—was, in fact, a sanatorium of the East India Company,—we have the distinct evidence of persons competent to decide the point. In a report made in March, 1821, by Dr. Thomas Shortt, Physician to the Forces, it is stated that at that period the proportion of sick among the military in the island was as one to forty-two; a proportion smaller than at that time prevailed in the service. Dr. Shortt imputes it to the circumstance of the island being situated in the way of the trade-winds, where the continued steady breeze carries off the superfluous heat, and with it such effluvia, noxious to the human constitution, as may have been generated. Lieut.-Col. Jackson, who resided several years on the island, states, that, owing to the above-mentioned circumstance, there is, perhaps, no finer climate to be found than in certain parts of St. Helena; and that he scarcely ever saw the thermometer higher than 80° in James Town, while the average throughout the island was about 75°. A fire, he says, was seldom requisite, and the duration of life he takes to be about the same as in England.

The evidence of Mr. Henry, who was stationed at St. Helena, as assistant-surgeon, during the time of Napoleon's residence, is to the same effect. He states, that during a period of twelve months not one man died from disease out of five hundred of the

66th regiment quartered at Deadwood, in the vicinity of Longwood. In 1817, 1818, and 1819, Fahrenheit's thermometer, kept at the hospital, ranged from 55° to 70°, with the exception of two calm days, when it rose to 80°. The very fogs which occasionally prevail, he thinks, more than compensate for the inconvenience they cause, by the fertility and salubrity they create. No endemic disease prevailed; and certain organs, as the lungs, appeared to be privileged. In conclusion, he states, that "the upper parts of St. Helena, including the residence of Bonaparte, are decidedly the most healthy; and we often moved our regimental convalescents from James Town to Deadwood for cooler and better air. The clouds moved so steadily and regularly with the trade-winds, that there appeared to be no time for atmospheric accumulations of electricity, and we never had any thunder or lightning. No instance of hydrophobia, in man or any inferior animal, had ever been known in St. Helena."

This evidence, as to the true nature of the climate chosen as the future residence of the ex-Emperor, is, we think, conclusive; and after all that has been said on the subject, Las Casas, in a suppressed passage of his journal, let out the truth:—" *Les détails de Ste. Hélène sont peu de chose; c'est d'y être qui est la grande affaire.*"

Napoleon landed at James Town, the capital of the island, on the 17th of October, after a passage of ninety-five days. Admiral Sir George Cockburn speedily took for his residence the country-house known as Longwood,—the best residence on the island, with the single exception of the Governor's. In the mean time, at his own request, he remained at a house called the Briars. The Admiral, whom we have but lately lost, appears to have acted throughout with the utmost consideration for his illustrious prisoner, but failed to elicit anything in return, save invective and insult. As it subsequently answered the purpose of Napoleon and his friends to institute a comparison between Sir Hudson Lowe, their chief and long-abused victim, and the Admiral, greatly to the disadvantage of the former, it may be well to state the tenor of the language and correspondence which passed between them and the Admiral:—

"On the 20th of December," says Count Montholon, "the Admiral came to Longwood, but the Emperor would not receive him: he was always angry that he had not the whole island for his prison, and refused to believe that the restrictions upon his liberty were the orders of Ministers. He commanded me to write a series of complaints to the Admiral on this subject."

And then follows a letter of complaints, written in an insolent and dictatorial tone. This letter is but the commencement of a series, alike distinguished by their intemperance and indecency. Soon after we find threats of a complaint to the Prince Regent.

An angry discussion ensues upon the Admiral insisting on carrying out that part of his instructions which ordered that—

“Any letters addressed to him (General Bonaparte) or his attendants, must be first delivered to the Admiral, or to the Governor, as the case may be, who will read them before they are delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed. All letters written by the General or his attendants must be subject to the same regulation.”

This paragraph deserves particular attention; for, as Mr. Forsyth remarks, the enforcement of this rule by Sir Hudson Lowe was one of the grievances most bitterly complained of by the French, and he was accused of having innovated in this respect upon the practice of his predecessor. In a letter written by O'Meara to his friend Mr. Finlaison, but *omitted in his published account*, he reports a conversation in which Napoleon accuses Sir George of having gathered together for his use all the *rotten* furniture in the island; says, that if he heaped every kind of benefit upon him, the manner of doing so would lead him to conceive it as an insult; asserts his manner to be contemptuous and peculiarly grating; and concludes by asking,—

“Who is the Admiral? I never heard his name mentioned as conquering in a battle, either singly or in general action. 'Tis true he has rendered his name infamous in America, which I heard of, and he will now render it so here on this detestable rock. I believe, however, that he is a good sailor. Next to your Government exiling me here, the *worst* thing they could have done, and the most *insufferable* to my feelings, is sending me with such a *man* as him! I will make my treatment known to all Europe. It will be a reflection and a stain to his posterity for centuries.”

Much of the same character might be adduced to show that during the period when Sir George Cockburn had charge of the exile, the most frank and forbearing demeanour, and the most gentle and generous attentions, were alike unappreciated; and we are led irresistibly to the conclusion that these incessant complaints, these everlasting petulances, these reiterated reproaches and insults, were parts of a systematic plan intended to further some ulterior, but unacknowledged, object.

Leaving Napoleon on his island prison, let us examine briefly the existing evidence of his treatment there.

The history of the captivity of Napoleon has hitherto been written by men bitterly hostile to Sir Hudson Lowe, and having each a personal quarrel with him. National prejudices have naturally been brought to bear upon the strife, and each succeeding French writer has laboured to elevate his hero into a martyr. The “Voice from St. Helena” was the revenge of O'Meara upon the man whom he believed to have been the main cause of his dismissal from the post of Physician to Napoleon, and from the British naval service. It bears the marks of the deepest

hatred to those who were the authors of his disgrace. The times were favourable to his object, and the work had immense influence upon the sympathies of Englishmen. Though it bore evidence of, at least, gross exaggeration, for want of rebutting testimony, its essential truth was taken for granted. But the volumes before us contain the most indisputable answer to every important charge contained in O'Meara's book, *under O'Meara's own hand*. Seldom has falsehood been brought home so clearly and decisively.

The second great authority against Sir Hudson is Las Casas. Now it is sufficient to say of this writer, in passing, that not only was he a Frenchman and a devoted admirer of Napoleon, but he was sent away from the island by the man whom he vilified, for having persisted in infringing the rules laid down to insure the safe custody of his idol. The falsehood of many of his assertions, moreover, can be proved by totally independent testimony.

We shall presently show the estimate formed of Montholon's veracity by Napoleon and O'Meara themselves;—and as to Antommarchi, in addition to the offence which he took in consequence of the restrictions under which he was placed, he never forgave the earnestness of Sir Hudson, in pressing upon the attendants of Napoleon the necessity of having recourse to further medical advice, when his illness became serious.

But who was Sir Hudson Lowe? and what character did he bear? Was he a suitable person to be intrusted with a charge of so much delicacy and responsibility?

The answer is, that his previous military career had been distinguished, and had called forth the warmest approval of his superiors. Born in 1769, and connected with the army from his cradle, his father being a Surgeon-Major, he was an Ensign, and actually passed a military review in uniform, before he was twelve years of age. Not favoured by fortune or influential friends, his strict attention to his duties led to his appointment to various responsible posts. For several years he commanded the Corsican Rangers,—a body of troops in the British service, which served with distinction in Egypt and elsewhere. He was present at the battle of Alexandria, and during the campaign was the means of saving the life of Sir Sidney Smith. A picket having mistaken Sir Sidney for a French officer, from his wearing a cocked hat, (the English army then wearing round hats,) they levelled their pieces at him, when Major Lowe struck up their muskets, and saved him. His zeal and ability in command of the outposts, during the campaign in Egypt, called forth the flattering encomium from General Moore: "Lowe, when you're at the outposts, I always feel sure of a good night's rest."

At a later period he was appointed a permanent Assistant Quartermaster-General, chiefly through the influence of Sir

John Moore, who wrote him, "If I have had the good fortune to get you employed in the way you wish, I am glad of it. I have known you a long time; and I am confident your conduct, in whatever situation you are placed, will be such as to do honour to those who have recommended you."

After serving in Portugal and elsewhere, in May, 1806, he was placed in military charge of the Island of Capri, in the Bay of Naples. His troops were too few in number, and, Murat sending a considerable expedition against the little island, after a gallant defence, he was compelled to make a capitulation, which he did on favourable terms. This failure, however, against a superior force, was unattended by any loss of reputation, as it was admitted that he had maintained his ground with unusual gallantry. Sir John Stuart, in answer to the report of the event, says, "I am happy to express my perfect satisfaction at your own able, gallant, and judicious conduct, as well as at the zealous and animated support which you acknowledge to have received from your officers, and those brave soldiers who adhered to and returned with you hither, in the defence of the town of Capri." Lord Forbes, Major-General Campbell, and other officers of rank, expressed themselves warmly on his bold and judicious bearing on this occasion, though the issue of the contest was unsuccessful.

Much active service followed on the coast of Italy, and in the Greek islands; in the civil administration of which latter, Colonel Lowe was for some time engaged, when he was employed by Lord Bathurst in some delicate negotiations in Sweden, and other parts of the north of Europe.

When occupied in certain duties, under the direction of Lord Cathcart, at the head-quarters of Alexander, Colonel Lowe was fortunate enough to witness the battle of Bautzen, and for the first time saw Napoleon Bonaparte, with whose future fate his own subsequently became so strangely linked. The passage of his letter to Lord Bathurst, describing this event, is interesting.

"Between the town of Bautzen and the position taken up by the combined armies is a long elevated ridge, which descends rather abruptly towards the town, but inclined in a gradual slope towards the position. This ground had been yielded up on the preceding day, together with that which the advanced guard had occupied near the town of Bautzen and on the banks of the Spree. In the morning, a body of the enemy's troops was observed to be formed on its crest. Immediately in their front a small group was collected; which, by aid of spy-glasses, was soon discovered to be composed of persons of consequence in the enemy's army, amongst whom was most clearly distinguishable Napoleon Bonaparte himself. He advanced about forty or fifty paces in front of the others, accompanied by one of his Marshals, (conjectured to have been Eugene Beauharnois,) with whom he remained in conversation, walking backwards and forwards, (having dismounted,) for nearly an hour. I was on an advanced battery in front of our position, and had a most distinct view of him. He was dressed in a plain uniform coat and a star,

with a plain hat, different from that of his Marshals and Generals, which were feathered; his air and manner so perfectly resembling the portraits given of him, that there was no possibility of mistake. He appeared to be conversing with the person near him, as on some indifferent subject, very rarely looking towards our position, of which, however, the situation in which he stood commanded a most comprehensive and distinct view."

Subsequently, Col. Lowe served with great distinction in the allied Russian and Prussian army, under Blücher, and was with him in every action, from the battles of Möckern and Leipsic until the surrender of Paris. Having brought the news of the abdication of Napoleon from Paris, he was knighted by the Prince Regent;—the Prussian Order of Military Merit, and the Russian Order of St. George, were also conferred upon him, accompanied by very gratifying letters.

We have said enough of the military antecedents of Sir Hudson: let us now examine the evidence as to his manners, conduct, and general bearing towards his officers and others, as well as his illustrious captive, during his residence in St. Helena, as given by competent, disinterested, and honourable witnesses.

Mr. Henry, a military surgeon, who was on duty at St. Helena from July, 1817, to May, 1821, gives an account of some of the incidents of the captivity, very different to that given by O'Meara and the French writers. Of the Governor he says,—

"From first impressions, I entertained an opinion of him far from favourable: if, therefore, notwithstanding this prepossession, my testimony should incline to the other side, I can truly state that the change took place from the weight of evidence, and in consequence of what came under my own observation in St. Helena. Since that time he has encountered a storm of obloquy and reproach enough to bow any person to the earth; yet I firmly believe that the talent he exerted in unravelling the intricate plotting constantly going on at Longwood, and the firmness in tearing it to pieces, with the unceasing vigilance he displayed in the discharge of his arduous and invidious duties, made him more enemies than any hastiness of temper, uncourteousness of demeanour, or severity in his measures, of which the world was taught to believe him guilty."

And again:—

"It is extremely probable, and I believe it to be the fact, that Sir Hudson Lowe went to St. Helena determined to conduct himself with courtesy and kindness to Napoleon, and to afford him as many comforts and as much personal freedom as were consistent with his safe custody. I was intimately acquainted with the officer charged with the care of Longwood for nearly three years; and he assured me that the Governor repeatedly desired him to consult the comfort of the great man and his suite; to attend to their suggestions, and to make their residence as agreeable as possible. Two of the orderly officers at Longwood—namely, Majors Blakeney and Nicholls, of the 66th regiment—have given me the same assurance. I have myself seen courteous notes from Sir Hudson Lowe to these officers, accompanying pheasants and other delicacies, sent from Plantation House for Napoleon's table.

Even after two unfortunate interviews, when the Emperor worked himself into a rage, and used gross and insulting expressions to the Governor, evidently to put him into a passion, but without success; (for Sir Hudson maintained perfect self-possession and self-command throughout;) even after this open breach the above civilities were not discontinued. Still, when a pheasant, the greatest rarity in the island, appeared on the Governor's table, one was sure to be sent to Longwood."

Col. Jackson remarks :—

"Few persons, if any, are better acquainted with Sir Hudson Lowe than myself. When he was Quartermaster-General in the Netherlands, in 1814 and 1815, I was a Deputy-Assistant in the department, and attached to the office, when I was with him every day, and had, indeed, more communication with him than others, and sometimes of a confidential character. I also at that time saw him when certain circumstances gave him much annoyance, but cannot recollect any single instance of his breaking out into any unseemly bursts of anger, or showing real uncourteousness. He was very much liked by all who served under him, being at all times kind, considerate, generous, and hospitable..... I have good reason to believe that towards Napoleon and his suite the Governor's bearing was at all times correct and proper. Except Las Casas, I was intimate with all the individuals of the suite, especially so with Montholon, (even after his return to Europe,) and I never heard any of them complain of Sir Hudson Lowe's carriage towards them..... Depend upon it, the reports spread of Sir Hudson Lowe's bursts of undignified and reprehensible passion were wholly without foundation as regards the persons at Longwood, and most grossly exaggerated with reference to his behaviour to others. I have heard Sir George Bingham speak highly of Sir Hudson; your friend, General Nicol, did the same; and, in fact, most of the officers of rank who were at St. Helena; and I cannot remember to have heard any one complain of Sir Hudson's temper. Like other men, he is liable to the infirmities of our nature; but want of proper self-command has never been one of his defects."

In some subsequent remarks upon the character and conduct of Sir Hudson written after his death,* the same gallant and experienced officer makes use of expressions of which any man might be proud, and which are singularly at variance with the popular portrait of the same individual :—

"I was honoured with the friendly notice of Sir Hudson Lowe, and enjoyed much of his confidence, during a course of thirty years. I knew him when his military reputation marked him as an officer of the highest promise. I witnessed his able conduct at St. Helena. I saw him when the malice of his enemies had gained the ascendant, and covered him with unmerited opprobrium. I beheld him on his death-bed; and throughout these various phases in his career I admired and respected his character, while I truly loved the man."

Many additional proofs might be adduced of the opinion entertained of him by men of high standing and keen observation,

* "United Service Magazine."

relating to those very points in which he was said to be so deficient; but we will conclude our evidence upon this subject by quoting the words of the late Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Keating, who visited St. Helena on his return from the Mauritius:—

“As long as Sir Hudson Lowe continues Governor, I will answer with my head for the safety and secure custody of Bonaparte. Sir Hudson, to great wisdom, perseverance, and judgment, adds the most conciliatory conduct, and a desire that everything consisting with the safety of Bonaparte’s person should be most strictly attended to, in the most delicate manner, and with a proper regard to the feelings of the fallen man.”

We have said that Napoleon brought many charges against, and heaped much insult upon, Sir George Cockburn, during the short period of his command. That it continued till his departure is evident from the remarks of Napoleon on the occasion of his leaving:—

“It showed the greatest want of generosity in him to insult the unfortunate; because insulting those who are in your power, and, consequently, cannot make any opposition, is a certain sign of a low and ignoble mind. I, in my misfortune, sought an asylum, and, instead of that, I found ill-treatment, contempt, and insult.”

It was scarcely, perhaps, to be expected that the soldier should succeed in conciliating, where the honest, open-hearted sailor had so emphatically failed. And equally emphatic was Sir Hudson’s failure. Had Sir George Cockburn remained in charge of Napoleon nearly six years, like Sir Hudson, instead of a few months, there can be no doubt he would have been subject to the same reproaches, and had his reputation assailed by the same calumnious reports. And why?—Because Napoleon had laid down a plan of operations which he pertinaciously carried out. He hoped to effect his recall to Europe by exciting the sympathies of Englishmen, aided by the parliamentary opposition; and he was not a man to let the reputation and the dearest interests of any mortal thwart his designs.* Well might Montholon say in long after years, “*Mon cher ami, an angel from heaven could not have pleased us as Governor of St. Helena.*”

Sir Hudson Lowe had five interviews with Napoleon during his governorship. The first was not marked by any of those bursts of rage which signalized some of the others. In the course of the second, which the Governor sought in order to consult about the site of the house which the British Government had sent out, Napoleon exclaimed, “Shall I tell you the truth, Sir? Yes, Sir, shall I tell you the truth? I believe that you have received orders to kill me,—*oui, de me tuer,*” &c.

* In confirmation of this statement, we may quote the following from the original manuscript of Las Casas’ Journal:—“*Qu’il ne nous restait que des armes morales; que pour en faire l’usage le plus avantageux, il fallait reduire en système notre attitude, nos paroles, nos sentimens, nos privations mêmes; qu’une nombreuse population en Europe prendrait une tendre intérêt en nous; que l’opposition en Angleterre ne manquerait pas de combattre le ministre dans la violence qu’ils ont exercée contre nous.*”

The following remarks of Napoleon, in allusion to this interview, afford the best defence of Sir Hudson against the charge of want of temper :—

“I behaved very ill to him, no doubt, and nothing but my present situation could excuse me; but I was out of humour, and could not help it; I should blush for it in any other situation. Had such a scene taken place at the Tuileries, I should have felt myself bound in conscience to make some atonement. Never during the period of my power did I speak harshly to any one without afterwards saying something to make amends for it. But here I uttered not a syllable of conciliation, and I had no wish to do so. However, the Governor proved himself very insensible to my severity; his delicacy did not seem wounded by it. I should have liked, for his sake, to have seen him evince a little anger, or pull the door violently after him when he went away. This would at least have shown that there was some spring and elasticity about him; but I found nothing of the kind.”

We will now extract Sir Hudson Lowe's account of his fifth and last interview with Napoleon, premising that Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who was present, states that the details are so faithfully given, “that I could vouch for every one of them.”

“Having called at Longwood, in company with Sir Pulteney Malcolm, we found General Bonaparte was walking in his garden. He went off immediately as he saw us; but having inquired for Count Montholon, and sent a message by him to say we were there, Bonaparte returned to the garden, and the Admiral and myself joined him. He spoke solely to the Admiral, in which I made no attempt to interrupt him; but, profiting by the first interval of silence, I commenced, and addressed him as follows :—That I was sorry to be under the necessity of saying anything which tended to incommode him, but I was placed under such peculiar circumstances, from the conduct towards me of General Bertrand, that it became a matter of indispensable necessity I should make known the details of it to him, and endeavour to establish some rule for my future communications in regard to his affairs. He was aware of the instructions I had received from my own Government in regard to the expenses of his establishment.”

Sir Hudson Lowe related to him what had occurred between Counts Montholon and Bertrand on the subject, and described Count Bertrand's rude demeanour and offensive expressions. He then observed to Napoleon that it was obvious after this that he could have no intercourse with Count Bertrand, who had thus insulted him when he called on the business of the person whom he called his Emperor,—conduct which was therefore a want of respect to the latter; and wished to know therefore with whom he should communicate in future on such matters. Bonaparte then broke out, in a hollow angry voice, with an eulogy of Bertrand, remarking that he had commanded armies, and was known throughout Europe; and after a series of vituperations against Sir Hudson, the interview thus concluded :—

“‘There are two kinds of people,’ he said, ‘employed by governments,—those whom they honour, and those whom they dishonour:

he is one of the latter ; the situation they have given him is that of an executioner.' I answered, 'I perfectly understand this kind of manœuvre,—endeavour to brand with infamy, if one cannot attack with other arms. I am perfectly indifferent to all this. I did not seek my present employment ; but, it being offered to me, I considered it a sacred duty to accept it.'—'Then,' said he, 'if the order were given you to assassinate me, you would accept it.'—'No, Sir.' He again proceeded (to the Admiral), and said I had rendered his situation forty times worse than it was before my arrival ; that, though he had some disputes with Sir George Cockburn, he always treated him in a different manner ; that they were content with each other, but that I did not know how to conduct myself towards men of honour ; that I had put General Bertrand under arrest in his own house ; and had taken away from him the permission to give passes to Longwood. The Admiral said it was Sir George Cockburn who had done this. Bonaparte replied, 'No, Sir ; he told you so,' (alluding to me,) 'but it is not true.' The Admiral again told him it was not I, but Sir George Cockburn, had told him so. Bonaparte then said he could not even write a *billet de galanterie* to my Lady Malcolm without my seeing it ; that he could not now have a woman come to see him without permission ; and that he could not see the Lieutenant-Colonel and the officers of the 53rd. I interrupted him here by saying he had refused to see the Lieutenant-Colonel and the officers of the 66th regiment. If they wanted to see him, he answered, why did they not apply to the 'Grand Maréchal ?' I had mentioned it to General Bertrand, I observed. 'But the Lieutenant-Colonel ought to have spoken to him, and not to you.' He again broke out into invectives on my mode of treatment ; said I had no feeling ; that the soldiers of the 53rd looked upon him with compassion, and wept (*pleuraient*) when they passed him. Continuing, he said to the Admiral, 'He kept back a book which had been sent me by a Member of Parliament, and then boasted of it.'—'How boasted of it ?' I exclaimed, struck with the falsehood of the assertion.—'Yes, Sir,' (interrupting me,) 'you boasted of it to the Governor of the Island of Bourbon ; * he told me so. You took hold of him, he said, on his arrival here, and made him believe that you were on the best footing with us all, and treated us all particularly well ; but this was not true.' He was proceeding with a further repetition of what had passed between Colonel Keating and him, when the Admiral interrupted him with a defence of my not having sent the book to him ; said, a book with such an inscription on it I could not send, and that I ought not to have been made the instrument of delivering it to him. The Admiral added, 'Colonel Keating was wrong in mentioning such a thing to him.' 'Yes,' he said, 'in one to boast of it, and the other to repeat it.' He then remarked that I had sent letters to him with the title of Emperor. 'Yes,' replied I, 'but they came from the Secretary of State's office, and were from your own relations or former subjects, and not from English persons. I am personally acquainted with the gentleman who sent the book ; he left it to my choice to send it or not, and I am certain he will fully approve of what I did in not sending it.' He paused at this, and dropped the topic. He

* Colonel Keating, who is here alluded to, denied in the strongest terms that he had made any such communication to Napoleon.

again addressed himself to the Admiral; accused me of having published the contents of a letter he had received from his mother. The Admiral defended me; said he knew I never published the contents of any private letters received from the family. I replied, it was not me that had done so, it must have been his own people that did it; that everything was misrepresented to him. 'You have *bad people about you*, Sir,' I said. The Admiral shortly afterwards repeated a similar remark, saying, 'You have bad people around you.' He appeared to me struck by both our observations in this respect, and made no attempt to reply, but went on again in his strain of invective, general and personal; told me, as he had done once before, 'You are a Lieutenant-General, but you perform your duty as if you were a sentinel; there is no dealing with you; you are a most intractable man. If you are afraid that I should escape, why do you not bind me?' I answered, I merely executed my instructions; that, if my conduct was disapproved of, I might be readily removed. 'Your instructions are the same as Sir George Cockburn's,' he replied; 'he told me they were the same.' He said he was to be treated as a prisoner of war; that the Ministers had no right to treat him in any other way than as prescribed by the Act of Parliament; that the nation was disposed to treat him well, but Ministers acted otherwise; accused me of being the mere instrument of the blind hatred of Lord Bathurst. I remarked, 'Lord Bathurst, Sir, does not know what blind hatred (*haine aveugle*) is.' He talked about our calling him General; said he was '*Empereur*;' that, when England and Europe should be no more, and no such name known as Lord Bathurst, he would still be Emperor. He told me he always went out of the way to avoid me, and had twice pretended to be in the bath that he might not see me. 'You want money; I have none, except in the hands of my friends; but I cannot send my letters.' He attacked me about the note which had been sent back to Count Bertrand, saying, 'You had no right to put him under arrest; you never commanded armies; you are nothing but the scribe of an *Etat-major*. I had imagined I should be well among the English, but you are not an Englishman.' He was continuing in this strain, when I interrupted him with saying, 'You make me smile, Sir.' 'How smile, Sir?' he replied, at the same time turning round with surprise at the remark, and, looking at me, added, 'I say what I think.' 'Yes, Sir,' I answered, with a tone indicative of the sentiment I felt, and looking at him, 'you force me to *smile*; your misconception of my character, and the rudeness of your manners, excite my *pity*. I wish you good day;' and I left him (evidently a good deal embarrassed) without any other salutation. The Admiral quitted him immediately afterwards, with a salute of the hat."

We have remarked that these volumes contain ample evidence of the falsehood of many of the statements of O'Meara, in his "Voice from St. Helena." This officer, who had been Surgeon to the Bellerophon, was chosen by Napoleon as his medical attendant. The recorded conversations of Napoleon given by him are highly interesting; and, where Sir Hudson Lowe is not concerned, have all the appearance of truthfulness. But he seems to have had a selfish and intriguing disposition, and his

conduct to the Governor was disingenuous and obstructive to the last degree. He appears early to have fallen under the fascinations of Napoleon, and received from him the offer of a pecuniary recompense, which offer he afterwards urged as a reason for increased pay. He appears to have treated the Governor rather cavalierly, relying upon his peculiar and confidential relation to his patient, who absolutely refused to see any other medical person. But though conscious that his dismissal would raise an outcry from the friends of the captive, Sir Hudson Lowe was not a man to flinch from the performance of what he considered a duty; and after a series of thwartings and impertinences on the part of O'Meara, he was finally dismissed from his situation and the island, to be followed, on his arrival in England, by dismissal from the service. His subsequently published work was compiled from copious notes kept throughout the whole period of his residence in St. Helena, in which not only are facts and dates altered, so as give an entirely new aspect to events that did really occur, but imaginary scenes are introduced to add to the dramatic effect.

But unhappily for the reputation of O'Meara, Mr. Forsyth's volumes present, for the first time, a collection of confidential and gossiping letters to his friend Mr. Finlaison, now the eminent actuary, then a clerk in a Government office; which letters contain numerous details of the conversations and proceedings of Napoleon, his suite, and the officials at St. Helena. They are written in a style of freedom and *abandon*, and are obviously the faithful records of the impressions of the time. Now the facts and opinions here expressed are in numerous instances totally at variance with the assertions of the "*Voice*;" so that the latter might be published with a running commentary of contradictions, these having the advantage of being written at the date of the occurrences to which they refer.

For the details of these discrepancies of the same man when speaking of the same event, we must refer to the work itself, of which they form the principal novelty; but we cannot resist giving one proof of O'Meara's treachery to Napoleon, or falsehood to Sir Hudson. From his arrival at Longwood, O'Meara had been in the habit of spontaneously communicating to the Governor such circumstances and conversations as he could remember; and the Governor encouraged him so to do, as by this means he was sometimes enabled to ascertain the wishes of Napoleon and his suite, and to judge how far the restrictions were conformed to or avoided. In the progress of the strife between the Governor and the Surgeon, however, the latter became intractable on this point; and, when hard-pressed by Sir Hudson on the subject, in December, 1817, declared he had *come under a pledge to Napoleon since May, 1816, not to reveal the conversations that passed between them, unless they related to his escape*. And all these twenty months he was reporting such conversations to Sir Hudson, and to his friend, Mr.

Finlaison ! The effrontery of the man approaches the sublime, and can only be equalled by him who shall hereafter quote his book as evidence against any person whatever.

These letters of O'Meara, which constitute, as we have said, one of the chief novelties of the work before us,—apart from their value as a record of the opinions of the writer at the time, in contradistinction to his subsequent publication,—are full of interesting information relating to Napoleon. They contain many details of his private habits ; numerous instances of declamation against the British Government and its officials ; and not a few evidences of the acuteness, originality, and grasp of thought, which characterized the cold and selfish, but capacious, intellect of the ex-Emperor. We must refer our readers to the work itself for fuller details, contenting ourselves with a specimen or two. In one of the Finlaison letters we are told,—

“He frequently breaks out into invectives against the English Government for sending him to this island, which he pronounces (with some reason) to be the most detestable spot in the universe. ‘Behold the English Government,’ said he, gazing around at the frightful and stupendous rocks which encompassed him. ‘This is their liberality to the unfortunate, who, confiding in what he so blindly imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour gave himself up to them. But your Ministers laugh at your laws.’ ‘I thought once that the English were a free nation, but I see now that you are the greatest slaves in the world,’ said he to me one day ; ‘you all of you tremble at the sight of *that man*. In my greatest power I could not do such things as I have seen done to your sailors and others, since I have come to this Isle de Brouillard.’”

On another occasion a conversation with Bonaparte is recorded, in which the latter expressed his opinion upon a point of etiquette, and described what were his intentions, in case he had succeeded in his descent upon England :—

“In the course of a conversation, a few days back, with General Bonaparte respecting our late embassy to China, on being informed by me that Lord Amherst had refused to comply with some humiliating ceremonies required of him, (the nature of which I explained to him,) he observed, ‘that he thought the English Ministers had acted wrong in not having ordered Lord Amherst to comply with the custom of the place he was sent to, or that they ought not to have sent him at all.’ I replied, that I thought the English would have considered it as debasing the nation if Lord Amherst had consented to prostrate himself in the humiliating manner required ; that, if such a point had been conceded to the Chinese, in all probability they would not have been contented there, but would subsequently require similar ceremonies to those insisted upon by the Japanese, and complied with so disgracefully by the Dutch ; that, besides, Lord Amherst had offered to render the same obeisance to the Emperor as he would have done to his own King. He replied, ‘It is quite a different thing. One is a mere ceremony, performed by all the great men of the nation to their Chief ; and the other was a national degradation, required of strangers,

and of strangers *only*. It is my opinion that whatever is the custom of a nation, and is practised by the first characters of that nation towards their Chief, cannot degrade strangers who perform the same. Different nations have different customs. In England, at Court, you kiss the King's hand. Such a thing in France would be considered ridiculous, and the persons who did it held up to public scorn; but still the French Ambassador who did so in England would not be considered as having degraded himself by so doing. In England, some hundred years back, the King was served kneeling; the same ceremony now takes place in Spain. In Italy you kiss the Pope's toe; yet no person is considered degraded by having done so. A man going into a country must comply with the ceremonies in use there; and it would have been no degradation whatever for Lord Amherst to have submitted to such ceremonies before the Emperor of China as are performed by the first Mandarin of that empire. You say that he was willing to render such respect as that paid to your own King. You have no right to send a man to China to tell them that they must perform such and such ceremonies, because such are practised in England.'..... Shortly afterwards, I entered upon the subject of universal dominion with him, and his meditated views upon England. I said that we had thought for a length of time that nothing short of universal dominion would have satisfied his ambition, and that it was his positive intention to have united England to France as a province. He replied, 'As to universal dominion, I certainly aimed at rendering France the most powerful of all; but so far from desiring more, it was my intention to have formed Italy into an independent kingdom, and to have given it to my second son, as I had hopes of having another. There are natural bounds to France which I did not intend to pass. With respect to uniting England to France, I had no idea of the kind.' Here I observed that he had said to me that *perhaps* he might have done so if he had succeeded in his invasion. He replied, 'No, no; you must have misunderstood me. I intended, if I had succeeded in my projected descent, to have abolished the monarchy, and to have established a republic. I would have separated Ireland from England, and made her an independent republic. I would have made them both republics, and independent of each other. I would have sown the seeds of republicanism in their *morale*, and then left them to themselves to manage things between them as well as they could. As to annexing England to France, upon mature deliberation I conceived that it would have been impossible to have united two nations so dissimilar in ideas, and that it would have been as difficult to effect, as to have brought together India and Europe.' He also said that, after Amiens, he would have concluded *a good peace* with England,—that is to say, a peace which would establish the commercial relations of the two countries upon a similar and equal footing: for example, that, if a million in value of English colonial or other goods was taken by France, the value of a million in French products should in like manner be taken by England."

But these Finlaison letters involve certain members of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet in a serious charge of disingenuous conduct to a public servant. One of the most important regulations having reference to the security of Napoleon, was that which

forbade all correspondence to or from the captives, except such as passed unscaled through the hands of Sir Hudson Lowe. Without such power it would have been impossible to prevent the prisoners concerting measures for escape. Now some revelations are brought to light in Mr. Forsyth's work.

It seems that Mr. Finlaison hands over the clandestine correspondence to Mr. Croker, the Secretary to the Admiralty, who is so pleased with its interesting gossip about the great man, that he speedily makes Lord Bathurst, and others of the Ministers, sharers in his delight. Nay, we are told that the letters were "a feast to very great folk;" and it is hinted that the Prince Regent himself had received amusement from their perusal, and their continuance was requested. Need we point out the gross impropriety of all this? Think of men of high official station encouraging what was a dishonourable breach of professional confidence, as well as a direct contravention of the regulations of the island, to which the writer was bound to submit. Well might Sir Hudson Lowe, on discovering the correspondence, and learning the sanction under which it was continued, express his annoyance. It is impossible not to see that in this particular Sir Hudson was most unfairly used. An inferior officer permitted to hold a clandestine correspondence with the Government, dated from Napoleon's house, unknown to the Governor of the island! The whole subject requires explanation; and it is fortunate that Mr. John Wilson Croker still survives, to defend, if possible, the reputation of himself and his colleagues from the damaging effect of these "revelations."

One of the chief causes of complaint, on the part of the occupants of Longwood, had reference to the restrictions upon their liberty to traverse the island. The precincts of Longwood comprised a circumference of about four miles. The estate itself was of an irregular figure, and fenced by a low rough stone wall. The space, however, within which Napoleon might ride or walk unattended by an officer, and in complete seclusion, was triangular in form, and embraced a circuit of twelve miles. Within it was situated nearly all the tolerably level ground in the island; and both Longwood and Deadwood adjoining, where the British troops were encamped, were nearly flat, and well covered with turf. Beyond these limits, and, indeed, wherever there were no fortifications, they might pass, if accompanied by a British officer, one being accessible at all times on giving a very short notice. This restriction upon his right of locomotion was a constant source of complaint and uneasiness to Napoleon, who for a length of time refused to go out, to the manifest injury of his health, in the hope of obtaining some relaxation in the orders. The Governor, however, like his predecessor, the Admiral, positively refused to take upon himself the responsibility of altering the regulations laid down by his Government. And if we bear in mind that during the greater part of the time rumours

were abroad of an intended escape; that the British Government from time to time referred to such plans in their dispatches; that it was certain large sums of money were deposited in various parts of England and America to the order of the ex-Emperor;—we cannot but conclude that it was the duty of those to whom the Allied Powers had committed this important charge, to insist upon this needful restriction being carried out, as well as that which forbade any written communications, except such as passed, unsealed, through the Governor's hands. As Mr. Forsyth remarks, a dash down a ravine, and the strokes of a few oars, might have set Napoleon free, if the most unremitting care had not been taken to prevent secret concert and intelligence with the external world. We have it on the authority of Bertrand that the hopes of the French exiles were turned to America, and,—

“Had any relaxation of the stringency of our watch rendered the design practicable, there would have been no lack of adventurers ready to attempt it, who would have deemed themselves sufficiently rewarded by the *éclat* of the enterprise if it had proved successful. Many a romantic scheme was formed for the purpose, and abandoned. But why? Because it was known that the regulations opposed an invincible obstacle in the way of its execution, and the sleepless vigilance of Sir Hudson Lowe was not to be deceived.”

But another class of complaints were much talked about, of a kind likely to excite the commiseration of all generous Englishmen. It was said that the household at Longwood were scantily supplied with provisions, and that Napoleon had been obliged to break up and sell a quantity of his plate to meet the deficiency. Now it is true that Napoleon did cause a quantity of plate to be broken up and sold; but it is also quite certain that at the very time this took place, he offered to deposit with Mr. Balcombe (the Purveyor) a bill for £30,000; and Mr. O'Meara himself, at the time, “fully acknowledged he thought the breaking up of the plate had been for the purpose of effect.” If further evidence were required to prove that he could command any funds he wanted, we may take the assertion of Bertrand, who exclaimed on one occasion,—“The Emperor has only to speak to have millions. He has only to give a bit of paper of the size of this,” showing a scrap of paper of the size of an inch, “which would be worth a million.” If this were true, it affords sufficient reason why sealed communications should not be allowed between Longwood and Europe; and fully justifies the determination of Government, that if they would carry their household expenses beyond the sum allowed, the surplus must be found by Napoleon himself.

The British Government allowed £12,000 *per annum* for the expenses of the household. At one time Lord Bathurst, believing the number of his attendants would be lessened, had thought £8,000 sufficient; but Sir Hudson Lowe ventured to continue

the larger allowance, and the step was approved of by the authorities.

That £12,000 a-year should have been amply sufficient to afford the *detenus* every comfort, and even luxury, most persons will conclude; but it is necessary to consider what were their habits. In a conversation on the subject, reported by Major Gorrequer, Military Secretary to the Governor, O'Meara (then at enmity with the Governor) stated:—"It would have been quite sufficient with English people, but he was of opinion it was not sufficient for French; that they used thirty pounds of beef in soup every day, which was boiled down to rags, and not fit for anything else afterwards; their *consommés* required a great deal of meat, and they ate two dinners in the day." The Governor might well say that if they used their meat in that way, there was no saying what would be enough; a couple of hams, or one hundred pounds of meat, would go little way in *consommés*. Without troubling our readers with a detailed statement of the meat, wines, confectionery, &c., supplied to the household at Longwood, we extract the following portion of a conversation with Montholon, reported by Major Gorrequer:—

"On the 21st of March I again saw Count Montholon, who, in the course of conversation respecting the supplies for the establishment, said, '*Nous n'avons aucun reproche à faire au Gouverneur; nous ne nous plaignons de rien, et nous avons abondance de tout ce qui est nécessaire;*' that he found, since he last saw me, 8 bottles of claret daily would be sufficient, and 1 of *vin de Grave*; that from 10 to 15 bottles of champagne monthly would be quite ample; 1 of Constantia daily was more than was used; (particularly as they had received 360 bottles of Constantia the preceding year, besides what was regularly furnished by the Purveyor;) that they always had an ample provision of champagne, even, at times, too much; for at the very moment he was speaking there were no less than three cases in their possession untouched, and more than a case of *vin de Grave*; that sending them more of those wines than they used was '*inutile,*' as they would be obliged to say, 'You give us too great a quantity;' and it was therefore better they should apply for it when wanted. '*Presque toutes les fois,*' continued he, '*que Mr. Darling vient ici, il me demande, Avez vous assez de vin? vous manque-t-il quelque chose? et je lui réponds toujours, que nous ne manquons de rien.*'"

We add a quarterly account of wines supplied to the household, assuring our readers that it is an average one:—

Claret	830 Bottles.
Vin de Grave	...	72	"
Champagne	...	36	"
Cape	...	2038	"
Teneriffe	...	552	"
Madeira	...	104	"
Constantia	...	92	"

—in addition to an average supply of about 400 bottles of malt liquors during the same period of three months. Had the niggard parsimony charged upon the authorities existed, according to all analogy, it would have first shown itself in dealing with the luxuries of the household; and the admission that there never was any want of the latter,—an admission invariably made when no momentary irritation interfered,—may be taken as convincing evidence that there was no lack of the more solid requisites of domestic comfort.

The exhibition, afforded by these volumes, of the character and proceedings of the French officers in attendance upon Napoleon, is distressing to contemplate. At enmity with each other; unabashed by the discovery of the greatest falsehood; and humbling themselves to write, from the dictation of their master, letters which, when they failed of their object, that imperial master disavowed, and abused the writer,—they seem to have had as little self-respect or regard to the soldiers' law of honour, as they had to the higher law of moral rectitude. Montholon's inveterate habit of lying was well known and often alluded to by Napoleon, who on one occasion said, previously to a visit of the Count to James Town, "Now, Montholon, do not bring me back any *lies* as news, as Marshal Bertrand is going to town to-morrow, and I will *then* hear the truth."

The motive of these gentlemen, on first consenting to accompany Napoleon, was doubtless that of attachment to their fallen Sovereign: but the lassitude and *ennui* of the mode of existence, the miserable squabbles among themselves, and the vile and petty intrigues in which they were employed, appear to have led each in his turn to wish for his escape.

General Gourgaud, denied the privilege of a duel with Montholon, insulted by his companions, and neglected by Napoleon, leaves the island in disgust. Las Casas breaks the law in order to get sent away; and, when Sir Hudson offers to permit him to remain, begs to be allowed to go. Bertrand and his wife implore the Emperor to let them depart, and appear only to have been detained by the rapidity with which her confinements followed each other. And, finally, Madame Montholon takes her leave, her husband being prevented from accompanying her solely by the absolute refusal of Napoleon's consent.

But of the central figure of that group what shall we say? That the resources and consolation of religion should be absent, was to be expected from his previous career; but where was the so-called philosophy, the Pagan's cold support, which has rarely been wanting in the adversity of those to whom the world has given the name of "great?" The spectacle affords a commentary upon the value of the epithet, and a vindication of the supremacy of moral worth.

With respect to the chief point involved in this controversy, we have preferred to leave the reader to draw his own inference

from the simple facts of the case thus briefly related. We believe this will lead him to our own opinion, that the British Government had the desire to give every comfort and solace to Napoleon consistent with his security; and that Sir Hudson Lowe endeavoured to carry out the intentions of his superiors with real kindness and delicacy, but was deficient in polish of manner and diplomatic tact, and failed to conceal the almost overwhelming sense of responsibility under which he laboured. His greatest fault in the eyes of posterity will be that he neglected to publish, during so many years, the documents requisite for the defence of the nation and himself.

We think that Mr. Forsyth's volumes fully justify his demand for a change of public opinion upon the conduct of the British Government and of Sir Hudson Lowe in the events of the captivity. Although exception may be taken to the extent of the work, which occupies three bulky octavos, and fifteen hundred pages, yet we believe the importance of the subject demanded he should so enlarge; and the documents appended, in the nature of *pièces justificatives*, will hereafter be valuable historical records of the period to which they relate.

ART. VI.—*Histoire des Ducs de Guise.* PAR RENÉ DE BOUILLÉ, ancien Ministre Plénipotentiaire. Four Vols. 8vo. Paris: Amyot.

IN the pleasant spring-time of the year 1506, a little boy, mounted on a mule, and accompanied by a serving-man on foot, crossed over the frontier, from Lorraine into France. The boy was a pretty child, some ten years old. He was soberly clad, but a merry heart beat under his grey jerkin; and his spirits were as light as the feather in his bonnet. The servant who walked at his side was a simple yet faithful follower of his house, but with no more speculation in his face than there was in that of the mule. Nothing could have looked more harmless and innocent than the trio in question; and yet the whole—joyous child, plodding servitor, and the mule whose bells rang music as he trod—formed one of the most remarkable invasions of which the kingdom of France has ever been the victim.

The boy was the fifth child of René and Philippa de Gueldres, the ducal Sovereigns of Lorraine. This duchy, a portion of the old kingdom of Lotharingia, in disputes for the possession of which the children of Charlemagne had shed rivers of blood, had maintained its independence despite the repeated attempts of Germany and France to reduce it to subjection. At the opening of the sixteenth century, it had seen a legal succession of sovereign and independent masters during seven centuries. The reigning Duke was René, the second of that name. He had

acquired estates in France, and he had inherited the hatred of Lorraine to the Capetian race, which had dethroned the heirs of Charlemagne. It was for this double reason that he unostentatiously sent into the kingdom one of his sons,—the boy of fair promise. The mission of the yet unconscious child was to increase the territorial possessions of his family within the French dominion, and ultimately to rule both Church and State, if not from the throne, why, then from behind it.

The merry boy proved himself, in course of time, to be no unfitting instrument for this especial purpose. He was brought up at the French Court; studied chivalry, and practised passages at arms with French Knights; was the first up at *réveillée*, the last at a feast, the most devout at mass, and the most winning in ladies' bower. The Princes of the blood loved him, and so did the Princesses. The army hailed him comrade with delight; and the Church beheld in him and his brother, Cardinal John, two of those champions whom it employs with gladness, and canonizes with alacrity.

Such was Claude of Lorraine, who won the heart and lands of Antoinette de Bourbon, and who received from Francis the First, not only letters of naturalization, but the title of Duke of Guise. The locality so named is in Picardy. It had fallen to the house of Lorraine by marriage: and the dignity of Count that accompanied it was now changed for that of Duke. It was not long before Claude made the title famous. The sword of Guise was never from his grasp, and its point was unceasingly directed against the enemies of his new country. He shed his own blood, and spilled that of others with a ferocious joy. Francis saw in him the warmest of his friends and the bravest of his soldiers. His bravery helped to the glory that was reaped at Marignan, at Fontarabia, and in Picardy. Against internal revolt or foreign invasion he was equally irresistible. *His* sword drove back the Imperialists of Germany within their own frontier; and when, on the night of Pavia, the warriors of France sat weeping like girls, amid the wide ruin around them, *his* heart alone throbbed with gay impulses, and *his* mind only was filled with bright visions of victories to come.

They came, indeed, but they were sometimes triumphs that have earned for him an immortality of infamy. The crest of his house was a double cross; and this device, though it was no emblem of the intensity of religion felt by those who bore it, *was* significant of the double sanguinary zeal of the family,—a zeal employed solely for selfish ends. The apostolic Reformers of France were at this period in a position of some power. Their preachers were in the pulpits, and their people in the field. Leaning on their swords, they heard the Gospel; and, the discourse done, they rushed bravely into battle to defend what they had heard. Against these pious, but strong-limbed, confederates, the wrath of Guise was something terrible. It did not, like that of

Francis,—who banquetted one day the unorthodox friends whom he burned the next,—alternate with fits of mercy. It raged without ceasing, and before it the Reformers of Alsatia were swept as before a blast in whose hot breath was death. He spared neither sex nor age; and he justified his bloody deeds by blasphemously asserting that he was guided to them by the light of a cross which blazed before him in the heavens. The Church honoured him with the name of “good and faithful servant;” but there are Christian hearths in Alsatia where he is still whisperingly spoken of as the “accursed butcher.”

When his own fingers began to hold less firmly the handle of his sword, he also began to look among his children for those who were most likely to carry out the mission of his house. His eye marked approvingly the bearing of his eldest son, Francis, Count d’Aumale; and he had no less satisfaction in the brothers of Francis, who, whether as soldiers or priests, were equally ready to further the interests of Lorraine, and call them those of Heaven. His daughter Mary he gave to James V., of Scotland, and the bride brought destruction for her dowry. Upon himself and his children the King of France, Francis, and subsequently Henri II., looked with mingled admiration and dread. Honours and wealth were lavished upon them with a prodigal, and even treasonable, liberality. The King gave generously to the insatiate Guise the property of the people; and when these complained somewhat menacingly, Guise achieved some new exploit, the public roar of applause for which sanctioned his quiet enjoyment of his ill-gotten treasures.

For the purpose of such enjoyment he retired to his castle at Joinville. The residence was less a palace than a monastery. It was inhabited by sunless gloom and a deserted wife. The neglected garden was trimmed at the coming of the Duke, but not for *his* sake, nor for that of the faithful Antoinette. Before the eyes of that noble wife he reared a bower for a mistress, who daily degraded with blows the hero of a hundred stricken fields. He deprecated the rough usage of the courtesan with tears and gold, and yet had no better homage for the blooming and virtuous mother of his children than cold civility. His almost sudden death, in 1550, was accounted for as being the effect of poison, administered at the suggestion of those to whom his growing greatness was offensive. The charge was boldly graven on his monument, and it is probably true. No one, however, profited by the crime. The throne found in his children more dangerous supporters than he had ever been himself; and the people paid for their popular admiration with loss of life and liberty. The Church, however, exulted; for Claude of Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, gave to it the legitimate son, Cardinal Charles, who devised the Massacre of the Day of St. Bartholomew; and the illegitimate son, the Abbé de Cluny, who on that terrible day made his dagger drink the blood of the Huguenots, till the wielder of it

became as drunk with frenzy, as he was wont to be with the fiery wine which was his peculiar and intense delight.

The first Duke of Guise only laid the foundation upon which he left his heirs and successors to build at their discretion. He had, nevertheless, effected much. He had gained for his family considerable wealth; and, if he had not also obtained a crown, he had got possession of rich crown-lands. The bestowing of these earned popular execration for the King, while the people, at the same time, confessed that the services of Guise were worthy no meaner reward. When King Francis saw that he was blamed for bestowing what the recipient was deemed worthy of having granted to him, we can hardly wonder that Francis, while acknowledging the merits of the aspiring family, bade the members of his own to be on their guard against the designs of every child of the House of Lorraine.

But *he* was no child who now succeeded to the honours of his father, the first Duke. Francis of Guise, at his elevation to the ducal title, saw before him two obstacles to further greatness:—One was a weak King, Henri II.; and the other, a powerful favourite, the Constable de Montmorency, from whose family, it was popularly said, had sprung the first Christian within the realm of France. Francis soon disposed of the favourite, and almost as speedily raised himself to the vacant office, which he exercised so as to further his remote purposes. In the mean time, the king was taught to believe that his crown and happiness were dependent on his Lorraine cousins; who, on their side, were not only aiming at the throne of France for one member of the house, but aspiring to the tiara for a second, the crown of Naples for a third,—to influence in Flanders and in Spain, and even to the diadem of Elizabeth of England, succession to which was recognised as existing in them, by Mary Stuart, in prospect of her own decease without direct heirs. It is said, that the British Romanists looked forward, with unctuous complacency, to the period when the sceptre of this island should fall into the blood-stained grasp of a “Catholic Guise.”

It was not only the fortune of Francis to repair the ill-luck encountered in the field by Montmorency, but to gain advantages in fight, such as France had not yet seen. The Emperor, Charles V., had well-nigh got possession of beleaguered Metz, when Guise threw himself into the place, rescued it from the Emperor, and swept the Imperialists out of France. His fiery wrath cooled only in presence of the wounded, to whom he behaved with gentle and helping courtesy. His gigantic labours here brought on an attack of fever: and when he was compelled to seek repose at his house at Marchez, a host of Priests and Cardinals of his family gathered round his couch, and excited him to laughter by rough games, that suited but scurvily with their calling. The second Duke inherited his father's hatred for “heretics.” The great Coligny had been his bosom-friend; but

when the renowned Reformer gave evidence of his new opinions upon religious subjects, there ensued, first a coolness, then fits of angry quarrelling, and at last a duel, in which, though neither combatant was even scratched, friendship was slain for ever. Duke Francis was prodigal, like his father; but then his brother, Cardinal Charles, was Minister of the Finances, and the King and his mistress, Diana of Poitiers, cared not how the revenue was managed, so long as money was forthcoming when necessity pressed. The consequence was, that the King's Exchequer was robbed to supply the extravagances of Guise. But then men began to associate with that name the idea of deliverance from oppression, and did not count the cost. And yet Victory did not invariably select for her throne the glittering helm of the aspiring Duke. The Pope had chosen him to carry on his own battles against Naples; but intrigue paralysed the arm which had never before been conquered, and the Pontiff flung epigrams at him instead of laurels. In this momentary eclipse of the sun of his glory, the Duke placed his own neck under the Papal heel. He served in the Pope's chapel as an Acolyte, meekly bore the mantle of obese and sneering Cardinals, and exhibited a humility which was not without purpose, but which *was* without success. When, at a banquet given by a Cardinal, he humbly sat down at the foot of the table, he asked a French officer, who was endeavouring to thrust in below him, "Why comest thou here, friend?" "Why do I come here?" said the proud soldier:—"That it might not be said that the representative of a King of France took the very lowest place at the table of a Priest."

From such reproaches he gladly fled, to buckle on his armour, and drive back an invasion of France by the Hispano-Flemings on the north. The services he now rendered his country made the people almost forget the infamy of their king, wasting life in his capital, and the oppressive imposts of the financial Cardinal, whom the sufferers punningly designated as Cardinal "*La Ruine*." The ruin he achieved was forgiven, in consideration of the glory accomplished by his brother, who had defeated and destroyed the armies which threatened the capital from the north, and who had done much more by suddenly falling on Calais with a force of ten to one, and tearing from the English the last of the conquests till then held by them in France. Old Lord Wentworth, the Governor, plied his artillery with a roar that was heard on the English coast; but the roar was all in vain. It was a proverb among our neighbours, and applied by them to any individual of mediocre qualifications, that "he was not the sort of man to drive the English out of France." That man was found in Guise; and the capital began naturally to contrast him with the heartless King, who sat at the feet of a concubine, and recked little of national honour or disgrace. And yet the medals, struck to commemorate the recovery of Calais, bear the names only of Henri and Diana, and omit all mention of the liberator, Guise!

The faults of Henri, however, are not to be entirely attributed to him. He had some feelings of compassion for the wretched, but stout-hearted, Huguenots, with whom, in the absence of Guise, he entered into treaties, which, Guise present, he was induced to violate. In pursuit of the visions of dominion in France, and the tiara at Rome, the ambitious house sought only to gain the suffrages of the Church and the faithful. To win smiles from them, the public scaffolds were deluged with the blood of the heretics; and all were deemed such who refused to doff their caps to the images of the Virgin, raised in the highways at the suggestion of the Duke and the Cardinal. This terrific persecution begat remonstrance; but when remonstrance was treated as if it were rebellion, rebellion followed thereupon, as, perhaps, was hoped for; and the swords of the "Guisards" went flashing over every district in France, dealing death wherever dwelt the alleged enemies of God, who dared to commune with Him rather according to conscience than according to Rome. Congregations, as at Vassi, were set upon and slaughtered in cold blood, and without resistance. In the "temple" of this last-named place a Bible was found, which was brought to the Duke. This noble gentleman could spell no better than the great Duke of Marlborough; and this champion of his Church was worse instructed in the faith which he professed. He looked into the Book of Life, unconscious of what he held, and, with a wondering exclamation as to what it might be all about, flung it aside, and turned to the further slaughter of those who believed therein.

In such action he saw his peculiar mission for the moment; but he was not allowed to pursue it unopposed. His intrigues and his cruelties made rebels even of the Princes of the blood; and Condé took the field to avenge their wrongs, as well as those of the Reformers. The issue was tried on the bloody day at Dreux, when the setting sun went down on a Protestant army routed, and on Condé a captive, but sharing the bed, as was the custom of the time, of his proud victor, Guise. Never did two more deadly enemies lie on the same couch, sleepless, and full of mutual suspicion. But the hatred of Condé was a loyal hatred; that of Guise was characterized by treacherous malignity. The Protestant party, in presence of that hot fury, seemed to melt away like a snow-wraith in the sun. He and his Guisards were the terror of the so-called "enemies of the faith." Those whom he could not reach with his sword, he struck down by wielding against them the helpless hand of the King, who obeyed with the passiveness of a *Marionette*, and raised stakes, and fired the pile, and gave the victims thereto, simply because Guise would so have it. And the Duke received one portion of his coveted reward. For every massacre of inoffensive Protestants, the "Catholic" pulpits re-echoed with the biblical names showered down upon him by the exulting preachers; and when his banner had swept triumphantly over successive fields, whose after-crops

were made rich by heretical blood, then did the Church pronounce him to be a soldier divinely armed, who had, at length, "consecrated his hands, and avenged the quarrel of the Lord!"

He lived, it is true, at a period when nothing was held so cheap as life; and acts of cruelty were but too common in all factions. If he delivered whole towns to pillage and its attendant horrors, compared with which death were merciful, he would himself exhibit compassion, based on impulse or caprice. He was heroic according to the thinking of his age, which considered heroism as being constituted solely of unflinching courage; but, in all other respects, this Duke, great as he was, was as mean as the sorriest knave who trailed a pike in his own hands. Scarcely a letter addressed to his officers reached them without having been previously read to their right worshipful master; and there was hardly a mansion in the kingdom, whose lord was a man of influence, but at the table and the hearth there sat a guest who was the paid spy of Francis of Guise.

It is hardly necessary to add, that his morality generally was on a par with the particular specimens we have given of it. Crowds of courtezans accompanied him to the camp, while he deliberately exposed his own wife, Anne of Esté, the sister of Tasso's Leonora, to the insulting homage of a worthless King. Emphatically may it be said, "The truth was not in him." He gloried in mendacity like an ignoble Mascarille: and no personage that we can call to mind ever equalled him in lying,—save, perhaps, the very highly professing heroes who swagger in Greek tragedy. He bought by a lie the capital conviction of Condé. The latter escaped the penalty, and taxed the Duke with his falsehood. Guise swore by his sword, his life, his honour, his very soul, that he was innocent of the charge. Condé looked on the ducal liar with a withering contempt, and turned from him with a sarcasm that should have pierced him like a sword: pointed as it was, it could not find way through his corselet to his heart. He met it with a jest, and deemed the sin unregistered.

There was a watchful public, nevertheless, observing the progress made to greatness by the Duke, and his brother, the Cardinal. The popular opinion of both was well expressed on a memorable occasion. Henri II. had just been struck by the lance of Montgomery; and half-a-dozen plebeian convicts had in vain been subjected to a like process, in order to enlighten the surgeons, too inexperienced to treat their royal patient with the requisite boldness. Henri died, and Francis (II.) his brother, the husband of Mary Stuart, and therewith nephew to the Guise, had succeeded to his uneasy throne and painful privileges. On the night of the decease of the former Monarch, two courtiers were traversing a gallery of the Louvre. "This night," said one, "is the eve of the Festival of the Three Kings." "Humph!" exclaimed the other, with an inquiring smile, "how mean you it by that?"

"I mean," rejoined the first, "that to-morrow we shall have three Monarchs in Paris,—one of them King of France; the other two, Kings in France,—from Lorraine!"

Under the latter two, Duke and Cardinal, was played out the second act of the great political drama of Lorraine. For its details the reader is referred to the eloquent and, generally speaking, impartial pages of Monsieur de Bouillé. Here we have but space to say, that in this stirring melo-drama there is abundance both of light and shadow. At times, we find the hero exhibiting exemplary candour; anon he is the dark plotter, or the fierce and open slayer of his kind. There are "*tableaux*" of fights, wherein his adversaries have drawn their swords against him by instigation of a disgusted King, who no sooner views Guise triumphant, than he devotes to death the survivors whom he had clandestinely seduced into the fray. The battles were fought, on one side, for liberty of conscience; on the other, for the sake of universal despotism. The bad side triumphed during a long season, and field after field saw waving over it the green banner of Lorraine. Catherine de Medicis, and her son, Charles IX., accompanied the Duke in more than one struggle, after the short-lived reign of Francis II. had come to an end. They passed together through the breach at Rouen; but accident divided them at Orleans, where had assembled the gallant few who refused to despair for the Protestant cause. Guise beleaguered the city, and was menacingly wroth at its obstinacy in holding out. One evening, he had ridden, with his staff, to gaze more nearly upon the walls which continued to defy him. "You will never be able to get in," roughly remarked a too presuming official. "Mark me!" roared the chafed Duke; "that setting sun will know to-morrow how to get behind yon rampart, and, by Heaven, so will I." He turned his horse, and galloped back alone to his quarters. He was encountered on his way by a Huguenot officer, Poltrot de la Mer, who brought him down by a pistol-shot; and the eyes of the dying Duke, as he lay upon the ground, met for the last time the faint rays of that departing sun, with which he had sworn to be up and doing on the morrow. He died, however, in his tent, in a state of the extremest "comfortableness:"—we really know of no more appropriate term whereby to express his condition. He had robbed the King's Exchequer to gratify his own passions; and he thanked Heaven that he had been a faithful subject to his Sovereign! He had been notoriously unfaithful to a noble and virtuous wife; and he impressed upon her, with his faltering lips, the assurance that, "generally speaking," his infidelity as a husband did not amount to much worth mentioning! He confessed to, and was shriven by, his two brothers, Cardinals Charles and John;—the former, a greater man than the Duke; the latter, known to his own times, and all succeeding, as "the bottle Cardinal,"—a name of which he was not only not

ashamed, but his title to which he was ever ostentatiously desirous to vindicate and establish.

Of these worthies we shall speak presently; for the moment we continue our outline of the race of Dukes. Hitherto we have seen that the first got possession of crown-lands; the second had at his disposal the public treasures; the third hoped to better the instruction, and to add to the acquisitions of his family the much-coveted sceptre of the Kings of France.

Henri, surnamed *Le Balafre*, or "the Scarred," succeeded his father in the year 1560. During the greater portion of his subsequent life, his two principal objects were, the destruction of Protestantism, and the possession of the King's person. He therewith flattered the national vanity by declaring that the natural limits of France on two sides were the Rhine and the Danube,—an extension of frontier which was never effected, except, temporarily, in the later days of Napoleon. But the declaration entailed a popularity on the Duke, which was only increased by his victory at Jarnac, when the French Protestants not only endured defeat, but lost their leader, the brave but unfortunate Condé. This gallant chief had surrendered; but he was basely murdered by a pistol-shot, and his dead body, flung across an ass, was paraded through the ranks of the victors as a trophy. How far the Duke was an accomplice in the crime, is not determined; but that such incidents were deemed lightly of by him, is sufficiently clear from his own proclamation in seven languages, wherein he accused Coligny as the instigator of the murder of his father, and set a price upon that noble head.

Guise had his revenge on the Day of St. Bartholomew, when he vainly hoped that the enemies of his house had perished for ever. We omit the well-known details of this Massacre, in order to trace the history of the race, on the head of more than one of whom rests the responsibility of that terrible day. During the slaughter, Guise gained his revenge, but lost his love. The cries of the victims were the nuptial songs chanted at the marriage-ceremony of Henri of Navarre, and Margaret, the King's sister. The latter had looked nothing loath upon the suit offered to her by Guise, who was an ardent wooer. But the wooing had been roughly broken in upon by the lady's brother, the Duc d'Anjou, who declared aloud in the Louvre, that if Guise dared look with lover's eyes upon "Margot," he would run his knife into his throat! The threat had its influence, and the unfaithful lover, who had been all the while solemnly affianced to a Princess Catherine of Clèves, married that remarkable brunette, and showed his respect for her by speaking and writing of her as "his amiable lady, the Negress." It may be noticed in passing, that the objection of D'Anjou to Guise, as a brother-in-law, was not personal; it had a political foundation. The two Dukes were, indeed, brothers-in-law,—not by Guise marrying the sister of D'Anjou, but by D'Anjou marrying the

sister of Guise, and sharing with her the throne which he occupied, rather than enjoyed, as Henri III.

When summoned to that throne by the unedifying death of Charles IX., Henri of Anjou was elective King of Poland, whence he escaped only with difficulty, in order to wear a more brilliant, but a more fatal, crown in France. He had no sooner assumed it than he beheld the Guises encircling him, and leaving him neither liberty nor will. The Protestants were driven into rebellion. They found a leader in Henri of Navarre; and Guise and his friends made war against these, irrespective of the King's consent, and cut in pieces with their swords the treaties entered into between the two Henris, without the consent of the third Henri,—of Guise and Lorraine. The latter so completely enslaved the weak and unhappy Sovereign as to wring from him, against his remonstrance and conviction, the famous Articles of Nemours, wherein it was solemnly decreed, in the name of the King, and confirmed by the signature of Guise, that thenceforward it was the will of God that there should be but one faith in France, and that the opposers thereof would find that opposition incurred death. There is a tradition, that when Henri of Navarre was told of this decree, he was seated in deep meditation, his head resting upon his hand; and that when he leaped to his feet with emotion at the impiety of the declaration, it was observed that the part of his moustache which had been covered by his hand had suddenly turned grey.

The misery that followed on the publication of these infamous articles, was widely spread, and extended to more hearths than those of the Huguenots. Sword, pestilence, and famine, made a desert of a smiling country; and the universal people, in their common sorrow, cursed all parties alike, "King and Guise, Pope and Calvin," and only asked of Heaven release from all, and peace for those who suffered from divisions. Principle was forgotten, so inexpressible was the misery of the entire kingdom beyond the camps of the contending parties. The King, indeed, was neither ill-intentioned nor intolerant; but Guise so worked as to persuade the "Catholic" part of the nation that he was incapable; and the faction began to look upon the powerful subject as *the* man best qualified to meet the great emergency. He fairly cajoled them into rebellion. They were, indeed, willing to be so cajoled by a leader who was liberal of promise. And yet he was known to be as cruel as he engaged himself to be liberal. He often kept his own soldiers at a point barely above starvation; and the slightest insubordination in a regiment entailed upon all alike the penalty of death. To his foes he was more terrible still. As he stood in the centre of a conquered town that had been held by the Huguenots, it was sport to him to see the latter tossed into the flames. On one occasion, he ordered a Huguenot officer to be torn asunder by young horses, for no greater crime than mutilating a wooden idol in a church,

and placing it on a bastion of the city with a pike across its breast, as a satire on the guardianship which such a protector was popularly believed to afford. He *could*, however, be humane when the humour, and good reason for it, came together. Thus he parted with a pet lioness which he kept in his quarters, on the very sufficient ground that the royal beast had, on a certain morning, slain and swallowed one of his *favourite* footmen! A common-place lacquey he might have spared without complaining; but he could not without some little irritation hear of a valet being devoured, who, *though* a valet, had a profound belief that his master was a hero!

The "Bartholomew" had not destroyed all the foes of the house of Guise; but what was not accomplished on that day, was sought to be achieved by the "League," a society whose object it was to raise the Duke to the throne of Henri, either before or after his death. The King was childless; and the presumptive heir to the throne, Henri of Navarre, was a Protestant. The Lorrainers had double reason, then, for looking to themselves. The reigning Sovereign was the last of three brothers who had inherited the crown; and there was a tradition even then in France, that when the throne had been occupied by such a succession of fraternity, the sceptre would depart from the royal house;—a tradition which was not only confirmed in the present instance, but also received additional confirmation when, after the reigns of Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X., the heir of the last of the three brothers lost his inheritance, which was given by the people to that Louis-Philippe who so ill knew how to keep it.

Guise fired his followers with the assurance that the invasion of England, and the re-establishment of Popery there, should be an enterprise which they would be called upon to accomplish. The King, alarmed at the "League," wisely constituted himself a member; but the confederates kept their new associate in the dark as to the chief of their objects. The Monarch, in return, encouraged his "minions" to annoy his good cousin of Lorraine. One of those unworthy favourites, St. Megrin, did more: he slandered the wife of Guise, who took thereon a singular course of trial and revenge. He aroused his Duchess from her solitary couch, in the very middle of the night, hissed in her alarmed ear the damning rumour that was abroad, and bade her take at once from his hands the dagger or the poisoned cup which he offered her, and die, since she had so sinned. The offended and innocent wife cared not for life, since she was suspected, and drank off the contents of the cup, after protestation of her innocence. The draught was of harmless preparation: for the Duke was well assured of the spotless character of a consort, whom he himself daily dishonoured by his infidelities. He kissed her hand and took his leave; but he sent a score of his trusty men into the court-yard of the Louvre, who fell on St. Megrin, and butchered him, almost on the threshold of the King's apartments. The

Monarch made no complaint at the outrage; but he raised a tomb over the mangled remains of his favourite "minion," above which a triad of Cupids represented the royal grief, by holding their stony knuckles to their tearless eyes, affecting the passion which they could not feel.

In the mean time, while the people were being pushed to rebellion at home, the ducal family were intriguing in nearly every Court in Europe; and, between the intrigues of Guise and the recklessness of the King, the public welfare endured shipwreck. So nearly complete was the ruin, that it was popularly said, "the King's minions crave for every thing; the King himself gives them every thing; the Queen-mother manages every thing; Guise opposes every thing; the Red Ass," by which was meant the Cardinal, "embroils every thing;—and would that Satan had them all!" But the opposition of Guise was made to some purpose; and by exercising it he exacted from the King a surrender of several strong cities, which were immediately garrisoned by "Guisards," though nominally held for the Sovereign. From the latter the Duke wrung nearly all that it was in the power of Monarch to yield; but when Guise, who had a design on the life of the Protestant Henri of Navarre, asked for a royal decree prohibiting the granting of "quarter" to a Huguenot in the field, the Monarch indignantly banished him from the capital. Guise feigned to obey; but his celebrated sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, refused to share in even his temporary exile. This bold woman went about in public with a pair of scissors in her girdle, and she was not slow in intimating that they were intended for the "tonsure" of brother Henri of Valois, when weariness should drive him from a palace into a monastery!

The King, somewhat alarmed, called around him his old Swiss body-guard; and as the majority of these men professed the Reformed faith, Guise made use of the circumstance to achieve greater ends than any he had yet attained. The people were persuaded that their religion was in peril; and when the Duke, breaking his ban, entered Paris, and, gallantly attired, walked by the side of the sedan of Catherine of Medicis, on their way to the Louvre to remonstrate with the unorthodox King, the church-bells gave their joyous greeting, and the excited populace hung upon the steps of the Duke, showering upon him blessings and blasphemous appellations. "Hosanna to our new Son of David!" shouted those who affected to be most pious; and aged women, kissing his garment as he passed, rose from their knees exclaiming, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" The less blasphemous, or the more sincere, sufficiently expressed their satisfaction by hailing him, as he went on his way smiling, "King of Paris!"

The sound of this title reached the ears of Henri, and, coupling it with the unauthorized return of Guise to Court, he passed into alternate fits of ungovernable wrath and profound melancholy.

He was under the influence of the latter, when there fell on his ear words which made him start from his seat. The words were, "*Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves*;" and when the monarch looked round for the speaker, he beheld the Abbé d'Elbene, who had thus calmly quoted Scripture in order to recommend murder! The King, if startled, was not displeased; on the contrary, he smiled, and the smile was yet around his lips and in his eyes, when Guise entered the presence, and mistook the expression on the royal face for one of welcome. The Duke, emboldened by what he saw, hurried through a long list of grievances, especially dwelling on the lenity, not to say favour, with which Henri treated heretics generally. The Sovereign made a few excuses, which Guise heeded not; on the contrary, he hastened to decry and denounce the body of minions who polluted the palace. "Love me, love my dog!" said Henri in a hoarse voice. "Yes," said Guise, as he peered into the royal and unnaturally sparkling eyes, "provided he doesn't bite." The two men stood revealed before each other; and from that hour the struggle was deadly. Henri would not give way with reference to his Swiss Guard; and Guise, passing through Paris with his sword unsheathed, awoke the eager spirit of revolt, and looked complacently on, while the barricades were raised to impede the march of the "execrable" Calvinistic Archers of the Guard. The "King of Paris" earned a decisive victory; but, before it was achieved, the King of France hurried in an agony of cowardly affright from his capital. He gazed for a moment on the city as he departed, venting curses on its ingratitude; for, said the fugitive Monarch, "I loved you better than I did my own wife!" The assertion was less courteous than true.

Guise might now have ascended the throne, had he not been too circumspect. He deemed the royal cause lost; but he was satisfied for the moment with ruling in the capital as "Generalissimo." He stopped the King's couriers, and opened his letters; he confiscated the property of Huguenots, and sold the same for his own benefit, while he professed to care only for that of the Commonwealth. Finally, he declared that the disturbed condition of affairs should be regulated by a States-General, which he commanded, rather than prayed, Henri to summon to a meeting at Blois. The King consented; and the 18th of October, 1588, was appointed for the opening. Guise entered the old town with his entire family, and an army of retainers, cased in armour, and bristling with steel. Henri had his mother, Catherine, at his side; but there were also a few faithful and unscrupulous followers with him in the palace at Blois; and as he looked on any of those who might happen to salute him in passing, the King smiled darkly, and "*Percutiam pastorem*" fell in murmured satisfaction from his lips. The saturnine Monarch became all at once cheerful in his outward bearing, even when Guise was so ruling the States as to make their proceedings turn

to the detriment of the monarchy. The Guise faction became anxious for the safety of their leader, whose quarters were in the palace; but when the King, in token of reconciliation, begged the Duke to participate with him in the celebration of the Holy Sacrament, there was scarcely a man, capable of interpreting the manner of the times, who did not feel assured that under such a solemn pledge of security there lay concealed the very basest treachery. Guise, over-confident, scorned alike open warnings and dark innuendoes. He was so strong, and his royal antagonist so weak, that he despised the idea of violence being used against him,—especially as the keys of the palatial castle were in his keeping, as “Grand Master” of the Court.

The 23rd of December had arrived: the King intimated that he should proceed early in the morning, soon after day-break, (but subsequently to holding a Council, to which he invited the Duke and Cardinal,) to the shrine of Our Lady of Clery, some two miles distant; and the keys of the gates were demanded, in order to let Henri have issue at his pleasure, but in reality to keep the Guises within isolated from their friends without. Larchant, one of the Archers of the Guard, also waited on the Duke, to pray him to intercede for himself and comrades with the King, in order to obtain for them an increase of pay. “We will do ourselves the honour,” said Larchant, “to prefer our petition to your Highness in the morning in a body.” This was a contrivance to prevent Guise from being surprised at seeing so many armed men together in the King’s antechamber, before the Council was sitting. Henri passed a sleepless night: his namesake of Guise, who had just sent his Duchess homeward, her approaching confinement being expected, spent the whole of the same night in the apartments of the Countess de Noirmontier. He was seen coming from them before dawn, gaily dressed, and proceeding to the Chapel of the Virgin to perform his morning devotions! Long before this the King was a-foot, visiting the select Archers who had accepted the bloody mission of ridding their perplexed Monarch of his importunate adversary. He posted them, altered the arrangements, re-posted them, addressed them again and again on the legality of their office, and had some trouble to suppress an enthusiasm which threatened to wake the Queen-mother, who slept below, and to excite the suspicion of the Guisards in the vicinity. Staircase and hall, closet and arras, no “coigne of vantage” but had its assassin ready to act, should his fellows have failed.

Precisely at seven o’clock, Guise, attired in a light suit of grey satin, and followed by Pericart, his secretary, entered the council-chamber, where he found several members assembled,—among others, his younger brother, the “bottle” Cardinal de Guise. An hour passed without the appearance of, or any message from, the King, who was in an inner apartment, now half frightened at the pale faces of his own confidants, and anon

endeavouring to excite his own resolution by attempts to encourage theirs. It was a long and weary hour for all parties. As it slowly passed away, Guise, he knew not wherefore, grew anxious: he complained of the cold, and heaped billets of wood upon the fire; he spoke of feeling sick, faint, and unnerved, and from his silver sweetmeat-case he took a few *bon-bons*, by way of breakfast. He subsequently asked for some Damascus raisins, and conserve of roses; but these, when supplied to him, did not relieve him of an unaccountable nervousness, which was suddenly increased, when the eye next to the scar, from which he derived his appellation of *Balafré*, began to be suffused with tears. He indignantly wiped away the unwelcome suffusion, and had quite recovered, as Rivol, Secretary of State, entered, and requested him to attend on the King, who awaited him in his own chamber. Guise gaily flung his *bonbonnière* across the council-table, and laughingly bade the grave Councillors scramble for the scattered sweets. He started up, overturned his chair in so doing, drew his thin mantle around him, and with cap and gloves in hand waved a farewell to the statesmen present. He passed through two rooms, and, closely followed by various of the Archers, reached the tapestried entrance to the King's cabinet. No one offered to raise the arras for him. Guise lifted his own right arm to help himself, at the same time looking half round at the Archers who were near him. At that moment a dagger was buried in his breast up to the very hilt. The blow was delivered by Montsery, from behind. The Duke let fall his hand to the pommel of his sword, when one assassin clung to his legs, a second, also from behind, stabbed him in the neck, while a third passed his weapon through his ribs. Guise's first cry was, "Ho, friends!" his second, as Sarine ran him through the lower part of the back, was, "Mercy, Jesus!" He struggled faintly across the chamber, bleeding from a dozen wounds, in every one of which sat death. The murderers hacked at him, as he staggered, and wildly, yet feebly, fought. All paused for a moment when he had reached the extreme end of the room, where he again attempted to raise his sword, but in the act rolled over, stone dead, at the foot of the bed of Henri III.

At that moment the tapestry was raised, and the King, whispering, "Is it done?" approached the body, and moodily remarked, as he gazed upon it, "He looks larger than he did when living!" Upon the person of the Duke was found a memorandum in writing, and in these words: "To maintain a war in France I should require 700,000 livres per month." This memorandum served in the King's mind as a justification of the murder just committed by his orders. The body was then unceremoniously rolled up in the Turkey carpet on which it had fallen, with orders to have it covered with quick lime, and flung into the Loire. Some maimed rites were previously performed over it by Dourgin, the royal Chaplain, who could

not mutter the "*De Profundis*" without a running and terrified commentary of,—“Christ! the woful sight!” The poor “bottle” Cardinal, and the Archbishop of Lyons, were murdered on the following day; but the lesser victims were forgotten in the fate which had fallen upon the more illustrious, yet certainly more guilty, personage.

The widow of Guise, soon after the dread event, gave birth to a son, subsequently the Chevalier Louis de Guise. “The boy,” said the bereaved lady, “came into the world with his hands clasped, as though praying for vengeance upon the assassins of his father.” Every male member of the family whom the King could reach, was now subjected to duress; and the young heir of *Balafre*, Charles, now fourth Duke of Guise, was placed in close restriction in the Castle of Tours; where, sleeping or waking, four living eyes unceasingly watched him,—“*voisre même allant à la garde-robe*,”—but which eyes he managed to elude, nevertheless.

In the mean time, Rome excommunicated the slayer of her champion. Paris put on mourning; and officials were placed in the streets, to strip and scourge even ladies who ventured to appear without some sign of sorrow. Waxed effigies of the King were brought into the churches, and frantically stabbed by the Priests at the altar, who then solemnly paraded the streets, chanting, as they went, “May God extinguish the Valois!” The whole city broke into insurrection; and the brother of Guise, the Duke de Mayenne, placed himself at the head of the League, whose object was the deposition of the King, and the transferring of the crown to a child of Lorraine. In the contest which ensued, Valois and Navarre united against the “Guisards,” and carried victory with them wherever they raised their banners. The exultation of Henri III. was only mitigated by the repeated papal summonses received by him to repair to Rome, and there answer for his crime. Henri of Navarre bade him rather think of gaining Paris than of mollifying the Pope; and he *was* so occupied, when the double vengeance of the Church and of the House of Guise overtook him in the very moment of victory.

The Duchess of Montpensier, sister of the slaughtered Duke, had made no secret of her intention to have public revenge for the deed privately committed, whereby she had lost a brother. There was precaution enough taken that she should not approach the royal army, or the King’s quarters; but a woman and a Priest rendered futile all precautions. The somewhat gay Duchess was on unusually intimate terms with a young Monk, named Jacques Clement. This good Brother was a fanatic zealot for his Church, and a rather too ardent admirer of the Duchess, who turned both sentiments to her own especial purposes. She whispered in his ear a promise, to secure the fulfilment of which, he received with feverish haste the knife which was placed in his hands by the handsomest woman in France. It

is said that the knife is still preserved as a precious treasure at Rome. However this may be, on the 1st of August, 1589, the young Brother, with the weapon hid in the folds of his monkish gabardine, and with a letter in his hand, sought and obtained ready access to the King. He went straightforward to his butcher's work, and had scarcely passed beneath the royal tent before he had buried the steel deep in the Monarch's bosom. He turned to fly with hot haste to the lady from whom he had received his commission ; but a dozen swords and pikes had thrust life out of him, ere he had made three steps in the direction of his promised recompense. She who had engaged herself to pay for the crime, cared for neither victim. She screamed, indeed, but it was with a hysteric joy that threatened to slay her, and which was only alloyed by the thought that the last King of the Valois race did not know that he died by a dagger directed by a sister of Guise. In testimony of her exultation, she distributed green scarfs (the colour of Lorraine) to the people of Paris, and brought up from the provinces the mother of Clement, to whom was accorded the distinction of a triumphal entry. Priests and people worshipped the mother of the assassin, as she passed wonderingly on her way ; and they blasphemously saluted her with the chanted words, "Blessed is the womb that bore him, and the paps that gave him suck !" She was led to the seat of honour at the table of Guise ; and Rome sheltered the infamy of the assassin, and revealed its own, by pronouncing his work to be a god-like act. By authority of the Vatican, medals were struck in memory and honour of the deed ; but the Huguenots, who read thereon the murderer's profession and name, "*Frère Jacques Clement*," ingeniously discovered therein the anagrammatic interpretation, "*C'est l'enfer qui m'a créé !*" "It is hell that created me !"

The last Valois, with his last breath, had named the Protestant Henri of Navarre as his legal successor to the throne. But between Henri and his inheritance there stood Rome and the Guise faction. Then ensued the succession wars of the League, during which the heavy Mayenne suffered successive defeats at the hands of Henri of the snowy plume. While the contest was raging, the people of the capital trusted to the pulpits for their intelligence from the scene of action ; and from those pulpits was daily uttered more mendacity in an hour than finds expression in all the horse-fairs of the United Kingdom in a year. When famine decimated those within the walls, and the people were reduced to live upon a paste made from human bones, and called "*Madame de Montpensier's cake*," they then knew that they had been deceived alike by Church and Guise, and that the avenger was at their gates.

Henri and his triumphant forces had not arrived there without trouble. In 1521, Charles of Guise, the young Duke, had escaped most gallantly, in open day, from the Castle of Tours,

by sliding from the ramparts down a rope, which blistered his hands and tore his hose. He was speedily accoutred and in the field, with Spain in the rear to help him, now dashing at Henri's person, now leaping from his own camp-bed to escape him, and anon resting while he left to his uncle of Mayenne the pursuit of that object of his house,—the crown which was more swiftly receding than ever. For the alert Bourbon the hard-drinking and obese Mayenne was no match. The latter thought once to catch the former in his lady's bower; but the royal lover was gaily galloping back to his quarters before his somnolent adversary had heard the tardy peal of his own trumpeter. "Mayenne," said the Pope, "sits longer at table than Henri lies in bed!" The assertion is truthfully characteristic of the two men; and there was little marvellous in the result which finally brought the army of him of Navarre beneath the walls of famished Paris.

The gates thereof were opened to him on the 21st of March, 1591. One old Cardinal, Péllevi, died of disgust and indignation at hearing of the fact; and the Duchess of Montpensier, after tearing her hair and threatening to swoon, prudently made with Henri IV., not only her own peace, but that of her house, the chief men of whom were admitted into places of great trust, to the injury of more deserving individuals. The young Duke of Guise affected a superabundant loyalty; in return for which the King not only gave him the government of several chief towns, but, out of compliment to him, forbade therein the public exercise of Protestant worship. Such conduct was natural in a King who, to secure his throne, abandoned his faith; who lightly said that he had no cannon so powerful as the canon of the mass; and who was destitute of most virtues, save courage and good-nature. The latter was abused by those on whom it was wasted; and the various assaults upon his life were suspected to have been directed by those very Guises on whom he had showered places, pensions, and pardons, which they were constantly needing, and continually deriding.

The young Duke of Guise enjoyed, among other appointments, that of Governor of Marseilles. He was light-hearted, selfish, vain, and cruel. He hanged his own old partisans in the city, as enemies of the King; and he has made his name for ever infamous by his seduction of the beautiful and noble orphan-girl, Marcelle de Castellane, whom he basely abandoned, and left to die of hunger. He sent her a few broad pieces by the hands of a lacquey; but the tardy charity was spurned, and the poor victim died. He had little time to think of her at the brilliant court of the first Bourbon, where he and those of his house struggled to maintain a reputation which had now little to support it but the memories of the past;—and many of those were hardly worth appealing to. He was a mere fine gentleman, bold withal, and therewith intriguing; ever hoping that the fortunes of his race might once more bring it near a throne, and, in the

mean time, making himself remarkable for his vanity, his airs of greatness, and his affectation. Brave as he was, he left his brothers, the Cardinal and Chevalier, to draw their swords, and settle the quarrels which were constantly raging on disputed questions, touching the assumed majesty of the House of Guise. The streets of Paris formed the stage on which these bloody tragedies were played; but they, and all other pretensions, were suppressed by that irresistible putter-down of such nuisances, the Cardinal de Richelieu. Under him, in the reign of Louis XIII., the nobility of France ceased to be Kings, and were compelled to be subjects. He used the sword of Guise as long as it was needed; but when the owner thereof became troublesome, Richelieu not only summarily banished him, but wounded the pride of his family by placing royal garrisons in the Sovereign Duchy of Lorraine. When Cardinal Fleury subsequently annexed Lorraine itself to the French territory, the Guises thought the world was at an end. The universe, however, survived the shock.

Duke Charles died in his banishment at Cune, near Sienne, in the year 1640. Of his ten children by the Duchess de Joyeuse, he left five surviving. He was succeeded by Henri, the eldest, who was a Bishop and Cardinal. Indeed, he had been raised to the episcopate while in the arms of his wet-nurse; and he was yet in frocks when his little brow was covered with the scarlet honours of a Cardinal. He remained well content therewith, as long as he was a younger son,—indeed, until the coronet of his gay sire fell into his lap. He was then in his twenty-sixth year; and he had no sooner succeeded to the ducal title and estates, than he flung away all he possessed of the religious profession,—its dress and titles,—and walked abroad, spurs on his heels, a plume in his cap, and a long sword and a bad heart between.

The whole life of this ducal scoundrel was a romance, no portion of which reflects any credit on the hero. He had scarcely reached the age of manhood when he entered into a contract of marriage with the beautiful Anne of Gonzaga. He signed the compact, not in ink, but with his own blood, calling Heaven to witness, the while, that he would never address a vow to any other lady. The breath of perjury had barely passed his lips, however, when he married the Countess of Bossu, and immediately neglected her to sun himself in the eyes of Mademoiselle de Pons,—an imperious mistress, who squandered the property he lavished on her, and boxed the ex-Cardinal's ears, when he attempted, with degrading humility, to remonstrate with her for bringing down ruin upon his estate. A man so faithless in affection to his wife was not likely to be loyal to his King. He tampered with rebellion, was sentenced to death, and was pardoned. But a state of decent tranquillity agreed ill with his constitution; and to keep that and his nerves from rusting, he one day drew his sword in the street upon the son of Coligny, whose presence seemed a reproach to him, and slew him on the spot. He wiped

his bloody rapier on his mantle, and betook himself for a season to Rome, where he intrigued skilfully, but fruitlessly, in order to obtain the tiara for the brother of Mazarin. Apathy would now have descended upon him, but for a voice which reached him from Naples, and which made his swelling heart beat with a violence that almost threatened to kill.

Masaniello had just concluded his brief and mad career at Naples. The Neapolitans, in losing their late leader, had, however, conceived no return of affection for their old oppressors, the Spaniards. They were casting about for a King, when Guise presented himself. It was in the year 1647. He left France in a slight felucca, accompanied by some score or so of brave adventurers, all wearing the colours of Lorraine intertwined with those (buff) of the mistress of the Duke. There was no difficulty in finding a cousin in the Church to give his blessing to the expedition; and, under such benison, a son of Guise once more went forth in search of the thorny, but gilded, circlet of sovereignty. The skiff sped unharmed through howling storms and thundering Spanish fleets; and when the Duke stepped ashore at Naples, and mounted a charger, the shouting populace who preceded him, burnt incense before the new-comer, as though he had been a god!

It is true that in him they found a champion worthy, as far as military ability was concerned, of the cause which he had undertaken. He performed prodigies of valour in the field against opposing Spaniards; but of the city itself he made a second Cythera, where licence reigned, and modest beauty could not find an altar or a home. He was the little Sardanapalus of an hour,—save that at the last moment, when his foes mustered more strongly than ever, his arm was bared for the fight, and not braceleted for a final banquet. He and his friends bore themselves as if they wore charmed lives; but even courage is not a match for numbers, and the short career of this copper King of Naples was followed by a four years' captivity in Spain. He purchased his liberty at last by a lie, the common coin of every Guise. He undertook to reveal to the Cabinet at Madrid the political designs of the Government at Paris; and he bound himself by an oath, moreover, never to renew his attempt upon Naples. He broke his compact, and, in each case, without profit to himself. At length, fortune seeming to disregard the greatness of his once highly-favoured house, this restless reprobate gradually sank into a mere court beau, passing his time in powdering his peruke, defaming reputations, and paying profane praise to the patched and painted ladies of the palace. He died before old age, like most of the Princes of his house; and in his fiftieth year this childless man left his dignity and an evil name to his nephew, Louis Joseph.

The sixth Duke bore his greatness meekly and briefly. He was a kind-hearted gentleman, whose career of unobtrusive usefulness was cut short by small-pox, in 1671. When he died,

there lay in the next chamber an infant in his cradle. This was his little son Joseph, not yet twelve months old, and all unconscious of his loss in a father, or of his gain in a somewhat dilapidated coronet. On his young brow that symbol of his earthly rank rested during only four years. The little Noble then fell a victim to the disease which had carried off his sire, and made of himself a Duke,—the last, the youngest, the most innocent, and the happiest of his race.

About a century and three quarters previous to this, the first Duke of Guise had ridden, a merry boy, on his mule, into France. When that same merry boy had arrived at opening manhood, he had hoped to recover for his house the great inheritance of Charlemagne. How he and his descendants, Dukes and Cardinals, addressed themselves to make realization of this fond hope, may be found in full and eloquent—and generally impartial—detail in the pages of the Marquis de Bouillé. Priest and swordsman, brother and brother, stood side by side, one menacing in armour, the other dreadful in his panoply of the Church. By unscrupulous employment of this and other means, they, at one moment, had well-nigh reached the giddy height to which their ancestor of Lorraine had bidden them ascend. But their descent was more rapid than their rise, especially from the period of the administration of Richelieu, whose amusement it was, to tread out the brilliancy of such dangerous aspirants to power as Guise. The old man of Narbonne would singly have been too much for *all* the Lorraines at once. The “Cardinal-Duke” was an adversary against whom all the Cardinals *and* Dukes of the family of Lorraine would have struggled in vain. Of the seven ducal chieftains of that house, in its branch of Guise, there is only one who can be said to have left behind him a reputation for harmlessness; and perhaps that was because he lived at a time when he had not the power to be offensive. The boy on the mule in 1506, and the child in the cradle in 1676, are two pleasant extremes of a line where all between is, indeed, fearfully attractive, but of that quality which might make not only men but angels weep. Such was the case with the Dukes, as long as temptation and opportunity presented themselves. We must not finally dismiss the subject without saying a word or two touching their Highnesses’ eminent brothers, the Cardinals. We can only give outlines: we must refer our readers to M. de Bouillé for the filling up, the shading, and the accessories.

It must be confessed that the Dukes of Guise played for a high stake,—and lost it! More than once, however, they were on the very point of grasping the attractive, but delusive, prize. If they were so near triumph, it was chiefly through the co-operation of their respective brothers, the proud and able Cardinals. The Dukes were the representatives of brute force; the Cardinals, of that which is far stronger,—power of intellect. The former often spoiled their cause, by being too demonstrative. The latter

never even trusted to words, when silence served their purpose equally well. When they *did* speak, it was with effective brevity. We read of a Lacedæmonian who was fined for employing three words to express what might have been as efficiently stated in two. No churchman of the house of Guise ever committed the fault of the Lacedæmonian.

Cardinal John of Lorraine was the brother of the first Duke, Claude. When the latter was a boy, and riding his mule into the French territory, the still more youthful John was Bishop-coadjutor of Metz,—a post to which he was appointed before he had completed his third year! He was a Cardinal while yet in his teens; and, in his own person, was possessed of twelve bishoprics and archbishoprics. Of these, however, he modestly retained but three, namely, Toul, Narbonne, and Alby, as they alone happened to return revenues worth acceptance. Not that he was selfish,—seeing that he subsequently applied for and received the archbishopric of Rheims, which he kindly held for his nephew Charles, who was titular thereof at the experienced age of ten! His revenues were enormous, and he was ever in debt. He was one of the most skilful negotiators of his time; but whether deputed to Emperor or Pope, he was seldom able to commence his journey until he had put in pledge three or four towns, in order to raise money to defray the expenses. His zeal for what he understood as religion, was manifested during the short but bloody campaign against the Protestants of Alsatia, when he accompanied his brother, who there acquired the permanent title of “the Butcher.” At the side of the Cardinal, on the field of battle, stood the apostolic Commissary and a staff of priestly Aides-de-camp. While some of these encouraged the orthodox troops to charge the Huguenots, the principal personages kept their hands raised to Heaven; and when the pennons of the army of Reformers had all gone down before the double cross of Lorraine, the Cardinal and his ecclesiastical staff rode to the church of St. Nicolas, and sang “*Te Deum laudamus.*” The spirit of the proceeding was that of the Aztec priesthood, smelling strongly of blood, while they chanted thanksgiving to the Giver of Victories.

What a contrast presents itself when we follow the Cardinal to his residence, (still so attractive to sojourners in Paris,) the Hotel de Cluny! Of this monastery he made a mansion that a Sybarite might have dwelt in without complaining. It was embellished, decorated, and furnished with a gorgeousness, that had its source at once in his blind prodigality, his taste for the arts, and his familiar patronage of artists. The only thing not to be found in this celebrated mansion, was the example of a good life. But how *could* this example be found in a prelate who assumed and executed the office of instructing the Maids of Honour in their respective delicate duties? De Thou says, it was an occupation for which he was pre-eminently fitted; and Brantome pauses, in

his gay illustrations of the truth of this assertion, to remark with indignation, that if the daughters of noble houses arrived at Court, endowed with purity and every maiden virtue, Cardinal John was the means of despoiling them of their dowry. And yet he was not deficient in tastes and pursuits of a refined nature. He was learned himself, and he loved learning in others. His purse, when there was anything in it, was at the service of poor scholars and of sages with great purposes in view. He who deemed the slaughter of Protestant peasants a thing to thank God for, had something like a heart for *clever* sneerers at Papistry, and for Protestants of talent. Thus he pleaded the cause of the amphibious Erasmus, extended his protection to the evangelical Clement Marot, laughed and drank with Rabelais, the caustic Curé of Meudon. When we add that he was the boon-companion of Francis I., it is only to say, in other words, that, at such time, he had for an associate a man far less worthy of his intimacy, than either the equivocating Erasmus, gentle Marot, or roystering Rabelais, who painted the manners of the Court and Church of his day in his compound characters of Gargantua and Panurge.

We have said that he was a liberal giver, but he gave with an ostentation for which he could find no warrant in the Gospel. At one period of his life, it was his custom to walk abroad with a game-bag slung from his neck, and tolerably well-furnished with silver crowns. Whenever he encountered a petitioner,—and these did not lack,—he thrust his hand into the bag, and bestowed, without counting, a rich alms,—asking for, what he needed quite as much, prayers in return. He was popularly known as “the Game-bag Cardinal;” and it is said that, on one occasion, giving largess to a blind beggar in the streets of Rome, the recipient was so astonished at the amount of the gift that, extending his hand towards the giver, he exclaimed aloud:—“Of a surety, if thou art not Christ, thou art John of Lorraine!” Another trait of his mixed character we may here mention, before we pass to a greater Cardinal of his restless and intriguing race. He had been commissioned by Francis to repair to the Pope, on a negotiation respecting the affairs of the Empire as connected with France, and the bearing of the Pontiff between the two parties. The Cardinal’s way lay through Piedmont, where he was, for a time, the guest of the Duke and Duchess of Savoy. When the Duke introduced the gallant Cardinal to his consort, (Beatrice of Portugal,) the latter, a lady of grave and dignified manners, presented to the Priest her hand to kiss. John of Lorraine repudiated such service, and boldly offered to salute the austere young Duchess on the lips. The lady retreated, the Cardinal pursued. A struggle ensued, which was maintained with rude persistence on one side, with haughty and offended vigour on the other, until, her Highness’s head being firmly grasped within his Eminence’s arm, the Cardinal

kissed the ruffled Princess two or three times upon the mouth, and then, with an exultant laugh, released her. There was small edification in this, or in any after-passages of his life; and we dismiss him, to contemplate the picture of one who was greater than he, and yet not better,—more renowned, but not higher reputed,—Cardinal Charles.

The second Cardinal of this house, Charles of Lorraine, was brother of the second Duke; and, perhaps, it is not too much to say of him, that he was the greatest man of his family, and the most powerful man of his age. His ambition was to administer the finances of France; and he did so during three reigns, with an annual excess of expenditure over income to the amount of two millions and a half,—the result rather of his dishonesty than his incapacity. His enemies were numerous, and they threatened to concert measures to make him account for his mal-practices. He silenced his foes with the sound of the tocsin of the St. Bartholomew; and when the slaughter was over, he merrily asked for the presence of the accusers who had intended to make him refund!

He was the most accomplished hypocrite of an age which ranked hypocrisy among the virtues. He admitted the leaders of the religious reformatory movement into his familiarity; discussed with them the merits of their respective Churches, and both felt and acknowledged that the Reformation was a warrantable and necessary movement. And yet motives of policy made of him the most savage enemy that Protestantism ever had in France. It was he who urged on the feeble Henry to pass by the *canaille* of heretics, and to strike at the nobles. "Burn half-a-dozen Counsellors," said he; "there are heretics enough in the Parliament!" Henry yielded; but, previous to the execution, he was himself smitten by the lance of Montgomery. Suggestions of mercy seemed whispered into his soul as he lay dying, and he expressed a wish that the condemned Protestants should be pardoned. "Tush!" exclaimed the Cardinal, "such sentiment is prompted by a foul fiend. Let them perish!" And they perished!

To *him* France was indebted for the introduction of the Inquisition into that kingdom. At the moment that the people were at the very "high top-gallant of their joy," at the recovery of Calais from the English, the Cardinal, at his own request, was made Grand Inquisitor. The nation was divided between terror and hilarity. The latter feeling was excited by the Chief Inquisitor's two colleagues,—Cardinal Bourbon, who longed for nothing so much as a dispensation to enable him to marry; and Cardinal de Chatillon, who not only confessed to the same longing, but would not wait for the dispensation, and profoundly disgusted the Inquisitorial College by espousing Madame de Hauteville, and passing over to the Protestant side.

There is a History of the Council of Trent, by M. Bungener.

It is admirably translated by David Scott. There are few books that so well deserve to be studied,—still fewer, capable of at once interesting and instructing, as this incomparable work does. Unless, however, our memory betray us, the accomplished author has failed to remark upon the inexplicable conduct of Cardinal Charles, who was one of the representatives of France, at the Council in question. The Doctors there assembled had been perplexed enough before his arrival among them; but he made confusion worse confounded, when he arose and recommended the abolition of all superstitious practices, spoke strongly against the celibacy of the Clergy, insisted on the necessity of Divine worship being celebrated in a living and intelligible language, and closed a long list of suggestive and unacceptable measures, by pronouncing in favour of the unlimited liberty of the Gallican Church. That he betrayed all the causes which he advocated, is only to say, in other words, that he acted according to his own selfish and calculating character. He saw that by continuing to support any of them he would peril, not only the position and prospects of his family, but also his own chances of attaining to the supreme pontificate of Christendom. The Pope used and abused him. “I am scandalized,” said his Holiness, “at finding you still in the enjoyment of the revenue of so many sees!” “My venerable friend,” rejoined the Cardinal, with decent familiarity, “I would resign them all for a certain single bishopric, with which I could well be content.” “And that is ——?” “Marry!” said the son of humility, with a significant smile, “that is the bishopric of Rome!”

He was as haughty as he was aspiring. The Guises had drawn Anthony, King of Navarre, to desert Protestantism and help Lorraine. The Cardinal treated the father of the great but unprincipled Henri Quatre according to his deserts, rather than according to his rank. One frosty morning, not only did the princely Priest keep the mountain King tarrying at his garden-gate for an audience, but went down, after an hour’s procrastination, luxuriously enveloped in furs, to listen to a suit which his poor Majesty ventured to prefer meekly, and cap in hand. He was as covetous as he was haughty, but he not unfrequently found his match. His niece, Mary Stuart, had quarrelled with Catherine de Medicis, whose especial wrath had been excited by Mary’s contemptuously speaking of her as “the Florentine tradeswoman.” The Scottish Queen resolved, after this quarrel, to repair at once to the north; and the Cardinal, who was at her side when she was examining her jewels, previously to their being packed up, tenderly remarked that the sea was dangerous, the jewels costly, and that his niece could not do better than leave them in his keeping. “Good uncle,” said the vivacious Mary, “I and my jewels travel together. If I trust one to the sea, I may the other, and therewith adieu!” The Cardinal bit his lips, and blessed the lady!

But his minor failings disappear in the huge sin attaching to him as being the chief author of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Ranke, in his recent History, is puzzled where to fix the charge of principal in that stupendous crime. There is no difficulty in the matter. The Guises had appealed to the chances of battle to overcome their chief adversaries in the kingdom. But for every Huguenot father slain there arose as many filial avengers as he had sons. The Huguenots fought not only for religion, but for the throne which the Lorrainers hoped to overthrow, while they professed to stand by it. The quarrel assumed the form of a national *Vendetta*. The causes of quarrel were individual as well as general. A Huguenot had slain the second Duke, and his widow was determined to be avenged. The Cardinal was wroth with the King for maintaining Protestant Archers in the body-guard. The Archers took an unclean vengeance, and defiled the pulpit in the Chapel Royal wherefrom the Cardinal was accustomed to denounce the doctrine of their teachers. His Eminence, as much exasperated at the lesser stings, as at the more aggravated stabs, of his adversaries, formed the confederacy, by which it was resolved to destroy the enemy at a blow. To the general causes we need not allude. The plot itself was formed in Oliver Clisson's house, known as "the Hotel of Mercy," in Paris; but the representatives of Rome and Spain united with those of France, and met upon the frontier, and then the final arrangements were made which were followed by such terrible consequences. The character of the conference between Italian, Gaul, and Spaniard, was sufficiently seen when the death-bell of the Chapel of Bourbon echoed the alarum flung out from the tower of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The Cardinal was absent from France, but his assassin nephew held the sword which he directed; and the Priest fairly took upon himself the guilt of the bloody deed, when he conferred the hand of his illegitimate daughter, Anne d'Arne, on the officer Besme, alleging, as a reason, that it was *his* dagger which had given the first and the death-blow to Coligny, the chief of the immolated victims of that dreadful day. That Rome approved what the Cardinal and the followers of his house had executed, is proved by the sacrificial thanksgivings ordered by the Pope; and by the proclamation posted in Rome, to the effect that Charles IX., who had aided in the slaughter of his Huguenot subjects, was "the exterminating angel ordained of God,"—the "*Pater Religionis*,"—the "Josias" of his age. The private letters of Charles of Lorraine, quoted by M. de Bouillé, amply prove the amount of guilt which attaches both to the Pope and the Cardinal, for the unexpiated horrors of that terrible and never-to-be-forgotten day.

He showed undoubted talent when he encountered, in public argument, Theodore Beza, the most illustrious of the pupils of Calvin. Beza was remarkably ill-used in the controversy; but

not so much by his opponent, the Cardinal, as by Lainez, the General of the Jesuits, who would fain have stopped the exciting duel by sending the accomplished "heretic" to the stake. The whole account of this controversy is admirably narrated by M. de Bouillé.

No better illustration can be had of one portion of his character, than that furnished by himself at Trent, when the Spanish Ambassador, at mass, took a seat which placed him above the Ambassador from France: the irreverend Cardinal raised such a commotion thereat in the cathedral, and dealt so loudly and so strongly in expletives, that Divine worship was suspended, and the congregation broke up in most admired disorder. So, at the coronation, in the Abbey of St. Denis, of the Queen of Charles IX. The poor, frail Austrian Princess, Elizabeth, after being for hours on her knees, declared her incapacity for remaining any longer, without some material support from food or wine. The Cardinal declared that such an irreligious innovation was not to be thought of. He stoutly opposed, well-fed man that he was, the supplying of any refreshment to the sinking Queen; and it was only when he reflected that her life might be imperilled, that he consented to the "smallest quantity of something very light" being administered to her.

He was cowardly in spirit, and was perhaps—nay, certainly—the only man of his house of whom anything so disparaging can be alleged. But he made no secret of it, used to refer to it laughingly, and, after his brother was assassinated at Blois, he surrounded himself with a guard; and the chief author of the Bartholomew started at shadows, and saw daggers everywhere. We have noticed his bearing in the controversy with Beza. It was not always distinguished by courtesy. In the royal Council, when opposing the pro-Huguenotist arguments of the famous Chancellor l'Hospital, he accused him of wishing to be "the cock of the Council;" and on the statesman's remonstrating, the Cardinal qualified him as an "old ram." On the occasion in question, his Eminence caused as much confusion in the Council, as he had before done in the cathedral at Trent. Such conduct was hardly to be expected from one wise enough to have said on another occasion, that "a lie believed but for an hour doth many times produce effects of some years' continuance!" And, perhaps, it is singular that the author of such a matter-of-fact maxim should have believed, as he did, that Heaven worked miracles in his favour, in order to protect him from the poignards of his enemies, from whom he was often carried off in clouds and thunder!

He died on the 26th of December, 1571, after receiving from, and giving to, Catherine of Medicis a kiss of peace. He was then under fifty years of age. He died in public,—that is, with an ostentatious parade, and, so far, fearlessly. His long will, written with his own hand, exhibits as much care for his wretched

body, as though sensibility were commensurate with the long sleep of death. Even after his decease, he was an object of fear to some; and Catherine herself was wont to declare that, for months, she could not retire to rest, nor rise to go abroad, without seeing his faint ghost beckoning her to follow. Was this fear engendered of remorse? The private relations of the Cardinal with the Queen have only been hinted at; but even Romish writers have allowed, that Huguenot authors have been strangely lenient to both Priest and Princess, when approaching this subject:—a subject which, for our part, we have no wish to disturb.—We pass on to another actor and other times.

The Cardinal-brother of the third Duke, Louis of Lorraine, loved good living, and was enabled at an early age to indulge his propensities out of the rich revenues which he derived from his numerous ecclesiastical preferments. He held half-a-dozen abbeys while he was yet in his cradle; but he was not promoted to a bishopric, before he had reached the mature and experienced age of eighteen. Just before dying, in 1578, when he was about fifty years of age, he resigned his magnificent church appointments in favour of his nephew and namesake, who was to be a future Cardinal at the side of the fourth Duke. Louis is forgotten in the splendour which strangely surrounds the name of his famous uncle and contemporary, Cardinal Charles. He was, however, a man of great talent. Like the principal members of his family, he chose a device for his own shield of arms. It consisted of nine zeros, with this apt motto:—“*Hoc per se nihil est; sed si minimum addideris, maximum erit,*”—intending, it is said, to imply that man was nothing unless grace was given him. He was kindly-dispositioned, loved his ease, was proud of his Church, and had a passion for the bottle. That was his religion. His private life was not marked by worse traits than those that characterize his kinsmen in the priesthood. He showed his affection for his mother after a truly filial fashion, and bequeathed to her all his estates in trust, to pay his debts, as far as they would suffice for such a purpose. Mdle. l’Espinasse did the same to the Archbishop of Toulouse.

The third Duke had a second Cardinal-brother, known as the Cardinal de Guise, who was murdered by Henri III., on the day after the assassination of *Le Balafré*. He was an intriguer; but whatever his course of life may have been,—and friends and enemies are at issue on that point,—he met his death with an heroic dignity. It was long before the King could find men willing to strike a Priest; and when they *were* found, they approached him again and again before they could summon nerve wherewith to smite him. After all, this second murder at Blois was effected by stratagem. The Cardinal was requested to accompany a messenger to the royal presence. He complied, with some misgiving: but when he found himself in a dark corridor with four frowning soldiers, he understood his doom, requested a few

moments' respite to collect his thoughts, and then, enveloping his head in his outer robe, bade them execute their bloody commission. He was instantly slain, without offering resistance or uttering a word. His remains were treated with as little ceremony as those of his slaughtered brother, though the King's Provost assured the mother who survived them, that he had seen the bodies of the two Princes eccremoniously deposited in consecrated ground.

This Cardinal was looked upon as a highly exemplary churchman, considering the times in which he lived. The standard of morality was not a high one; and this princely Priest was father of five illegitimate sons, of whom one only survived him, namely, Louis, Baron of Ancerville, Prince of Phalsbourg, and, as he took pride in calling himself, "Bastard of Guise." This sort of pride was not absent from the bosom of even so matter-of-fact a man as Louis-Philippe, who used to say that he was proud of his descent from Louis XIV., even through the illegitimate source which enabled him to boast of it.

By the side of the son of *Balafré*, Charles the fourth Duke, there stood the last Cardinal-brother who was able to serve his house, and whose character presents any circumstance of note. One of his predecessors eminently loved the "bottle;" the brother of Charles of Guise loved the bottle too; and if there were anything besides which he loved so well, it was a "battle." He characteristically lost his life by both. He was present at the siege of St. Jean d'Angely, held by the Protestants, in the year 1621. It was the 20th day of May, and the sun was shining with a power not known to our severer springs. The Cardinal, who "*aulico luxu et militari licentiâ traduxerat vitam*," fought like a fiend, and swore the while beyond even fiendish capacity. The time was high noon, and he himself was in the noonday of his wondrous vigour, some thirty-eight years of age. He was laying about him in the bloody *mêlée* which occurred in the suburb, when he paused for a while, panting for breath, and streaming with perspiration. He called for a flask of red wine, which he had scarcely quaffed, when he was seized with raging fever, which carried him off within a fortnight. He was a man who had enjoyed a fabulous revenue from his various sees, without ever visiting them. Despite these profits, his heart was so entirely in the camp, that, at the time of his death, a negotiation was being carried on, to procure from the Pope permission for the Cardinal to give up to his lay brother, the Duke de Chevreuse, all his benefices, and to receive in return the Duke's governorship of Auvergne. He was for ever in the saddle, and never more happy than when he saw another before him, with a resolute foe firmly seated therein. He lived the life of a soldier of fortune; and when peace temporarily reigned, he rode over the country with a band of followers, in search of adventures, and always finding them at the point of their swords. He left the

altar to draw on his boots, gird his sword to his hip, and provoke his cousin of Nevers to a duel, by striking him in the face. The indignant young Noble regretted that the profession of his insulter covered him with impunity, recommending him at the same time to abandon it, and give him satisfaction. "To the devil I sent it already," said the exemplary Cardinal, "when I flung off my frock and belted on my sword;"—and the two kinsmen would have had their weapons in each other's throat, but for the royal officers, who checked their Christian amusement.

This roystering Cardinal, who was interred with more pomp than if he had been a great saint, or a merely honest man, left five children. Their mother was Charlotte des Escars, and they were recognised as legitimate, on allegation that their parents had been duly married, upon papal dispensation! This is not the least curious circumstance in the history of the Church and the Guises. He was the last of the Cardinals; and Louis of Lorraine was not worse than his kinsmen. In some respects, he was better; for he scorned to add hypocrisy to the innate vices of his race. Of both the Dukes and Cardinals, great and illustrious as they have been designated, alike by Church and State, it may be fairly said, that there was not one of them who either served God or man, with a service that could win the approval of Heaven.

Neither the pride nor the pretensions of their house expired with the last of the Dukes. There were members of this family, whose arrogance was all the greater, because they were out of the direct line of succession, for which they showed themselves qualified by actions which their greater ancestors would have looked upon with contempt. Their little ambition was satisfied with the privilege granted to the ladies of Guise,—namely, that which they held in common with royal Princesses, of being presented at Court previously to their marriage. This small ambition, however, gained for them the hatred of the Nobles and the Princes of the Church, and at length caused a miniature insurrection in the palace of Versailles. The occasion was the grand ball given in honour of the nuptials of Marie-Antoinette and the Dauphin. Louis XV. had announced that he would open the brilliant scene, by dancing a minuet with Mlle. de Lorraine, sister of the Prince of Lambese. The "uproar" that ensued was terrific. The entire body of nobility protested against such marked precedence being allowed to the lady in question. The Archbishop of Rheims placed himself at the head of the opposing movement, and, assembling the indignant peerage, this successor of the Apostles, in company with his episcopal brother of Noyon, came to the solemnly important resolution,—that between the Princes of the blood-royal and the "*haute noblesse*" there could be no intermediate rank; and that Mlle. de Lorraine consequently could not take precedence of the female members of the aristocracy who had been "presented." A memorial was drawn up; the entire nobility, old and new, signed it eagerly; and the King was informed

therein, that, if he did not rescind his determination, no lady would dance at the ball,—after the minuet in question had been performed. The king protested that the distinction he had intended to confer on the lady had been asked of him by the Court of Vienna through a special Ambassador; that he had engaged himself, and could not retract; and that he begged the ecclesiastical and lay aristocracy to let it pass, and dance in proof of their love and their loyalty. But neither Bishops nor Baronesses would relent. The latter walked about the grand apartments, before the ball opened, in undress, expressed their resolution not to dance, and received archiepiscopal benison for their pious obstinacy! The King was in despair, and the serious crisis was only met by a compromise,—consisting chiefly of making the Dauphin and the Count d'Artois select partners from among the nobility, and not, as was *de rigueur* according to the law of minuets, from among Princesses of their own rank. The hour for opening the famous ball was retarded, in order to afford time to the female insurrectionists to dress; and as the last lights were extinguished after the banquet which followed, the two Prelates hardly knew whether they had been successful champions, or not, in the highly exemplary cause in which they had mingled their mitres.

With the Prince de Lambese, above named, the race of Guise disappeared altogether from the soil of France. He was Colonel of the cavalry regiment of *Royale Allemande*, which in 1789 came into collision with the people. The Prince was engaged, with his men, in dispersing a seditious mob. He struck one of the most conspicuous rioters with the flat of his sword; and this blow, dealt by a Guise, was the first given in the great Revolution, and helped to deprive Louis XVI. of his crown. Thus the race, whether as friends or foes, was doomed to be fatal to the throne and tranquillity of France. In this last case, the Prince de Lambese was compelled to fly the country, to escape the indignation of the people. Nearly three centuries before, his great ancestor, the boy of the mule, had entered the kingdom, and founded a family that increased in numbers and power against the throne, and against civil and religious liberty. And now, the sole survivor of that branch, as proud as the greatest of his house, having raised his finger against the freedom of the mob, was driven into exile, to seek refuge for a time, and a grave for age, on the banks of the distant Danube.

Is it, then, to be concluded that the family of Lorraine failed in its great object, and finally died out? By no means! When Cardinal Fleury annexed the Duchy of Lorraine to France, it was by arrangement with Austria; and, according to this arrangement, Francis of Lorraine received in exchange the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the hand of Maria-Theresa. Their heirs form the imperial house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. On two occasions have brides been selected therefrom to share the

throne of France; and on both occasions the occupiers of the throne were flung from their seats. When Marie-Antoinette married Louis the Dauphin, people muttered with prophetic significance, "Lorraine and France!" When Napoleon espoused Marie-Louise, some of the Bourbons were terrified at the idea of a new dynasty; but Louis XVIII., then at Hartwell, smiled gaily at the intelligence, and augured Napoleon's ruin from his alliance with the house of Lorraine. And so it was! The race is still fatal to liberty. As a proof of the assertion, it is only necessary to point to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the descendant of the Francis of Lorraine who married the Empress of Germany, and the representative of the house of Guise. The persecutor of the Madias, and gaoler of Miss Cunningham, is worthy of the descent of which he boasts. The bad blood of the Guises is, indeed, his; but he lacks their one solitary virtue,—the *bellica virtus* of courage.

It is simply by way of appendix that we mention the fact, that the last-born grandson of Louis-Philippe has just been endowed with the ominous title of Duke of Guise. Is there any significance in this? And will he cross the frontier of France, like his young predecessor, but not his ancestor, more than three centuries ago, and attempt to re-construct the greatness of Orleans, now nearly as extinct as the once perilous greatness of Guise? Thus we end, as we began, with a child, and with the remark of a French author, that "childhood and old age are the two extremes of life nearest to Heaven." Few indeed of the Guises ever reached to the honours of advanced years: they were mostly cut off in the lustihood of their manly season, when they went to seek that mercy from Heaven which they seldom vouchsafed to their fellows upon earth.

ART. VII.—*The Greek Testament: with a critically-revised Text; a Digest of Various Readings; Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage; Prolegomena; and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. For the Use of Theological Students and Ministers.* By HENRY ALFORD, M.A., Vicar of Wymeswold, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In Two (Three) Volumes. Vols. I. and II. 1849–1852. London: Rivingtons.

In entering on the field of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, we think it right to give explicit utterance to the feeling with which we are impressed, with reference to this peculiar department of literary labour, as being one in which we may not expatiate with the same freedom, either in thought or in expression, as that which on other subjects generally we claim the liberty of exercising. Entirely satisfied, as we are, of

the fact of their bearing the authoritative sanction of Divine inspiration, though we may not be prepared—who, indeed, is competent?—to lay down exactly the conditions under which that inspiration has been measured and directed, the Holy Scriptures are to us the “oracles of God.” They are thus, in our estimate, as matter of criticism and interpretation, placed in a position of their own,—a position not only distinct from, but immeasurably superior to, that of any other writings whatsoever. And they challenge at our hands a reverence, and impose upon us a reserve, somewhat as if their Great Author should repeat to us the charge given to the Jewish Legislator, on the first occasion of his being favoured with an immediate revelation,—“Take thy shoes from off thy feet: for the place whercon thou standest is holy ground.” There is, indeed, a vast difference between a primary and immediate revelation,—like that which was vouchsafed to Moses, “when God spake to him in the bush,” and on other occasions,—and a revelation transmitted through the medium of a written record. But, the word originally spoken, and the word subsequently written, being assumed to be substantially the same, the difference is in circumstances only. The sacredness and value of the revelation itself,—if “whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning,”—are in both cases absolutely equal; and the amount of reverence due to it in the latter case, is to be measured by the amount demanded for it in the former.

Let it not be supposed that in thus expressing the reserve with which we feel it our duty to approach a subject connected with so much of what is not only superhuman, but Divine, we are intending to deny to others, or even to forego for ourselves, the right of fair investigation and inquiry into every thing pertaining to it. So far as there exists material within our reach for that purpose, it is even more our duty than our right, to push legitimate inquiry to its utmost practicable limit. And the services which have been rendered by the extraordinary learning, and patient industry, and critical acumen of so many writers, we would be amongst the very foremost to acknowledge. We would even go so far as to confess the help which has been given, though often unintentionally, towards the consolidation of the proofs in favour of the truth and authority of Scripture, by sundry hostile or mistaken critics; who, by the easily demonstrable absurdity or feebleness of their respective theories, have shown how little can be done by the utmost ingenuity and learning, to overturn its claims as a Divine revelation, or to convert its veritable narratives and histories into uncertain myths, or its heavenly theology into a merely human and questionable dogmatism. As a result of the tests to which it has been subjected, it has the more triumphantly demonstrated the stability of the foundation upon which it rests; and through evil report and good report, it has maintained intact its distinguishing

pre-eminence, as "the word of the Lord, which liveth and abideth for ever." All that we claim is,—that the *whole* case shall be viewed in its integrity, and that, of the *facts* and *principles* which essentially belong to it, none shall be omitted. Let all the means which are available for just inquiry be brought to bear upon the questions of the genuineness and authenticity of the scriptural records. Let the supplementary questions of their fidelity to the original autographs, and their chronological arrangement and mutual harmony, be sifted by the most rigorous examination. And let the text itself, and its grammatical interpretation, be determined, as far as may be, by the ordinary and settled rules of criticism and interpretation. Only, let it be remembered that, above the names of the Patriarchs and Prophets, and Apostles and Evangelists, who were the human agents employed upon their composition, there stands the name of Him, by whose inspiration they purport to have been written, and who—if there be any truth or value in the theory of a Divine inspiration in connexion with these writings—is virtually their Author, and may not, with even *philosophical* propriety, nor without hazard of grave error and offence, have His Divine "Oracles" and "Word" weighed *merely* in the same balances, or tested in all respects by exactly the same rules, as those by which we are accustomed to decide our judgment with respect to simply human compositions.

To those who are extensively, or even moderately, acquainted with the works which have appeared upon the various branches of Scriptural Criticism and Interpretation, it must be obvious on reflection, if not at first sight, that to a serious extent the facts and principles which belong to this branch of it have been ignored; and the peculiar conditions under which some of them, at least, require to be examined, have been either virtually overlooked or utterly forgotten. The entire volume, and the several books of which it is composed, together with all sorts of questions as to its external history, its internal structure and arrangement, its meaning, and the coherence and harmony of its various parts, have been dealt with,—only not always with the same amount of fairness and candour,—nearly as they would have been, had there been nothing in connexion with them purporting to be Divine, either in their origin, or in the matter they contain. The entire system of Divine revelation, with almost every thing pertaining to it, has been treated of, upon a comprehension of its essential *data*, just as defective as if any one should undertake an explanation of the phenomena and facts of Physical Astronomy, ignoring all the while, or even utterly denying, the great law of universal gravitation. The inspiration of the Holy Spirit is, and must be, a fact as certain and pervading in the system of Divine revelation, as is the principle (or law) of gravitation in our planetary system. And there is thus, in each of these cases, what may be called a *central* fact, constituting

an essential *datum*, or condition, in any inquiry to be made, touching any movement or action which may take place in either of the two, respectively. We have, in the latter of these cases, various bodies moving in separate orbits, and exerting a mutual interaction on each other, so as to create apparent and, as it was once thought, even hazardous anomalies,—yet moving under the control of a law which gives perfection and inviolable permanence to the whole system. Thus, also, in the former case,—namely, the higher system of Divine Revelation,—each of the sacred writers moves, in some sort, in an orbit of his own. Still, all their movements are under the action of one law, by which the harmony of the whole system is infallibly secured. And, if we are not able to explain and reconcile the apparent anomalies and discrepancies, which have given occasion to so much inquiry and discussion, with the full certainty and satisfaction with which we are enabled to account for the apparent anomalies of the planetary system, it is simply because the *physical* law, which in the latter case both creates anomalies, and furnishes the means of their perfect explanation, is more obvious, and better understood, than the *spiritual* law, which is equally productive of apparent anomalies, but does not, in all cases, or in an equal degree, supply to *us* the means of explanation.

Let it be remembered, however, that these observations are not designed to bear upon the *general* character of the work which is before us, although there may be portions of it which appear to be in some degree open to the charge of being not sufficiently in harmony with what, as above stated, we cannot but regard as being the paramount law of Scriptural Criticism and Interpretation. Mr. Alford is no disciple of any of the schools to which either “Rationalism” or “Tractarianism” has given birth. On the contrary, he appears to be a strenuous opponent to them all, and takes frequent occasion to protest against their innovations, as being quite as much at variance with the principles of sober reasoning, as they are with the plain teaching of the Sacred Scriptures.

The announcement on the title-page of the two volumes which we propose to notice, is such as to create the expectation of a work of more than ordinary labour and exactness. Nor will the student, who may be induced by such an expectation to add them to the volumes which are already at his elbow, for reference and consultation, be altogether disappointed. But, previously to our saying more in favour of it, we are bound to premise, that to certain portions of the work, and especially to some of the principles of criticism and interpretation which appear in those portions, there are, in our judgment, grave exceptions; and that, on the ground of these exceptions, the recommendation to which its general merit would otherwise have given it a fair and honourable claim, must be qualified by abatements which we regret to

make, but which a due regard to the authority and sacredness of scriptural truth requires to be expressly stated. The entire work is not yet before the public. What was designed at first to be comprehended in two volumes, has, in the process of his work, so grown upon the author's hands, as to necessitate its being expanded to the extent of a third volume, which is not yet forthcoming. Any notice of the work, as a whole, must, therefore, of necessity be imperfect. But the contents of the two volumes already published furnish materials sufficiently abundant for a general Review.

The reader is requested (by the author) to consult certain chapters of the *Prolegomena*, (prefixed to the first volume,) before entering on the work itself; namely, those chapters which relate to the arrangement of the text,—the various readings,—the marginal references,—the MSS.,—the versions and the ancient writers referred to in connexion with the text. This is, of course, a necessary premonition, on the subject of every thing relating simply to the *text*, of which the present edition may be considered as being a new "Recension." But, for ourselves, before entering on these later chapters of the *Prolegomena*, thus especially commended to our attention, we have deemed it expedient to look somewhat carefully to the earlier chapters, as being more likely to afford the means of insight into the principles of criticism and interpretation embodied in the work at large. And to these earlier—and, to us, more deeply significant—portions of the *Prolegomena*, we must now request our reader's particular attention,—especially to the *first* chapter.

In this chapter, Mr. Alford, after describing, in the usual way, the general characteristics of the first three Gospels, as indicating, along with a mutual affinity to each other, a marked distinctness from the fourth Gospel; proceeds, on the ground of that distinctness, to a separate consideration of the *three*, with a view to a decision of the twofold question,—“how far they are to be considered as distinct narratives,—how far, as borrowed from each other.” And the result of his consideration is, that he does not “see how any theory of mutual interdependence will leave to our three Evangelists their credit as *able* or *trustworthy* writers, or even as *honest* men; nor can he find any such theory borne out by the nature of the variations apparent in the respective texts.”

It is assumed, that Mr. Alford has not adopted this conclusion without grave examination into the grounds on which he makes it to rest. But, for that very reason, he will be prepared to expect, that neither will his readers be disposed to accept the very sweeping judgment which he has pronounced, without a previous and careful comparison of the arguments alleged in its support, with the more numerous and lengthened arguments by which others of no mean authority have been conducted to a different conclusion. Mr. Alford professes to “observe the evidence fur-

nished by the Gospels themselves," in whatever order the three Gospels more especially in question may be arranged; and he presumes that each of the Evangelists would be "anxious to give an accurate and consistent account of the great events of redemption." He then raises an argument which, for convenience, may be arranged in the form of a destructive hypothetical sorites, as follows:—

1. If the Gospels be mutually supplementary, "two of them, respectively, sat down with one or two of the present narratives before them."

2. If they had the narratives before them, "we are reduced to adopt one or other of the following suppositions:—

"Either, (α.) they found those other Gospels insufficient, and were anxious to supply what was wanting:

"Or, (β.) they believed them to be erroneous, and proposed to correct what was inaccurate:

"Or, (γ.) they wished to adapt their contents to a different class of readers, incorporating, at the same time, whatever additional matter they possessed:

"Or, (δ.) receiving them as authentic, they borrowed from them such parts as they purposed to relate in common with them:

3. "Or, (ε.) they fraudulently plagiarized from them, slightly disguising the common matter, so as to make it appear their own."

3. Not one of these suppositions can be shown to be tenable.

Therefore, 4. The Gospels are not mutually supplementary.

In alleging this conclusion, he virtually tells those of his readers who demur to it, that the only possible alternative is, to suppose two of the Evangelists, at least, to have been guilty of fraudulent plagiarism. Of course, rather than be thrown on such an alternative as this, were there in reality no other possible, we would accept Mr. Alford's conclusion, "with all its imperfections on its head." But, happily, we are not bound to the dilemma he has stated. His reasoning is plausible; but it is so far from being fairly conclusive, that it fails in both the propositions, on which the truth of the conclusion mainly depends. The *consequent*, in Proposition 1, does not necessarily follow from the *antecedent*, but is a purely gratuitous assumption. Greswell, amongst others,—the Coryphæus of all harmonists,—in arguing for the interdependence in question, does not think it necessary to suppose that "two of them, respectively, sat down with one or two of our present narratives before them." He only says that, "excepting on the supposition, that every one of the three Gospels was composed at the same time and in different places, it would be a moral impossibility that St. Matthew's Gospel could actually be in existence before St. Mark wrote his, and yet not be known to him; and equally so, that if known to him before he wrote his own, it could be deliberately disregarded by him when he was writing it; that the same impossibility will hold good of St. Luke: so that, except on the supposition before mentioned, we could not, however much we might consider it

necessary, keep a later Evangelist in ignorance of the existence of a prior ;” and that, the Gospels being (first) proved, by a comparison of their contents, to be supplementary to each other, “the supplementary Evangelist wrote, not only after, but with an express relation to the more defective, and that he had therefore seen, and was acquainted with, his Gospel.” Of course this inference is not exactly contradictory to that of Mr. Alford ; but it differs from it, as a part differs from the whole. The inference of Mr. Alford, from the *hypothesis* of mutual interdependence, comprehends not only all that is contained in Mr. Greswell’s inference, drawn from it as a *fact* which he holds to be demonstrated, but, it may be, considerably more. Even admitting that the *material fallacy*, which lurks in Proposition 1, might be allowed to pass, as vitiating only in part the remainder of the reasoning, we demur to Proposition 2, as not including all the “suppositions” of which, at this stage of the reasoning, the case is capable. We might, surely, be allowed to add, as a *sixth* “supposition,” a *combination* of two or more of those of Mr. Alford, as Rosenmüller has done ; who was of opinion, that “Mark and Luke made use of Matthew, as having been ‘an eyewitness and minister of the word,’ but that some things they added, and admitted some, according as they judged them to be necessary or useful to their readers.”* We might further introduce a *seventh* supposition (nay, something vastly more than a supposition) by recognising in the case an element, which many writers (Mr. Alford amongst others) have wholly omitted in their reasoning on the particular point in question ; namely, that of the suggestive and over-ruling influence of Divine inspiration : or, without adding to the number of Mr. Alford’s suppositions, we should still hesitate to admit, that his showing proves them all to be utterly untenable.

With respect to “supposition” (α), he argues that Mark cannot be supplementary to Matthew, because in that case the “*shorter* Gospel would follow the *fuller*.” The answer is, that “Mark, being in those (events and discourses) which he does narrate the fullest and most particular of the three,” may surely, on that ground, be regarded as being *supplementary* to those *parts* of Matthew which are common to both, although not, in respect of entire bulk, an *expansion of the whole*. For the same reason, Mark “narrating fewer events and discourses” than Luke, the latter may be regarded as being, in this respect, supplementary to the former.

As to “supposition” (β), we agree with Mr. Alford, that “much need not be said ;” first, because in our judgment it is almost equally inadmissible with “supposition” (ϵ) ; and, secondly, because, even though it were otherwise, we see as little force in

* “*Marcus et Lucas Matthæum utpote αὐτόπτην et ὑπηρέτην τοῦ λόγου adhibuerunt, prout lectoribus suis necessaria vel utilia putarent.*”—*Scholia in Matthæum*, p. 6.

the reasons which he has alleged against it, as we see of importance in the supposition itself.

Against "supposition" (δ), Mr. Alford alleges, that "in no one case does any Evangelist borrow from another any considerable part of even a single narrative; for such borrowing would imply verbal coincidence, unless in the case of strong Hebraistic idiom, or other assignable peculiarity." This is a surprising statement; especially, the former part of it. Griesbach, "by an elaborate comparison of the three Evangelists together," undertakes "to show that St. Mark does not contain more than twenty verses, which he might not have taken either from St. Matthew or St. Luke."* And Mr. Greswell, after more than equal labour on the subject, is of opinion, that "it is utterly inconceivable that in four distinct and independent histories," each of which was composed apart from the rest, any such clear and decided coincidences (as those which his "Harmony" so plainly exhibits) "should be found to hold good;" and that "nothing but design, and the direct accommodation of one, and consequently a later, to another, and consequently a prior, account, could be adequate to produce them."† Further, Olshausen pronounces, that "*sometimes* one Evangelist was certainly made use of by another;" and that "this remark is particularly applicable to Mark, who undoubtedly was acquainted with, and made use of, both Matthew and Luke."‡ Amidst the conflict of opinions which has existed, and still exists, upon this subject, it is difficult to determine very satisfactorily, which of those opinions is best entitled to acceptance. For the present, it is sufficient for our purpose to say, that the preponderance, whether of evidence or argument, is not, in our judgment, on the side of Mr. Alford; and that, on the whole, for the reasons above stated, his conclusion, to the effect that the Gospels are not supplementary to each other, may be regarded as *not proven*.

It is to be regretted that, in common with many others, Mr. Alford, in the reasoning just now examined, should have ignored, as he has done, the *Divine inspiration*—whether that inspiration were more or less—under which the Gospels must have been composed. For any thing that appears to the contrary, in *that* reasoning, the Evangelists might have been left to gather their materials, and frame their compositions, without the assistance or guidance of any other will or wisdom than their own.

Mr. Alford does not at all question the fact of their having been divinely inspired, at the time of their writing. In another chapter of the Prolegomena he expressly affirms it. But why, then, in the prosecution of an argument which professes to include *all* the suppositions, on one or more of which alone the Gospels could have been designed to be interdependent or supplementary

* Greswell's "Dissertations," vol. i., p. 28.

† Greswell, p. 17.

‡ Olshausen On the Gospels, p. 26.

to each other,—why, we ask, did he, under these circumstances, *exclude* the supposition, that He by whom the writers were “in some sort” inspired, and who must needs have had a deeper interest in these writings than any other being in the universe, so guided and controlled the writers, as that, without fusing either their minds or their productions into a common mould, He yet made their work substantially His own?—the more so, because He foreknew that “their line” would “go out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world,” as being, equally with the books of the Old Testament, integral portions of that “Scripture” which “is given by inspiration of God.” On *this* supposition, the Gospels—whether the later Evangelists did, or did not, “sit down with copies of the earlier Gospels before them”—*might* have been designed by their great Author to be supplementary to each other,—as many persons, on weighing the whole case, will continue to believe. Or, still holding, with Calvin, that Matthew’s Gospel was never seen by Mark, nor Mark’s Gospel by Luke, Mr. Alford might also, with him, have regarded both the discrepancies and the resemblances, observable amongst them, as being sufficiently accounted for,—independently of the supposition of any *πρωτευαγγέλιον*, oral or written,—on the two following grounds:—*first*, that the diversity which is observable was not purposely intended on the part of the respective writers, each of them simply intending to commit to writing what he believed to be certainly established, but at the same time adopting that plan which he thought would be the best; and, *secondly*, that as that diversity was not fortuitous, but under the direction of the providence of God, so the Holy Spirit suggested to them a wonderful agreement, in the midst of that diversity, such as is almost sufficient of itself to establish their veracity, even if higher proof of it on other grounds were wanting.* Upon the supposition adopted by Calvin and Mr. Alford, that the authors of the Gospels were not acquainted with each other’s compositions, Mr. Greswell, very much in the spirit of the great Reformer, says, “There is but one alternative left:”—the alternative which Mr. Alford has omitted:—“the authors of the later Gospels (on the supposition of their having a supplementary relation to each other) must have been supernaturally controlled; and, in the selection, disposal, and circumstantial narration of their respective accounts, must have been, unconsciously to themselves, adapted in this critical manner to one another, by the direction of the Holy

* “*Nam quæ in tribus ipsis apparet diversitas, eam non dicemus datâ operâ fuisse affectatam, sed quum singulis propositum esset bonâ fide mandare litteris, quod certum compertumque habebant, rationem quisque tenuit, quam optimam fore censebat. Quemadmodum autem id non fortuito contigit, sed moderante Dei Providentiâ, ita Spiritus Sanctus in diversâ scribendi formâ mirabilem illis consensum suggessit, qui solus ferè ad fidem illis astruendam sufficeret, si non aliunde major suppeteret auctoritas.*”—*Argumentum in Evangelium, sec. Matt., Marc., et Luc., p. vii.*

Ghost. This supposition would serve for the purpose of our argument, as well as any other." They who are so disposed may therefore adhere to the simple and natural alternative, that the authors of the Gospels were acquainted with each other's compositions, "which, with no violence to antecedent probability; with no risk to the infallibility or credibility of the Evangelists; without denying their common inspiration, yet without the interposition of this principle needlessly, or straining it to a degree which is the utmost it can bear; will account for the same effect just as well."* Or, if this may not be,—they may take refuge from the miserable alternative of Mr. Alford, in the more cheering and scriptural alternative of Mr. Greswell.

After all, we are inclined to doubt whether far more labour has not been employed upon the question of the "sources" of the Gospels, and the circumstances under which they came into their present form, than is justified, either by its intrinsic value, or by any bearing which it may be supposed to have on our investigation of the ulterior question of their genuineness and authenticity. We should scarcely have noticed it at so great a length, were it not that Mr. Alford has considered it to be of so much importance as to have constantly referred to it throughout his Commentary, both on the Gospels and the Acts. As a matter of literary curiosity, it is invested with considerable interest. But historical materials are far too scanty to furnish, of themselves, a satisfactory solution; and the real value of any supplemental aid from mere conjecture, in compensation for the historical defect, towards the establishment of any particular theory, is *inversely* in proportion to the amount of that doubtful and very cheap material, "may be," which is required to make it good. The licence of conjecture, also, claimed in its favour, may, to a commensurate extent, be used against it. Moreover, the *internal evidence*, which, in questions of this kind, is of the greatest moment next to the *historical*, has been urged in support of the most widely diverse, and even contradictory, conclusions. The general result, however, of the controversies which have taken place, has not been altogether unsatisfactory. By various *routes*, indeed, but with a harmony which is the more delightful and important, from the contrast which it exhibits to antecedent differences, the disputants, with few exceptions, concur at least in one conclusion,—namely, that the Gospels, as handed down to us,—excepting comparatively few and unimportant textual errors,—are to be received as bearing the unquestionable stamp of apostolical, and therefore of Divine, authority.

Of course, this apostolicity of the Gospels implies the important fact of their having been written under a Divine *inspiration*. And it is this fact which makes them, in connexion with the rest of Holy Scripture, the supreme rule of faith and practice, and

* Greswell's "Dissertations," vol. i., p. 70.

the ultimate standard of appeal on all questions relating either to the one or to the other. In his dealing with this subject, Mr. Alford is far from being satisfactory. That the Gospels are to be regarded as having been, "in some sense," inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, he admits to have been "the concurrent belief of the Christian body in all ages." But the *qualifying clause* with which this introduction of the subject is connected, and some of the *reserves* which are subsequently introduced, in abatement of the theory of plenary inspiration, have awakened in us some anxiety. Not that we question his general orthodoxy on the subject, but that he has given a definition of the term *inspiration*, so crippled and restricted, as to imperil the whole theory, even in that modified form in which he is most anxious to conserve it. That portion of the definition which is *positive* is inevitably tainted by some, at least, of the *negatives* with which, in the form of exceptions, he has thought proper to connect it. He allows that the inspiration in question enabled the Evangelists to "record as said by the Lord *what he truly did say*, and not any words of their own invention;" that the miracles were, under the same gracious assistance, brought back to the minds of the Apostles, on the authority of whose *oral* teaching he supposes the Gospels to have been written; and that herein the Apostles were gifted with a "Divine discrimination," which enabled them to judge of the records of those events of which they had not been eye-witnesses. And, so far, all is well. But these *positive* admissions in favour of the Divine inspiration of the writers of the Gospels generally, are guarded by sundry *negations*,—to the effect, that the Apostles were "not transformed, from being men of individual character and thought and feeling, into mere channels for the transmission of infallible truth;" "that they were not put in possession at once of the Divine counsel with regard to the Church;" "that they had no more direct Divine guidance than that general teaching which, in main and essential points, should insure entire accordance;" "that we are not justified in supposing any immediate revelation of the arrangement to be made, or the chronological notices to be given, or any supernatural information as to distances from place to place, or citations or dates from history; but that in all these matters they were left, in common with others, to the guidance of their natural faculties." Such is the two-fold rule by which, according to the showing of Mr. Alford, the character and extent of Divine inspiration are to be estimated; and, in his judgment, that part of it which is positive, and that which is negative, have an authority and certainty equally unquestionable. But to the *latter* portion of the rule we are inclined to interpose a demur. It wears, indeed, a very innocent and plausible aspect, and is not, perhaps, in *all* respects objectionable; but let its meaning and value be tried by an example, which Mr. Alford himself has cited by way of

proof and illustration. "In the last apology of Stephen," says Mr. Alford, "which he spoke being full of the Holy Ghost, and with Divine influence beaming on his countenance, we have at least *two demonstrable historical mistakes*." Now, what were the facts of the case? The proto-martyr of the Christian Church, as he stood before the Council at Jerusalem, was precisely in the circumstances to which our Lord referred, when He said to His disciples, "They shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten: and ye shall be brought before Rulers and Kings for my sake. But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost." In this instance surely, if ever, there was a clear and unquestionable case of plenary inspiration; and it was the Holy Ghost, and not Stephen, that was really responsible for all that was spoken. Does Mr. Alford mean to say, that "He, the Spirit of truth," committed "*two demonstrable historical mistakes*?" His theory of inspiration, taken in connexion with his construction of the narrative, requires us to admit this. But we say, "Let God be true, though every man be found a liar." And we repudiate the theory which would lead us to an opposite conclusion, as being, on scriptural authority, exploded by a practical *reductio ad absurdum*.

Independently of such a demonstration of the untenableness of the latter portion of this rule, Mr. Alford ought to have hesitated, more than he appears to have done, ere he allowed himself to embrace the conclusion, by which he thinks it is supported. The discrepancies which he lays to the account of Stephen, as "*demonstrable mistakes*," are not incapable of being reconciled to the passages with which they seem to be at variance, as has been shown by several commentators. Or, even on the supposition that such reconciliation was impossible, there was some other possible hypothesis on which Stephen himself (to say nothing of the inspiration under which he spoke) might have been held clear of the error and infirmity which have been charged upon him. Besides, let it be remembered, that the conclusion of Mr. Alford, if it might be adopted, would be found to jeopardize the whole system of Christian doctrine; since that doctrine rests, to a great extent, upon the historical facts recorded in the Scriptures; and if Stephen, even when *speaking* under Divine inspiration, fell into "*historical mistakes*," it is equally possible for other persons, writing under similar inspiration, to be guilty of similar mistakes. And thus, the certainty of Scriptural truth might be exchanged for undefinable contingencies, for which it would be utterly unreasonable to challenge an implicit confidence. If Mr. Alford eschew this conclusion, let him give up, or modify, the premises from which it is deducible.

In the *arrangement of the text* of the *first* volume, comprehending the Gospels, Mr. Alford has proceeded on the following rules:—

“(a.) Wherever the *primary* MSS.* are unanimous in any reading affecting the sense, I have adopted their reading, to the rejection of the commonly received text (*‘textus receptus’*). It sometimes happens, from the frequent *lacunæ* in the primary MSS., that some portions are contained in only two, or even one, of them. In that case, I have not carried out the above principle inflexibly, but have weighed secondary circumstances, such as the concurrence of versions, or Fathers, and later MSS.; and, where I have not altered the received text, have marked it as probably spurious.”

“(β.) Where the primary MSS. are divided, some entertaining the received text, and others a different one, I have retained the received reading, marking it as *‘doubtful.’*—And that the reader may at once perceive what are the primary MSS. authorities, containing any given passage, I have throughout marked them in the inner margin, indicating where the *lacunæ* in the MSS. occur.”

Immediately underneath the text is a copious *digest of various readings*, in which, after the example of Lachmann, are given “the primary authorities on which *the reading adopted in the text rests*, and not merely the authorities containing those readings which differ from it.” Of “the *secondary* authorities† *for the existing or adopted text*” there is yet no complete digest. “Tischendorf (second edition) has given them in many more cases than had been done before,” and Mr. Alford has “partially supplied them (Luke xviii., *et seq.*) from that source; still, however, in many cases they are unascertained.”

The authorities which he reckons to be primary, are the following Codices, viz., (A), (B), (C), (D), (P), (Q), (T), and (Z) of Griesbach’s enumeration. The authorities accounted to be *secondary*, are all the remaining uncial MSS. in the catalogue of Griesbach; except that, *first*, to Codex (O), which Tischendorf “rejects as being merely the fragment of an *Evangelisterium*,” he adds, under the *same* letter, the “Codex Mosquensis,” containing fragments of John, brought from Mount Athos, and edited by Matthæi in 1785; and, secondly, on the same authority, and for a similar reason, to Codex (R) of Griesbach, he adds, the “Codex Neapolitanus Rescriptus,” containing, *beneath* more recent ecclesiastical writing, twelve or fourteen leaves of an ancient MS. of the Gospels, probably of the eighth century. He also adds to the authorities accepted from Griesbach’s Catalogue, the following MSS., namely, (V), a MS. in the Library of the Holy Synod of Moscow, containing the Gospels as far as John vii. 39, in uncial letters of the eighth or ninth century,—after that, in cursive characters of

* Under the head of “*primary* MSS.,” or “MSS. of *first* class authority,” Mr. Alford reckons those which were written in the large capital, or uncial, character, before the close of the sixth century.

† MSS. in the uncial character, subsequently to the sixth century.

the thirteenth; (W), a Fragment in the Royal Library of Paris, containing two leaves; (Y), a Fragment in the Barberini Library, containing John (xvi. 3; xix. 41), text Alexandrine, assigned to the eighth or ninth century, edited by Tischendorf; (Γ), a Fragment, forming five leaves of the same Codex as the Codex Cottonianus (I), in the British Museum, of the Gospel of Matthew, once attached to a Latin MS. in the Vatican, edited by Tischendorf; (Δ), the Codex San Gallensis, in the Library at St. Gall, containing the Gospels, with a Latin version, edited by Rettig, at Zurich, in 1836.

These are all the uncial MSS. cited in Mr. Alford's "Digest" as secondary authorities; the two portions of *Codices*, (Θ) and (Δ), found by Tischendorf in the East, (and containing fragments of Matthew, of the seventh and ninth centuries respectively,) not being otherwise mentioned than as belonging to the catalogue of authorities of that class. With respect to authorities inferior to the primary and secondary, Mr. Alford says,—

"Of MSS. written in the small letter or cursive character, four hundred and sixty-nine have been more or less collated, and their readings specified by Scholz. These, in my 'Digest,' I have not enumerated, but have merely given the *number* (of those) which agree in the readings, after the primary and secondary authorities."

"Of MS. *Evangelisteria*, or collections of lessons from the Gospels, Scholz enumerates one hundred and eighty-one; a few in uncial characters, but most of them cursive; none older than the eighth century, and the greater number much later."

The authorities last mentioned are not used in Mr. Alford's "Digest;" but he makes considerable use of early versions, particularly the ancient *Italic* in MSS., the Vulgate, the two Syriac, the Coptic, the Sahidic, the Æthiopic, and the Armenian, and also of the Fathers and other ancient Christian writers.

It should be added that the references, in the external margin of this edition of the Greek Testament, are not those usually printed in other editions. Those are references to the *subject-matter* of the text. But, instead of them, Mr. Alford has drawn up a body of references to verbal and *idiomatical usages*, from the text of the Greek Testament itself, from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and from the Apocrypha. This is an innovation on the old practice, but it is in harmony with the object of the work, as being intended to be critically *philological*, as well as theologically *exegetical*.

The reader should be here apprized, that the arrangement of the text of the Gospels, above given, is to be considered as having been "a provisional compromise, for use in this country, between the received text and one which should be based on a thorough critical examination of evidence, both external and internal." In the progress of his work, Mr. Alford was led to the conviction, that such an arrangement was "a great mistake," as proceeding on "too high an estimate of the authority of the

most ancient MSS., and too low an one of the importance of internal evidence," as well as for other reasons, which he specifies.

In the *second* volume, therefore, comprehending the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, he has constructed the text on what he very properly regards as being "more worthy principles;" and has employed upon it, not merely the testimony of MSS., but also certain critical maxims, which appear to furnish sound criteria of a genuine or spurious reading. With reference to this object, he recognises, in the main, the three great families which Griesbach and others have marked out, but is of opinion that both he and his followers have pressed this classification somewhat arbitrarily, and to an undue degree. And he has reprinted, "for the use of students," Griesbach's "excellent" critical "Rules," with several illustrative and interesting notes, as being those in accordance with which the text of this volume has been arranged. Several improvements, as to marks used in the text, punctuation, and other matters, have also been adopted. The digest of various readings is more copiously given than in the preceding volume, and the *reason* for the adoption or rejection of any various reading is given in every case.

In his *Apparatus Criticus* he has, as in the preceding volume, the advantage of several *uncial* and cursive MSS., in addition to those which are included in the catalogues of Griesbach.

It is a circumstance to be regretted, that the text of this new edition of the Greek Testament should not have been constructed throughout on the same rules and principles. For, just in proportion as the rules and principles adopted in the later volume (or volumes) are superior to those which were adopted in the first, that first volume is defective; and, further, the difference in question will be likely to create a confusion, which, in mercy to the poor student, ought, if possible, to have been avoided.

This inconvenience may not, probably, affect future purchasers. For, as we are informed, the first volume is already "out of print;" and the reprint of it, it may be hoped, as well as the *third* volume, which has yet to make its appearance, will be so managed, as that the arrangement of the text, and of everything connected with it, shall be uniform through all the volumes.

Mr. Alford takes occasion to remark that his judgments, as to the "readings most likely to have stood in the original text, are, of course, open to be questioned;" and then consoles himself with the notion, that, at the worst, he will be only one of a multitude of sufferers in the same way, inasmuch as "in many cases the reading will perhaps never be entirely agreed upon." And he is equally wise in his forecasting of objections, and in the philosophical *sang-froid* with which he extracts comfort from the thought that he will not be alone in his trouble! But, supposing the *text* to be satisfactorily settled, still, with

respect to the "Critical and Exegetical Commentary," which forms so large a portion of the work, it may be expected that somewhat different opinions will be entertained, both as to its general correctness and as to its intrinsic value. And by the majority of those for whose use it is especially designed, this portion will be more frequently referred to, and more earnestly studied, than either the "*Prolegomena*," on which its author has expended so much labour, or the practical bearing and uses of the "*Apparatus Criticus*," which, with so formidable an array of thick-set references and authorities, encloses and protects the *letter* of the text. Not that the comment is more important than the text, but that, with reference to the great purposes for which the Scriptures have been given, the true criticism and exegesis of that overwhelming proportion of the text which is generally considered to be sufficiently determined, are certainly of much greater interest and value, than any farther adjustment of comparatively unimportant *various readings*, which the sifting of conflicting authorities is likely to accomplish.

The philological criticisms which are scattered through the commentary, afford much valuable information. But, in several of the *rules* which Mr. Alford has laid down as to the signification of particular words and phrases, we regret to notice indications of a hastiness similar to that which led him to arrange his text, in the first instance, on principles which he subsequently saw it right to modify. For instance, on the words, τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν, κ. τ. λ., "All this was done, that what was spoken," &c., "might be fulfilled,"* he says, "It is impossible to interpret ἵνα in any other sense than '*in order that*.' The words τοῦτο δ. ὅ. γέγ., and the uniform usage of the New Testament, in which ἵνα is *never* used except in this sense, forbid any other." Now, in this instance, the sense assigned by Mr. Alford may, perhaps, be granted. But, in such passages as these, "It is better for thee *that* (ἵνα) one of thy members should perish,"—"it is expedient for you that (ἵνα) I go away;"—some other than his Procrustean meaning must surely be admitted. And in such cases as the following, at least, we may, without offence, take leave to go with Hoogeveen and Glassius,† in understanding ἵνα to be therein equivalent to ὥστε, (*effectum notans*,) or, *adeo ut*: "These are contrary the one to the other, *so that* (ἵνα) ye do not the things that ye would,"‡—"They understood not that saying, and it was hid from them, (*so*) *that* (ἵνα) they perceived it not,"§—"Ye were made sorry after a godly manner, *so that* (ἵνα) ye received damage by us in nothing,"||—"they repented not of the works of their hands, *that* they should not worship," or, "so as not to worship," (ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσωσι,) "devils," &c.¶ The employment of ἵνα, in the sense required in these passages,

* Matt. i. 22.

† Hoogeveen, *Doctr. Partic. Græc.*, sub *voc.*—Glassii *Philologia Sacra*, lib. i. tract. 7.

‡ Gal. v. 17.

§ Luke ix. 45.

|| 2 Cor. vii. 9.

¶ Rev. ix. 20.

may be, as it is called by Hoogeveen, a "*rarior usus*;" and, on account of the close relationship subsisting between it and the sense demanded by Mr. Alford's rule, a doubt may sometimes arise, which of the two meanings is intended;* but the meaning we contend for cannot be entirely abandoned, without an obvious impropriety, and an opening of the door to Necessitarianism, in one of its worst and most offensive forms.

Again, in his note on Luke i. 4, "That thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed," (περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων,) he says, "λόγων is not to be rendered 'things;' neither it, nor ῥῆμα, nor דבר, ever have this meaning, as is commonly, but erroneously, supposed. In all the commonly-cited examples of this, 'things expressed in words' are meant; here, 'the histories,' 'accounts.'"

The theory which he has adopted,—to the effect, that the origin of the Gospels is to be found, to a considerable extent, in "the generally-received oral narrative of the Apostles delivered to the Catechumens of the various Churches,"—very naturally suggested to his mind the rendering which he proposes in this passage; though, in reality, it is but little that he gains by it. The amendment, trifling as it is, may be correct. But it was too much for him, in the face of the numerous and formidable authorities which are against him, to propound thereupon a rule so sweeping and absolute as that which we have quoted. With respect to דבר and λόγος, to say nothing of ῥῆμα, the best lexicographers are agreed in admitting that in several cases "a *matter*," or a "thing,"† or *res de quâ agitur*, is a proper rendering for each of them respectively; or, to use the words of Liddell and Scott, "the *thing referred to*, the *material* and not the *formal* part." And, in proof of the correctness of these various lexicographers, the following examples, in which the English words answering to the words דבר and λόγος, respectively, are printed in *italics*, may be cited as examples:—

In *Hebrew*:—

"Is any *thing* too hard for thee?"—Gen. xviii. 14.

"What sawest thou, that thou hast done this *thing*?"—Gen. xx. 10.

"Every *thing* that may abide the fire, ye shall make go through the fire."—Num. xxxi. 23.

"My father will do no *thing* great or small;" literally, "will do no great *thing*, or small *thing*."—1 Sam. xx. 2.

"Do not this abominable *thing* that I hate."—Jerem. xlv. 4.

In *Greek*:—

"I also will ask you one *thing*."—Matt xxi. 24.

* Hoogeveen gives an instance of this apparent ambiguity, from Aristophanes:—

— "ὁ δὲ μ' ἐποίησε τυφλόν,

"ἵνα μὴ διαγινώσκωμι τούτων μηδένα."—*Plut.* v. 91.

† Λόγος.—"Ita orationem seu verba significat interdum, ut etiam ponatur pro re quæ verbis exprimitur."—*Steph. Lexic., sub voc.*

"He began to blaze abroad the *matter*."—Mark i. 45.

"Thou hast neither part nor lot in this *matter*."—Acts xviii. 21.

To these, if Liddell and Scott are correct, as doubtless they are, in saying that "*λόγος* never means a *word* in the grammatical sense," the following example must be added:—

"No one could answer him any *thing*."—(E. V. "a word.")

Examples of a similar use of the word *λόγος* might easily be cited from profane authors; but they might not be considered to be equally available with examples out of the New Testament. They are therefore omitted.

Further, in his note on Matt. ix. 16, Mr. Alford observes,—
 "Not, 'a worse rent takes place;' but, as in E. V., 'the rent becomes worse.'" He then adds,—
 "The usage is, when the whole subject, or the subject and predicate, as here, precede a verb substantive, to omit the article. So, in the interpretation of the Parable of the Tares, in chap. xiii., *ὁ ἀγρός ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος*,—*οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ*,—*ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ διάβολος* but, *ὁ θερισμὸς συντέλεια τοῦ αἰώνος ἐστὶν, οἱ θερισταὶ ἄγγελοι εἰσιν*." The "usage" assumed is not very clearly stated, there being an ambiguity in the wording of it. The examples, however, which are alleged in proof, are of course designed especially to show that, in the sentence, *χείρον σχίσμα γίνεται*, the *subject*, *σχίσμα*, may (or must) have the definite article prefixed to it in its English translation ("the rent"); and that it is anarthrous in the original, simply because "the subject and predicate precede a verb substantive." But, of the five examples adduced, the forms of the first three prove nothing as to their logical and grammatical structure, but that they are "*simply convertible or reciprocating propositions*;"* and, in the last two examples, if they be not also of the same class, it is the *predicate* (and not the subject) that is without the article; and so they prove nothing to the *point in question*. That the mere placing of the predicate, as well as the subject, before a substantive, does not deprive the subject of the *article*, which would otherwise have been prefixed to it, is seen in such examples as the following:—*ὁ κληρονόμος νῆπιός ἐστιν* (Gal. iv. 1;) *ἡ γλῶσσα μικρὸν μέλος ἐστίν*. (James iii. 5.)

Again, we are of opinion that reasonable exception may be taken against the tone of authority, with which, in reference to the sense of the word *νόμος*, in the Epistle to the Romans, he says:—"Not 'law,' but '*the law*,'—as every where in the Epistle. We may safely say that the Apostle never argues of law *abstract*, in the sense of a *system of precepts*, its attributes, or its effects,—but always of '*THE LAW*,' *concrete*,—*the law of God given by Moses*, when speaking of the Jews: *the law of God*, in as far as written on their consciences, when speaking of

* Propositions "such, that, of either term taken as the Subject, the other may be affirmed as a Predicate. Such propositions, therefore, will have the Article prefixed to both terms alike, neither of them being the *subject* more than the other."—*Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article*, chap. iii. § 4.

the Gentiles: and, when speaking of both, *the law of God, generally.*" There is ample scope for argument against this very absolute and stringent *dictum*. But to do justice to the subject would carry us beyond the space to which we are restricted. We shall, therefore, only say, that it is a *dictum* too large to be immediately accepted,—in the naked form in which it is presented,—against the judgment of Macknight, Middleton, and others, who, with much force of reasoning, have maintained a different opinion; so that, for the present, we are disposed to hold, with the last-mentioned writer, that νόμος, in many passages of the Epistles, has a much wider meaning than that to which Mr. Alford would restrict it: and "that our English version, by having almost constantly said 'the law,' whatever be the meaning of νόμος in the original, has made this most difficult Epistle still more obscure."*

In the same way Mr. Alford appears to have been betrayed into some other faults, which, with more caution, would probably have been avoided. The following is an example. Speaking of that part of the Sermon on the Mount, in which there is the recurrence of the words, "It was said by (to) them of old time," &c.,—"but I say unto you,"—he remarks:—"Meyer has well observed that ἐρρήθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις corresponds to λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, and the ἐγὼ to the understood subject of ἐρρήθη. He has not, however, apprehended the deeper truth,—which underlies the omission of the subject of ἐρρήθη,—that it was the *same person* who said both." But this "deeper truth," as Mr. Alford supposes it to be, does not appear to harmonize with the *emphasis* which belongs to ἐγὼ; on the contrary, it destroys it altogether. And, further, with respect to what comes afterwards, namely, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you," &c.,—the supposition makes our Lord contrast His own teaching at one time, somewhat strangely, with His teaching at another. This awkwardness might, perhaps, have been avoided, if Mr. Alford had been content with saying, that "the latter part of this maxim was a gloss of the Rabbis." But, unfortunately, he has added what, on his supposition, neither does honour to our Saviour, nor is capable of proof,—that "it is a *true representation of the spirit* of the law, which was enacted for the Jews, as a theocratic people, and would include the *odium humani generis*, with which the Jews were so often charged." To borrow the language of a writer, who was remarkable for his faculty of insight into the "deeper truths which underlie" the letter of the Scriptures,—although "their peculiar circumstances gave to the Jews, in the best times, something of an exclusive character, yet their benevolence was not to be confined to those of their own country merely; nor was the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour,' so understood. There were 'strangers' dwelling

* Middleton's "Doctrine of the Greek Article," note on Rom. ii. 13.

among the Israelites, whom the law of Moses commanded them to love and protect. And, though the more modern Jews contended that, by such 'strangers,' proselytes were meant, it would seem—from the parable of the good Samaritan, which was designed to answer the question, 'Who is my neighbour?'—that the law, in its *original sense*, contemplated every man as a neighbour, so as to compassionate and relieve his distresses, without respect to country or religion."*

Before quitting the *philological* portion of the commentary, a brief allusion may be made to the difficulty which has been experienced, in the attempt to fix the proper rendering of the expression, (Mark xiv. 72,) ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε, "*when he thought thereon, he wept.*" (E. V.) "No satisfactory meaning," says Mr. Alford, "has yet been given for this word," ἐπιβαλὼν. Even the sense which, to him, appears "the best," he admits to be "not wholly satisfactory." There is still, therefore, some room for examination and conjecture; and where direct authorities are scarce, or altogether wanting, for the settlement of its true meaning, analogical authorities may be resorted to, and may not be altogether useless. On this principle, it being already generally admitted, that one meaning of the word ἐπιβάλλω is, *to give one's self wholly to a thing*,† a query may be suggested, whether, in this case, ἐπιβαλὼν is not used *adverbially*, as other participles are often used;—that is to say, just in the same manner as, in immediate connexion with verbs, we have γελῶν, *laughingly*; λαθῶν, *secretly*; φθάμενος, φθάσας, ἀνύσας, *quickly*; ἔχων, *continually*; φερόμενος, φέρων, (*intrans.*) *impetuously*, or *earnestly*;‡ why may not ἐπιβαλὼν, in this instance, be regarded as expressing, not simply the *cause*, or *manner*, but rather the *degree*, of Peter's mourning, on the sad occasion to which the word refers? This parallel is sufficiently close, surely, to warrant this as a probable conjecture, if nothing better can be had. And we may thus find in the ἐπιβαλὼν (*earnestly, intensely*) of Mark, a close resemblance and equivalent to the πικρῶς (*bitterly*) of Matthew and Luke.

After the freedom we have taken with the philological and other remarks of Mr. Alford, we have the greater pleasure in stating the interest and satisfaction with which we have perused a considerable portion of his Commentary. It is especially gratifying to observe, that, conversant, as the nature of his very arduous undertaking has compelled him to be, with biblical critics of all classes, he yet appears to have contracted no taint from the very questionable philosophy with which he must often have been brought into contact, and that he is not disposed to be "wise above that which is written."

* See the late Rev. Richard Watson's "Exposition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark," &c. &c., *in locum*.

† Liddell and Scott's "Greek Lexicon," *sub voc.*

‡ Jelf's "Greek Grammar," § 698, *e.* *Viger de Idiotismis Græcis*, pp. 204, 272.

On the subject of the Rationalism which has taken such liberties with Holy Scripture, he says,—

“It is important to observe, in these days, how the Lord includes the Old Testament, and all its unfolding of the Divine purposes regarding Himself, in His teaching of the citizens of the kingdom of heaven. I say this, because it is always in contempt and setting aside of the Old Testament that Rationalism has begun. First, its historical truth, then its theocratic dispensation, and the types and prophecies connected with it, are swept away; so that Christ came to fulfil nothing, and becomes only a teacher or a martyr; and thus the way is paved for a similar rejection of the New Testament,—beginning with the narratives and infancy, as theocratic myths, advancing to the denial of His miracles, then attacking the truthfulness of His own sayings, which are grounded on the Old Testament as a revelation from God; and so, finally, leaving us nothing in the Scriptures but—as a German writer of this school has expressed it—‘a mythology not so attractive as that of Greece!’ That this is the course which unbelief *has run* in Germany, should be a pregnant warning to the decriers of the Old Testament among ourselves. It should be a maxim for every expositor and every student, that Scripture is a whole, and stands or falls together. That this is now beginning to be deeply felt in Germany, we have cheering testimonies in the later editions of their best commentators, and in the valuable work of Stier on the discourses of our Lord.”—*Note on Matt. v. 18.*

In the same strain, speaking on the subject of demoniacal possessions, he says,—

“The Gospel narratives are *distinctly pledged* to the historic *truth of these occurrences*. Either they are true, or the Gospels are false: for they do not stand in the same or a similar position with the (apparent) discrepancies, so frequent in details, between the Evangelists. But they form part of that general ground-work in which all agree. Nor can it be said that they represent *the opinions of the time*, and use words in accordance with it. This might have been difficult to answer, but that they not only give such expressions as *δαμονιζόμενος, δαμονίσθεις*, but relate to us words spoken by the Lord Jesus, in which the personality and presence of the demons is plainly implied. Now, either our Lord spoke these words, or He did not. Then we must at once set aside the concurrent testimony to a plain matter of fact; in other words, establish a principle which will overthrow equally every fact related in the Gospels. If He did, it is wholly at variance with any Christian idea of the perfection of truthfulness in Him who was truth itself, to suppose Him to have used such plain and solemn words repeatedly, before His disciples and the Jews, in encouragement of, and connivance at, a lying superstition. After these remarks, it will be unnecessary to refute that view of demoniacal possession which makes it *identical with mere bodily disease*, as it is included above; but we may observe, that it is every where in the Gospels distinguished from disease, and in such a way as to show that, at all events, the two were not in that day confounded.”—*Note on Matt. viii. 32.*

To these extracts might easily be added many others equally indicative of the general soundness, as well as of the earnestness and

power of Mr. Alford as a commentator. But his *doctrinal* statements are sometimes more remarkable for strength than clearness ; or, when not faulty in this respect, they fall below what we believe the generality of our readers would hold to be the scriptural standard. And the recurrence, every now and then, of such expressions as “the power of the higher spiritual state of man over the inferior laws of nature,” and “deeper meanings,” &c., is calculated to suggest—though it may be unjustly—some suspicion as to the meaning of the phrases themselves, or as to the cast of thought and feeling in which they may have had their origin. Nor can we omit to express our regret that, in one instance, at least, he has forgotten the *gravity* appropriate to a Biblical Commentary. We refer to his remark on the “music and dancing,” with which the return of the “prodigal” was celebrated, and in reference to which he asks,—whether our Lord’s mention of these “festal employments” in connexion with so solemn and blessed an occasion, does not stamp His approval upon them? Admitting that it did,—though the inference by no means follows from the premises,—do the “festal employments” of these times need the *encouragement* which this comment will give them? Or, at all events, might not the challenge,—“Let our rigid pietists answer this,”—have been, in such a work, more properly omitted?*

On the whole, however, we regard the work as a valuable contribution to our stores of English Biblical Literature ; and are disposed to believe that, with the corrections and improvements which it will doubtless receive, it will be perpetuated as a standard book.

ART. VIII.—*Autobiographic Sketches*. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. Edinburgh, 1853.

It is a fact, capable of the clearest proof, that no object in nature, however trivial or offensive it may be, is deserving of the actual or implied contempt with which we stigmatize it as base, or reject it as worthless. Ignorance on the one hand, and engrossing worldliness on the other, are hourly blinding us to the most valuable truths enshrined in very humble forms, and confirming our habits of indifference towards a world of common wonders. If our eyes were really open, the most common-place of daily objects would assume a romantic novelty, and invite a more intimate research. With a limited class of persons, this is actually the case,—blest as they are with an active intelligence and a scientific curiosity, and these contributing to induce a constant habit of observation. To the natural philosopher there

* See Comment on Luke xv. 25.

is nothing which strictly warrants the popular terms *rubbish* and *waste*; for, although they may be conveniently employed to indicate the refuse of material, apparently exhausted by some natural or human process, he is well-assured that nothing is really divorced from use, or barren of curiosity. An eye practised and familiar in the observation of nature, and accustomed to trace in every object of comparative insignificance or doubtful utility some curious phenomenon of its existence,—whether the links in its origination which associate it with all the world beside, the outward phase or secret condition of its present seeming idleness, or the changes that await it ere its humble but necessary purpose be accomplished,—an eye so practised, that sees relation, and design, and even benefit, in objects which are merely disgusting to the ignorant, can hardly fall upon a spot of earth that is not fruitful in peculiar interest. Intelligently viewed, the very vermin take rank in creation, and even dust is recognised as the detritus of systematic strata. The rock that is so bare and profitless to the uninformed is to such a man an eloquent companion; it tells him the history of its ages, and reveals to him the scars of its experience: and so minutely has the record been preserved for our philosopher, that the gust of wind blown many centuries ago has left itself a witness in the silent rain-drop fallen into a slanted bed. In like manner, while his housekeeper regards with mingled scorn and detestation that most ogre-like of insects, the spider, and thinks her broom dishonoured by such contact, he has not disdained to observe, in that least-regarded corner of the house, another distinct variety of form, an uninstructed but inspired weaver making his matchless web, and a peculiar type of those predatory habits which, in a manner immediate or indirect, cause every class of beings in its turn to become the prey of some other.

There is an interest similar in kind to this, and like this almost infinitely diversified, in the hourly experience of the observer of human life and manners: there is an analogous charm derived from the study of even the lowest type of character, the slight but sufficient links of cause and consequence in the most unimportant chain of incidents, the mingled tissue of trivial and grotesque and serious passages in a career of the most ordinary kind. But what was merely the pleasure of intelligence in the physical survey is heightened by our human sympathy in the moral: the picturesque becomes intensified into the pathetic; and those vicissitudes of fortune which lead out our curiosity to follow another's course are repeatedly suggesting a possible parallel in our own. It is no subject of wonder, then, that man should have a peculiar and absorbing interest in man, where his intellect and sympathies may expatiate together. If the adventures of an atom, whether historically or philosophically considered, are ready to prove full of profit and delight; if the life of an insect is found to touch upon and illustrate a thousand natural truths, and

furnish a distinctive type of animate existence ; how much more real must our interest be in the most unpromising of human characters, and the obscurest fragment of human story ! The stone recoiling from our careless feet, and the fossil cast up by the miner's shovel, is each a link in the great chain of nature,—is joined inseparably to all that went before and all that is yet to come : you cannot ignore its presence without gross injury to the material logic in which God has embodied and demonstrated his creative wisdom. But in man all this is true by emphasis ; and though he should be the vilest, poorest, and idlest of his race, and less missed from the courts of life than the dog which kept faithful watch and ward over a brood of fowls, as man he is joined to a far higher economy, and stamped with a more Divine significance ; nor can he fail to illustrate, even in his obscurest wanderings, and in his most humble deeds, the majesty of spiritual laws and the mystery of human life. And, besides these indications of a great ideal, typical of his species, and ever and anon struggling to the surface through the wrecks of some awful foregone calamity, there is in every man a separate individuality of thought and action, each breathing its peculiar moral. No two lives run parallel for an instant of time : no two hearts are synchronous in the pulsations of their hopes and fears. Each is the hero of a separate drama : for him the earth is as really a stage prepared as for the great Protagonist himself : for his individual drama of probation all nature is a store-room of accessories, and all the tribes of men subordinate. And though these several lives do constantly intersect and cross each other, and all traces of feeble men seem perpetually lost in the footmarks of the strong and leaping, yet if we follow carefully the least of these despised, we shall find him to be the central figure of some imaginable moral circle, and the hero of a true dramatic unity.

By these observations we have chosen to introduce the subject of this paper, because we think they plainly illustrate, and largely account for, the deep invariable interest so commonly felt in biographical details, and especially in the more full and accurate revelations of auto-biography. For, be it observed, this interest is, for the most part, independent both of greatness and virtue in the hero of the story, and even of any unusual fortunes affecting his career. It seems to demand only, what may be termed *genuineness* in the narrative, and *directness* in the narrator. Truth, we might have said, was necessary, did we not remember instances in which exaggerations of every kind, and even gross and palpable departures from veracity, were characteristic but not misleading, and therefore rather enhancing the general fidelity of portraiture desired,—just as Falstaff is better known by his preposterous falsehoods, than he could have been by a faithful narrative of the death of Percy. In all these confessions, however, we look for a certain openness and freedom, and even a simplicity of speech ; but by this last requirement we are not to be considered as

denouncing those affectations which may have become the second nature of the auto-biographer, and so contribute an important charm, but as insisting only that the writer reveal himself, with real candour, or through some transparent artifice, and that all his cunning and duplicity, though so great as to include self-deception, *shall not deceive us*.

After these considerations, we shall not be surprised to find that the plainest class of these writings are commonly the most interesting; or rather, the interest of them is more strictly of the kind proper to auto-biography. This class consists of memoirs of persons remarkable for neither their gifts, nor attainments, nor even extraordinary fortunes. Not always does the life described present any novel features to the imagination of the reader, nor is it even necessary that either in style or sentiment should the narrative rise above the level of mediocrity. The moral standard of the hero may be contemptible, like that of Vidocq the French thief-taker; or his personal history trivial, like that of Lackington the bookseller: but in the meanest subject of these memoirs, and in the most ordinary scenes depicted from the daily life of man, if there be only that sincerity in the memorialist which engages confidence in the narrative, we shall find attraction and instruction in a high degree. The picture, indeed, may be wanting in the elaboration and spiritual suggestiveness of a true work of art; but it will have the excellence peculiar to a daguerreotype portrait,—a literal and detailed truth to nature. Characters may not appear there in moments of their highest mood, nor even true to their better selves; but their momentary presentment is caught and preserved for ever, and neither the tone of attitude nor the significance of dress is lost.

To reconcile the asserted interests of these lowest specimens of auto-biography with the deficiencies attributed to them as a class, it may be necessary to speak of those deficiencies in qualified terms. While it is true (for example) that romantic or important incidents may be entirely absent from the story, it must be remembered that—as our opening analogy suggests,—the varieties of human circumstances insure, in every case, a real, novel, and peculiar interest; that as no two individual faces are alike, so neither are any two individual characters, and still less any two individual careers. Again: if ability or attainments in any high degree are pronounced unnecessary on the part of such memoir-writer, it is simply meant that he need have none sufficient *of itself* to distinguish him,—no talent to command for himself the public admiration, and no scientific or literary acquirement to furnish his book with a topic of interest extraneous to himself. But ability of some kind he will have: genius itself is, perhaps, more a matter of degree than a rare and exclusive endowment; and the humblest author will ever and anon, in some direction or another, and in a milder or more

brilliant way, give evidence of the "divinity that stirs within him." Besides, there are many sources of interest,—such as, idiosyncrasy, native moral bias, or some moral quality forced into prominence by stress of fortune,—one or other of which must appear in the most ordinary record of human life. And if the acts of men so widely differ, and their circumstantial relations are so complicate and varied, how distinct and multiplied must be their springs of action! How often shaded by infirmity the lustre of their most virtuous deeds! How often their darkest woof of error shot with a relieving brightness!

But is there no such thing as trite or commonplace in these confessions? In the literal transcript of real life, rarely. It is true that the writer's moral or general reflections may, from the feebleness of his reason, be trite in the extreme; and an excess of such reflections over matters of fact will render the narrative both tedious and commonplace. All extra-literal matter, if not put in with artist-like, judicious touches, tends to destroy *vraisemblance*, and cause endless contradictions; for what is that which belongs neither to nature nor to art, but a monstrosity? Instances of this kind of auto-biography are not infrequent; but they are soon forgotten, or never attain notice. It occasionally happens also that a vanity the most contemptible, because totally unredeemed by anything worthy of mark either in character or experience, induces some dullard to make public confession of his incompetence, and seek to break from the hopeless obscurity to which he is appointed; and his self-laudatory work will, of course, be, like himself, most wearisome and weak. But this will never result from the humble nature of the details, nor even from the unskilfulness of the compiler; for these cannot of themselves produce the *morally absurd*. Truth, however desultory, will manifest a beauty of its own; however disconnected, its parts will finally cohere. Fragments of broken glass, when thrown into a kaleidoscope, assume the richest colour and most regular of shapes; and every revolution of the instrument disposes them into a new combination, equal in beauty, though dissimilar in figure. And so the life that is most trifling and disconnected, and as destitute of brilliance or arrangement as pieces of pale and shattered glass, may assume a picturesque variety, proportioned to the number of the aspects under which it is presented. Each of us takes the view of another's chequered fortunes through the tube of distance, whether of space or time, —a medium that for the moment shuts out all observation beside, and narrows our attention where it concentrates the light.

Let the reader, if he would be convinced of the inexhaustible fund of entertainment and remark supplied by human manners and affairs, note down in detail the experiences and observations of his life: and, in particular, let him portray the characteristic features of those to whom he once stood related, or with whom he has been led to associate; and omit no singularity in their

history or position which may formerly have awakened his own curiosity. Perhaps he may not hitherto have supposed his life to have been "fruitful" in anecdote or character: but reflection will instruct him otherwise. Things trivial in themselves will become significant in relation to their consequences; and persons of ordinary stamp may be remembered and set forth by some occasional success or felicitous remark. Did he never cherish a secret regret respecting father, or sister, or cousin, or friend, that one of such peculiar ability, or such perfect but sequestered virtue, should be so little known,—that in his heart and memory only should survive, and so ultimately perish, a picture of excellencies quite unique, when blended in a charming individuality? Among the recollections of his childhood, is he never haunted by some lovely half-ideal image of grace and beauty, companion of his sports? or does no romantic friendship of his boyhood remind him of the time when affection had all the tenderness, and more than all the truth, of passion? Did he never meet with electrifying kindness in an unlikely quarter? or was he never shocked into a momentary misanthropy by ingratitude or failing goodness? Have not his own opinions, tastes, and dispositions been curiously influenced and modified by outward circumstances, as well as inward growth? or the little current of his own fortunes been diverted by some accidental barrier, and had to wear a channel for itself? And were not these events, though roughly thus conjectured by another, attended by such features of novelty and chance-control, that the detailed story would have at once the charm of fiction and the persuasiveness of truth?

Many books occur to us as furnishing illustration of these remarks; but we take—almost at random—*The Auto-biography of a Working Man*, published within the last few years. If not the most recent, neither is it the least suitable for that purpose. Unpretending as is this little work, and consisting of the simplest details of private life and ordinary labour, it justifies the assertion already ventured, that neither talent in the writer, nor interest in the record, will commonly be found wanting in works of this kind; that a distinct individuality may be expected in the hero-author, and both variety and unity in the auto-history. The volume is of goodly dimensions, and contains the fullest particulars of a personal career "*by One who has whistled at the Plough.*" Despite the unpromising nature of its title, we doubt if a more entertaining record of humble life and honourable industry was ever penned. It is characterized by an air of manly sincerity and sterling moral sense, and gives evidence of a native taste for the good and the beautiful, improved by diligent self-culture. From the first page to the last, there is no such thing as wearying; but, on the contrary, the reader is led onward by a quiet but increasing interest, that makes the time lapse by insensibly. There is throughout the volume, and

especially in the earlier chapters, a freshness in the details, a simplicity in the characters, and a modest dignity in the author's manner, that unite to enlist our curiosity and secure our confidence. The materials furnished to the auto-biographer by the circumstances of his birth and after-employments, were poor and unpromising; but our readers shall have some opportunity for judging.

His father, having occasion for migrating southward from his native village, in the centre of Scotland, settled as a farm-labourer in the county of Berwickshire; and there married a blooming young woman, servant in a farm-house, and daughter of John Orkney, a working man. Of these his parents our author was the eleventh and last child. The poverty of this worthy family rendered their very existence a struggle; for low wages and high prices made it a difficult matter to provide for so large a household; and not all the industry of a steady and upright father, nor all the diligence and care of a thrifty, tender mother, could do more than avert the extreme of destitution. Such were the humble circumstances of our author's parentage and birth. But no false shame leads him to speak slightly, or with other than dutiful remembrance and affection, of this period of his childhood and youth. His reminiscences of peasant-life and early trials,—including some months of miserable schooling, in which his unfortunate inferiority of clothes and general poverty brought upon him the injustice and contempt of well-dressed lads and servile pedagogue,—are told with graphic force and in an admirable spirit. Herding his master's cows was the employment of many years of his boyhood; and in his relation of that period of his life occur many anecdotes characteristic of country life and manners, and passages indicative of the growth of his own disposition, moral and intellectual. At school he is unmercifully thrashed "on the hands, head, face, neck, shoulders, back, legs, everywhere," until blistered: but he disdains to wince. "I sat sullen and in torture all the day, my poor sister Mary glancing at me from her book; she not crying, but her heart beating as if it would burst for me. When we got out of the school to go home, and were away from all the other scholars on our own lonely road to Thriepland Hill, she soothed me with kind words, and we cried then, both of us." The character of his father, a rigorous Dissenter of the sect called "Anti-burghers," is not without dignity; nor that of his mother without a homely sweetness: and it is especially gratifying to witness, in the real nobleness of these humble peasants and their children, an interesting proof that no circumstances are in themselves so wretched or so base but goodness may redeem them from contempt, and even invest them with moral beauty. The whole career of this auto-biographer, could we follow it throughout, would furnish a continued illustration of the same truth. Character, working

from within outwards, is the great transformer of mankind, and the source of true individual distinction. The bashful hob-nailed cowherd of this history becomes by accident acquainted with the poetry of Burns, and glows, for the first time, with an intellectual pleasure. He next covets the loan of Anson's *Voyages*, of which he had heard parts; but only after a fearful struggle with his shamefacedness does he take courage to ask it: then in the fields, at resting-time, he reads about the brave ship *Centurion*, and all that befell her. After a while, a brother in England suggesting that he might join him and become a forester, it seems desirable that Hutton's "Mensuration" should be studied:—

"But where to get Hutton, and how, was the question. I had no money of my own, and my mother at that time had none; the cow had not calved, and there was no butter selling to bring in money. Yet I could not rest: if I could not then buy Hutton, I must see it. One day, in March, I was driving the harrows, it being the time of sowing the spring corn, and I thought so much about becoming a good scholar, and built such castles in the air, that, tired as I was, (and going at the harrows from five in the morning to six at night, on soft loose sand, is one of the most tiring days of work upon a farm,) I took off my shoes, scraped the earth from them, and out of them, washed hands and face, and walked to Dunbar, a distance of six miles, to inquire if Hutton's 'Mensuration' was sold there, and, if possible, to look at it,—to see with my eyes the actual shape and size of the book which was to be the key to my future fortunes. George Miller was in the shop himself, and told me the book was four shillings. That sum of four shillings seemed to me to be the most precious amount of money which ever came out of the Mint: I had it not; nor had I one shilling; but I had seen the book, and had told George Miller not to sell it to any one else; and so I walked over the six miles home, large with the thought that it would be mine at farthest when the cow calved,—perhaps sooner."

The money was raised, the book bought and studied; but instead of becoming a forester in England, our hero (now fifteen years of age) was raised to the dignity of ploughman in his native place, and drove the most lively and sprightly pair of horses on the farm,—to wit, Nannie and Kate. We cannot now follow the subsequent career of this intelligent and independent man; but it is replete with interest and instruction. His cruel punishment when in the regiment of the Scots' Greys, his manly bearing throughout that painful affair, and his disdainful refusal to become a martyr-mendicant for his own profit, are all honourable alike to his morality and good sense; and equally so, the political moderation with which he laboured for reform, the tempered joy with which he hailed it, and the judgment with which he restrained the ardour or condemned the extremes of fiercer Radicals.

If such is the auto-biography of common life, we may proceed with expectation of yet greater pleasure to the auto-biography of

adventure. This latter class of writings, in which the homely personal details of the former appear in connexion with extraordinary incidents and foreign objects, is of a fascinating character, and was shrewdly appreciated by the best of our earlier novelists, Daniel Defoe, who adapted its peculiar features to the purposes of fiction. In this form accordingly we are presented with Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders, and other popular worthies. The charm of these and similar creations of art, which lies chiefly in the literal portraiture of minutest details as well as novel objects, is not strictly belonging to art proper; it is dependent upon a faculty which is the humblest that art can exercise,—the faculty of imitation. Their art, therefore, is not of the highest kind, and does not appeal so much to the educated mind as the popular instinct; not to the imagination, but to the senses and the memory. They are painted with Dutch fidelity and care; but there is seldom more than meets the eye: there is no suggestion of the romance of matter, no indication that all nature is typical. For this reason the fictitious narrative has little or no advantage over the true. The pleasure arising from a conscious and clever imitation will hardly compensate for the absence of that vivid interest which always attaches to a relation of real personal adventures. In the picturesque and quiet parts verisimilitude will be charming; but in the more critical incidents of human story, reality would prove enchaining. If the internal truth of the former approve it to be genuine, we have this added satisfaction in the latter,—that we know it to be authentic.

Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire, is the narrative of an isolated but remarkable passage in its author's life, and, at the same time, of the most startling episode in human history. It contains the personal experience and observation of an intelligent pilgrim to California, the Eldorado of the Pacific. If truth ever exceeded the strangeness and romance of fiction, it assuredly does so in these brilliant pages, which will remain to excite the wonder of remote posterity, and be credited only because the marvels they reveal transcend the limits of invention. The book is, beyond comparison, the ablest record of an unparalleled event. It describes the golden crusade of the world,—more picturesque in costume, more diversified in character, more fertile in hopes, more beset with discouragements, and more pregnant with disappointments, than the boldest crusade of the age of chivalry. It is simple, literal, and unexaggerated,—what the author saw with his eyes, and heard with his ears: but it is, nevertheless, grand and astonishing; for he wandered in a region alternated with redundant forests and immeasurable deserts, towards rivers girdled by the golden sands of Pactolus, and mountains teeming with the fruit of Aladdin's garden. In this motley pilgrimage are the representatives of every nation, converging from all quarters of the globe, journeying in every

variety of manner, encountering every conceivable shape of danger, toil, destitution, and disease, many hearts sinking in despair, and many frames exhausted unto death. Yet all are not animated by the ignoble lust of gold. In these innumerable groups may be found a wide diversity of motives: from our author, enamoured of the picturesque in nature, character, and life, to the most covetous of Californian devotees, whose dollars are the silver shrines of the god whom he pronounces great, and who looks out for the painted booths of San Francisco as eagerly as the Jew for the heights of the City of David, or the Hindoo for the glittering minarets of Benares.

It would be difficult to justify, by a single brief quotation, such as our space admits, the character of varied interest ascribed to these volumes; but a single extract may serve to illustrate the author's animated style, and afford a glimpse at least of his adventure. The difficulty consists in choosing. The voyage from New York to Chagres,—the journey across the Isthmus,—Panama and its ruined churches and waiting emigrants,—the glorious coasting on the Pacific shores,—and the bewildering, bustling streets of San Francisco on a first arrival,—these would each supply a page for our purpose. Then our author's journey inland,—the mule-back progress and camp-life restings of his march,—Stockton at noon-day with its glowing street of tents, sprung up, like gigantic mushrooms, almost in a night,—the Diggings,—the return to San Francisco,—the thousand novel features of that strange city,—excursions here and there and back again,—these are a few rough indications of the stores from which we are to select a sample. We give the author's memorandum of the last day of his voyage, and landing in California:—

"At last the voyage is drawing to a close. Fifty-one days have elapsed since leaving New York, in which time we have, in a manner, coasted both sides of the North American Continent, from the parallel of 40° N. to its termination, within a few degrees of the Equator, over seas once ploughed by the keels of Columbus and Balboa, of Grijalva and Sebastian Viscaïno. All is excitement on board; the Captain has just taken his noon observations. We are running along the shore, within six or eight miles' distance; the hills are bare and sandy, but loom up finely through the deep blue haze. A brig bound to San Francisco, but fallen off to leeward of the harbour, is making a new tack on our left, to come up again. The coast trends somewhat more to the westward, and a notch or gap is at last visible in its lofty outline.

"An hour later; we are in front of the entrance to San Francisco Bay. The mountains on the northern side are 3,000 feet in height, and come boldly down to the sea. As the view opens through the splendid strait, three or four miles in width, the island rock of Alcatraz appears, gleaming white in the distance. An inward-bound ship follows close on our wake, urged on by wind and tide. There is a small fort perched among the trees on our right, where the strait is narrowest; and a glance at the formation of the hills shows that this pass might

be made impregnable as Gibraltar. The town is still concealed behind the promontory around which the Bay turns to the southward; but between Alcatraz and the Island of Yerba Buena, now coming into sight, I can see vessels at anchor. High through the vapour in front, and thirty miles distant, rises the Peak of Monte Diablo, which overlooks everything between the Sierra Nevada and the ocean. On our left opens the Bight of Sousolito, where the U.S. propeller 'Massachusetts' and several other vessels are at anchor.

"At last we are through the Golden Gate,—fit name for such a magnificent portal to the commerce of the Pacific! Yerba Buena Island is in front; southward and westward opens the renowned harbour, crowded with the shipping of the world, mast behind mast, and vessel behind vessel, the flags of all nations fluttering in the breeze! Around the curving shore of the bay, and upon the sides of three hills which rise steeply from the water, the middle one receding so as to form a bold amphitheatre, the town is planted, and seems scarcely yet to have taken root; for tents, canvas, plank, mud, and adobe houses, are mingled together with the least apparent attempt at order and durability. But I am not yet on shore. The gun of the 'Panama' has just announced our arrival to the people on land. We glide on with the tide, past the U.S. ship 'Ohio,' and opposite the main landing, outside of the forest of masts. A dozen boats are creeping out to us over the water; the signal is given—the anchor drops—our voyage is over."

It may be thought that as these volumes of Mr. Bayard Taylor are written with practised literary skill, and derive moreover such unusual interest from the scene and subject, they cannot fairly be adduced as an average specimen of the auto-biography of adventure. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that in these respects the book is superior to most of its class. Yet, on the other hand, what is gained in artistic finish is probably lost in homely character and freshness; and perhaps the motley multitudes whom the author encounters and describes, but barely compensate for the breathless interest of more personal fortunes and solitary peril. On the whole, therefore, our choice was not exceptional or extreme; and we may add that the work was recommended to our curiosity by its extraordinary subject, and to our courteous preference as the work of an American author.

There is a class of writings strictly auto-biographical in character; but not so in regular form. It consists of personal diaries, which, though written only or chiefly for private use, have from time to time been secured for the public edification. These are found to be of interest just in proportion as they contain that unreserved discovery of deed and motive, and that friendly familiarity of style, which are naturally induced when a man becomes his own confidant or confessor, setting gravely down the yet unvarnished trifles of the day, as well as communing in secret pages with himself concerning the more important features of his life and conduct. By far the most entertaining example of this class is the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. In this man the qualities

of shrewdness, industry, intelligence, taste, and religious principle, were strangely mingled with, and counteracted by, loose morals, personal vanity, and inveterate trifling,—the whole conspiring to form a character which in the abstract would be deemed incredible but for the concrete expression it assumes in him. The charm of his remarkable Diary is not, in any great degree, due to the public characters of whom it treats; though much of a secondary interest attaches to them, as well as to the costume, court, and scenery in general which forms the background of the busy drama. But drama it hardly is, so much as monologue: one figure is perpetually upon the stage: his humours, pedantries, and fancies supply the comic business; his rational remarks, and earnest grave pursuits, and occasional generousities of act and feeling, sustain the human interest. Now he stands lost in admiration before the glass, and is ready to canonize the tailor whose imagination soared to make so trim a doublet; and now his eyes are readily infected with the grief of the poor innkeeper of Tangier, whose wine-casks have been cruelly staved by Kirke,—the same stone-hearted Colonel who at a later day disdained to shed bad wine when he could riot among the best of English blood. Yet the vanity and frivolity of our Diarist are more fertile in amusement for the reader than his better sense; and, as a brief specimen of his manner, we could not perhaps select one more characteristic than the following:—

“May 11th, 1667.—My wife being dressed this day in fair hair did make me so mad that I spoke not one word to her, though I was ready to burst with anger. After that, Creed and I into the Park and walked,—a most pleasant evening; and so took coach and took up my wife, and in my way home discovered my trouble to my wife for her white locks, swearing several times, which I pray God forgive me for, and bending my fist, that I would not endure it. She, poor wretch, surprised at it, and made me no answer all the way home:—but there we parted; and I to the office late, and then home, and without supper to bed, vexed.

“12th, Lord’s Day.—Up and to my chamber to settle some accounts there, and by and by down comes my wife to me in her night-gown, and we began calmly that upon having money to lace her gown for second morning, she would promise to wear white locks no more in my sight,—which I, like a severe fool, thinking not enough, began to except against, and made her fly out to very high terms and cry, and in her heat told me of my keeping company with Mrs. Knipp, saying, that if I would promise never to see her more,—of whom she hath more reason to suspect than I had hitherto of Pemberton,—she would never wear white locks more. This vexed me, but I restrained myself from saying anything; but do think never to see this woman,—at least, to have her here any more,—and so all very good friends as ever.”

It will readily be supposed that the memorials left by historical or literary characters, have yet superior features of attraction. Those of the former are generally marked by valuable additions to our knowledge of public events, and the latter mostly excel

in the graces of artistic composition. In the pages of the one we familiarly discourse with remarkable or famous personages, while in those of the literary diarist or man of science we watch with yet intenser pleasure the writer's mental growth, his profound and often painful experiences, and the gradual maturity of his mind and character.

In memoirs and confessions of every class, the French have a distinguished reputation, and our first example of literary auto-biography may be drawn from that pleasant but peculiar school. The *Memoirs of his Youth*, which M. de Lamartine has recently given to the world, are invested with a romantic beauty of sentiment, perhaps never employed with equal success in the delineation of actual life. This little work, indeed, brief and unfinished as it is, appears to us the most admirable production of its author, or the one most accordant with the taste of English readers. It is full of attractions, both for simple and cultivated minds. The vanity so offensively displayed in the *Memoirs of Chateaubriand* is here presented in a modified and milder form : for although the egotism of M. de Lamartine is manifested in a truly national degree, it does not lead him to make lofty comparisons between himself and the world's most memorable men, as the former repeatedly does ; it induces him only to colour somewhat too highly the personal merits of his hero, and never to forget how brilliant an *ensemble* is due to France and to himself. In other respects these *Memoirs* differ from those of Chateaubriand. The style is more elaborate, and the story more developed and connected ; and if the language is more frequently diffuse than sententious, and the sentiment rather poetical than appropriate, the one is recognised as the spontaneous medium of the other, and the whole is not too glowing for the picture of blended actual and ideal in the autobiography of a poet's youth. One portraiture contained in those *Memoirs* is of exquisite beauty and distinguished merit : it is that of the author's mother. The excellence of the subject has, in this case, admirably seconded the execution of the artist. The mere fancy of the latter could never have supplied the absence of the former : the purely fictitious heroines of the poet are false and feeble in comparison with this sacred object of memory and love. But if such a character transcended his powers of invention, it harmonized too well with his own high nature and splendid gifts to baffle his depicting powers. Sure we are that no one can read this affectionate tribute on the part of M. de Lamartine to a parent dignified by all that is worthy of esteem, and endeared by qualities that irresistibly inspire love, without reverence and admiration,—a reverence and admiration that are reflected from the object to the author, from the pattern virtue of the mother to the devotion and homage of the son. This filial record is of an elaborate length, as well as beauty : the author dwells with fondness and delight upon remi-

niscences so hallowed, and lingers in the angelic presence, at once familiar and divine. A small portion only of this interesting memorial is all that we can here insert ; but it will suffice to show the manner and spirit of the whole. After describing the benevolent visits and almsgiving to which his pious mother devoted a part of every morning, and in which she associated her young children, the author proceeds :—

“When all this bustle of the daily occupations was at last over, when we had dined, when the neighbours, who occasionally came to pay us a visit, had retired, and when the shadows of the mountain, stealing along the little garden, had already wrapped it in the twilight of the closing day, my mother separated herself from us for a short period. She left us either in the little saloon, or in a corner of the garden at some distance from her. She at last took her hour of repose and meditation, apart and alone. This was the moment which she devoted to reflection ; when, all her thoughts called home, all the wandering aspirations and feelings of the day turned inwards, she communed with God, who formed her surest solace and support. Young as we were, we knew the private hour which she reserved to herself amidst the busy duties of the day. We moved away instinctively from the alley of the garden where she was wont to walk at this hour, as if we had feared to interrupt or to overhear the mysterious and confidential outpourings of her heart to her Creator. It was a little walk formed of yellow sand, approaching to a red colour, bordered with strawberries, and lined on each side by a row of fruit-trees which rose no higher than her head. A large clump of hazel-trees terminated the walk on one side, and a wall on the other. It was the most deserted and sheltered spot of the garden. It was for this reason she preferred it ; for what she saw there was within herself, and not in the horizon which bounded her vision. She walked with a rapid, but measured, step, like one whose thoughts are busily occupied, who marches on to a fixed and certain goal, and whose enthusiasm rises as he proceeds. She had her head usually uncovered, her beautiful black hair half floating in the breeze, her countenance a little graver than during the rest of the day, sometimes slightly bent towards the ground, sometimes raised to heaven, where the gaze seemed to search for the first stars that began to detach themselves from the deep blue of the firmament. Her arms were bare from the elbow downwards, her hands sometimes clasped like those of a person engaged in prayer, sometimes at liberty, and plucking absently a rose or a few violet mallows, whose tall stalks sprang up along the margin of the walk. Sometimes her lips were half parted and motionless, sometimes firmly closed and working with a perceptible movement, like those of one talking through a dream. When she issued from this sanctuary of her soul, and returned to us again, her eyes were moistened, her features even more serene and subdued than usual. The never-ceasing smile which sat upon her graceful lips, wore even a more tender and more loving expression. One would have said that she had thrown off a burden of sadness, or relieved her mind of a weight of adoration, and that she walked more lightly under her duties during the remainder of the day.”

Such in her highest, and similar in her subordinate, relations, was the mother of M. de Lamartine. But the maternal character

was that in which she pre-eminently excelled : it appears, indeed, to have fulfilled in her the measure of perfection. Even duly considering the filial heart and poetic mind of her memorialist, the reader can hardly conceive of her as less than fully exemplifying the virtues of faith and practice, or as failing in any the smallest particular of motherly love and care. He is not surprised, therefore, to find that the childish sensibilities of the future poet, fostered by so pure and tender a concern, were rudely shocked when, at the age of ten years, he left home for the first time, and found himself jostled and disregarded in a public school,—a stranger to the smallest kindness, and a loathing witness of vulgar and depraved habits. From this rude scene he boldly escaped, returning home, and was afterwards placed at a superior seminary under the guardianship of mild and learned Jesuits. Here, however, his great stimulus to success in study was the prospect of again joining the family circle ; and that goal he appears to have attained by absolutely exhausting the learning of his teachers. To his enjoyment of domestic happiness was now added the delightful freedom of opening intellectual youth.

“ Having returned to Milly a short time before the fall of the leaf, I thought I never could enjoy sufficiently the torrent of inward happiness with which a sense of liberty in the abode of my childhood and in the bosom of my family filled my breast. It was the conquest of my age of manhood. My mother had caused a little chamber to be prepared for myself alone : it was situated in an angle of the house, and the window opened into a lovely walk of hazel-trees. It contained only a bed without curtains, a table, and some shelves, fixed against a wall, to contain my books. My father had purchased for me the three articles which serve to complete the virile robe of an adolescent,—a watch, a fowling-piece, and a horse, as if to notify to me that henceforth the hours, the plains, and the realms of space, were my own. I took possession of my independence with a rapture which lasted several months. The day was abandoned wholly to the chase along with my father, to dressing my horse in the stable, or to galloping him, with my hand twined in his mane, through the neighbouring valleys. The evenings were given up to the sweet intercourse of family in the saloon, along with my mother, my father, and some friends of the family, or in reading aloud the works of historians and poets. Among these poets, those whom I admired in preference were not the ancients, whose classic pages we had, when too young, moistened with our tears, and with the sweat of our studies. There exhaled from them, when I opened their pages, a sort of prison odour of weariness and of constraint which made me shut them again, as a delivered captive hates to look again upon his former chains. But they were those which are not inscribed in the catalogue of works of study,—the modern poets, Italian, English, German, French,—poets whose flesh and blood are our own flesh and blood, who feel, who think, who love, who sing, as we feel, as we think, as we sing, as we love, we the men of modern times ; such as Tasso, Dante, Petrarch, Shakespeare, Milton, Chateaubriand,—who sang like them ?—above all, Ossian, that poet of the vague and undefined, that mist of the imagination, that inarticulate plaint of the

Northern Seas, that foam of the waves, that murmur of the shadows, that eddying of the clouds around the tempest-beaten peaks of Scotland, that northern Dante, as grand, as majestic, as supernatural, as the Dante of Florence, and more sensible than he, and who often wrings from his phantoms cries more human and more heart-rending than those of the heroes of Homer."

Afterwards, we have yet further proof of the vivid and lasting impression which the works of Ossian made upon the youthful poet's mind; and we cannot help thinking, that to his inordinate study of the northern bard may be traced the characteristic defects both of the poetry and prose of M. de Lamartine. These defects, as it appears to us, consist in the substitution of the vague for the definite, and a preference for brilliance of colour over distinctness and truth of outline; and are precisely what might be anticipated from the undue influence of the poems of Ossian. It is true, indeed, that a wide difference distinguishes the earlier and later minstrels; but it is the difference of distance, and not of dissimilarity,—the difference betwixt rude antiquity and modern times, and betwixt the bleak and misty north and the warm and golden south. In the one, we have the sombre genii of a frowning clime and an heroic age, floating cloud-wise over scaur and mountain, and filling up the pauses of the storm with an answering gust of sorrow, as the chorus of the Greek drama echoes and heightens the mourner's grief; and in the other, every garden of the sunny south is made to glow like Paradise, and every maiden's walk seems haunted by angelic innocence, and every youth is a divinity, and all verdure is hope, and all sunshine heaven. In the creations of M. de Lamartine there is more variety than in those of Ossian, but hardly more of individuality: persons they are not so much as types, nor substances so much as shadows. They are abstractions of the poetry of life, rather than living and concrete examples. And for this reason, they will always burn upon the ardent imaginations of the young, though they may cease to gratify the experienced intellect in riper years. Even the lovely Graziella, whose image and history adorn these Memoirs with their choicest episode, is hardly an exception to this rule of typical portraiture. A maiden of Greek descent and Italian birth, inheriting the classic beauty of her ancestors, and absorbing the attractive glow and softness of her native clime, we conceive of her as the paragon of youth and beauty;—as the foundling of dame Fortune, cast upon an island rock, adopted by Nature herself, and by her endowed with a plenitude of gifts and graces that transcend the vulgar and conventional ornaments of life. Yet it must be owned that this perfection of charms, and absolute simplicity of manners, make up an enchanting ideal; and that it is after all touchingly human and tenderly feminine. How exquisitely is the transition from girlhood to womanhood indicated on the occasion of her listening, for the first time, to the tale of Paul and Virginia, as it is

brokenly interpreted to the fisherman's family by the lips of the poet!

"The young girl felt her heart, till then dormant, revealed to her, as it were, in the soul of Virginia. She seemed to have grown six years older in that half-hour. The storms of passion had marbled her forehead, the azure white of her eyes, and her cheeks. She resembled a calm and sheltered lake, on which the sunshine, the wind, and the shade were struggling together for the first time."

But we must not be seduced into a repetition of the beautiful story of Graziella, or rather into a poor abridgment of it; for it must cease to charm, if touched by ruder hands than those of its first framer, and made less or other than it is.

Two English contemporaries of Chateaubriand and Lamartine had also planned a retrospect of their illustrious lives; but the auto-biographies commenced by Scott and Southey were early interrupted by long delays, and finally broken off by death. We have only a fragment of each, written with a taste and judgment that make us deeply regret the loss of that which is unwritten, and of which we seem to have been so accidentally deprived. In their completed state, they would have been models of auto-biography, uniting the simplicity and fidelity of the humblest works of the class to all that is morally and intellectually noble, to the manly modesty of true greatness, and the perfection of true taste. Both these eminent authors were masters of a pure English style; and, if Scott had an advantage in the humour of character and anecdote, the moral tone and admirable expression of Southey imparted a beautiful clearness to the reminiscences of his youth. The one, from the objective tendency of his mind, enriched his personal history with sketches of contemporary persons and external things; the other, writing more subjectively, though still with an observing eye and a healthy mind, clothed his narrative of every association or transaction with an elevation of sentiment and a felicity of language peculiar to himself. Sir Walter Scott has found, in his son-in-law, an able continuator, worthy of that office: the narrative of Lockhart is, indeed, as excellent a substitute for the Poet's auto-biography as the case would admit of. But Southey, we conceive, has been less fortunate in this respect: the Memoirs of his Life and Correspondence, as prepared by his son, are so inferior in interest and merit, as greatly to deepen our regret at the incompleteness of the self-history which forms its commencement, and which, in a more finished state,—supplemented by a selection of the author's best letters,—would have furnished the present age, and future times, with an admirable example of literary history. Under the circumstances of this double deprivation, it remains for us to make some passing reference to a work less exalted, both in merit and pretension, but not without an interest of its own; and then to conclude this brief summary, by a notice of the volume placed at its head, like a suggestive, but solitary, text.

An announcement of the *Autobiography of Leigh Hunt* was full of promise to the lover of modern literature. There is no man of the present age to whom the profession of letters, adopted (if we may so express ourselves) by irresistible choice, has proved a more constant service of delight than to him,—a service to which, though with variety of fortune but constancy of love, he has now adhered through half a century,—and none to whose excursive genius and companionable teaching the general reader is indebted for so large a measure of intellectual pastime. In musical phrase, he has always written *con spirito*. It may, indeed, have often happened to him, as to more fortunate authors, that to buckle to his task and bend to the desk, despite the alluring sunshine and inviting flowers, involved at first a little hardship and self-denial; but, once there, he grew happy and contented. To descant of freedom in the meadows, or nature among the mountains, seemed the next best thing to a personal enjoyment of the same. Seated in his quiet study, he became the literary correspondent of the reading world; took down a volume of this poet, or of that essayist, and, diving into the treasury of his own memory and fancy, rehearsed the one with a commentary of dainty thoughts, and supplemented the other with the fruits of his own experience. He has not, indeed, laid claim to the honours of conquest over any branch of science, or by a single production* approved his right to be esteemed one of the masters of poetic art; but his tasteful and congenial exposition of the latter will more than excuse his æsthetic aversion to the cold *theoria* of the former. If he is not entitled to a Professorship in the one department, he has been long received as a Master of the Revels in the other. All that wit, humour, imagination, or fancy have provided for human pleasure in chaste but exuberant forms, have been ushered by his wand of enchantment in a thousand different masks, appearing now in single, and now in associated, beauty, and lovely alike in every combination and attitude.

Leigh Hunt has not produced an agreeable history of himself. He is generally far more happy when speaking of books, or birds, or neighbours, or companions of any kind. His *Autobiography* appeared in three volumes, but attracted little notice and less commendation. The style is often careless and faulty in the extreme; and the more purely literary portion is not only inferior in ability to his former essays, but is in great part destitute of novelty to the modern reader. Thus second-

* We have not forgotten the graceful and pathetic *Legend of Florence*, especially distinguished by the nervous and novel rhythm of its verse, the sweetness of its domestic sentiment, and its general purity and freshness. But we are not quite satisfied, that its moral is as unexceptionable as its style; and, even granting it to be a noble specimen of dramatic art, it would hardly be sufficient of itself to secure a high position for its author. On the whole, we look upon the two large volumes which form *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*, as the field where his genius has expatiated to most advantage: it is that also from which he has lately garnered some of his most pleasant lucubrations.

rate in its material, and unconnected as a whole, it stands in need of some friendly indulgence; but this we are not inclined to withhold. Too evidently it was made to order; it is a pardonable instance of book-making. We can easily conceive the reluctance with which the task was undertaken, the distaste with which it was prosecuted day by day, and the dissatisfaction with which it was probably dismissed out of hand. Hence the feebleness of a twice-told tale, the looseness of style, and the defectiveness of plan. Had it been entirely a labour of love, it would not have lacked proportion, unity, and finish. But other reasons, no doubt, contributed to these defects; for these in some measure reflect those of the author himself,—whose principles and character are not so amiable as we could wish to find them.

But if our hero proves no hero after all, like every other autobiographer he had at least a home, which may furnish us some compensating glimpses. It is commonly said, that the mothers of great men are themselves remarkable; but did you never suspect, dear reader, that this is but a very partial truth; that men of very middling, ay, and those of very little, powers, are frequently as favoured in this respect as the noblest and the brightest? We cannot open the confessions of the merest scamp, without being surprised with a lovely picture of maternal excellence, beaming on the earliest page, nursing some puling infant destined never to reward such love; taking her highest pleasure from the faint dawning smile or childish prattle, and her first anxiety from the innocent and heedless confidence of youth, and never ceasing to be a mother when her boy has long renounced the name and character of child. If it be true, in any peculiar and especial sense, that "Heaven lies about us in our infancy," can we doubt who is the angel of our cradle, as well as the guardian genius of our life?

It is for the sake of such a character that we give a sketch of the early history of Leigh Hunt. He was born at the village of Southgate, in Middlesex, on the 19th of October, 1784. His parents had not long been settled in this country, whither the royalist tendencies of the father—who was a native of Barbadoes, resident in Philadelphia—had caused him to be driven at the commencement of the American Revolution. This father appears to have been not less singular in his character than in his fortunes; indeed, the chequered nature of the latter plainly resulted, in no small degree, from the eccentricity of the former. Gifted in some respects in a remarkable manner, the want of a serious purpose, as well as of a high religious principle, caused these gifts to be thrown away upon him: unstable as water, he could not excel. By change of country, he was suddenly metamorphosed from a lawyer into a divine.

"My mother was to follow my father as soon as possible, which she was not able to do for many months. The last time she had seen

him, he was a lawyer and a partisan, going out to meet an infuriated populace. On her arrival in England, she beheld him in a pulpit, a Clergyman, preaching tranquillity. When my father came over, he found it impossible to continue his profession as a lawyer. Some actors who heard him read advised him to go on the stage; but he was too proud for that, and went into the Church."

He became a popular Preacher of charity sermons, and particularly excelled in the reading-desk. But it is admitted by his son that he made a great mistake in adopting the clerical profession. He remained in a false position for life. Subsequently he became tutor to the nephew of the Duke of Chandos, Mr. Leigh, and had some chance of promotion to a bishopric; "but his West Indian temperament spoiled all." Later still he fell first into debt and then into prison, from which place his son's earliest recollection of him dates. He became Unitarian and Universalist, and died in the year 1809, aged fifty-seven. The mother of Leigh Hunt was of a superior character, although the complexion of her life and sentiments was, from true womanly sympathy, materially coloured by those of her husband. She was a native of Philadelphia; and of her relatives in that city we are told some pleasing particulars. She was, at the time of her marriage, "a brunette with fine eyes, a tall, lady-like person, and hair blacker than is seen of English growth..... My mother had no accomplishments but the two best of all,—a love of nature, and a love of books. Dr. Franklin offered to teach her the guitar; but she was too bashful to become his pupil. She regretted this afterwards, partly, no doubt, for having missed so illustrious a master. Her first child, who died, was named after him." This lady, after embarking to join her husband in England, encountered a violent and protracted storm, in which she is represented as behaving with singular courage, animating her young children, and exciting the warmest admiration of the Captain. Her son, who fondly memorializes her goodness, appears to have been the youngest of her large family, and was born some years after her arrival in England. He has no recollection therefore of his mother's earliest aspect. The critical danger of her husband, on the occasion of his flight from America, had caused her extreme fright, and sensibly shaken her constitution.

"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. Little did she think of the timidity with which she was then inoculating me, and what difficulties I should have, when I went to school, to sustain all those fine theories, and that unbending resistance to oppression, which she inculcated. However, perhaps it turned out ultimately for the best. One must feel more than usual for the sore places of humanity, even to fight

properly in their behalf. Never shall I forget her face as it used to appear to me coming up the cloisters, with that weary hang of the head on one side, and that melancholy smile."

There is more about this excellent woman which we should like to quote. We must content ourselves, however, with one trait more. She adopted not only the religious, but the republican, creed of her husband, and, in maintaining the latter, was apt to be rather intolerant. Poor lady! not only can we forgive—we must even admire—a vehemence springing from the force of strongest feminine affections. Her zeal may not, indeed, have been according to knowledge; but, better still, it was according to love. To regard the unfortunate partner of her life with passionate esteem, was a necessity of her nature, the condition of her life. The assertion of his characteristic opinions was therefore become with her a sort of self-defence, and the more so as he seemed to fail in them before the world. To this subject she would bring all the instinctive skill and tender fierceness of a woman; for it was the apology of her own devotion, and that which alone redeemed her married life from self-contempt.

The most recent auto-biography is that of Thomas de Quincey, known to those well conversant with current English literature as a writer of subtle genius and great learning, and to the general world of readers as the author of that eloquent little book, "*The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.*" An inquiry into the literary merits of Mr. De Quincey is foreign to the purpose, and would far exceed the limits, of this brief and desultory paper. For the present, therefore, we confine ourselves to the "*Auto-biographic Sketches,*" which form the initial volume of the new edition of his writings; but we hope, before the promised series is complete, to invite our readers to a consideration of their merits, by a due estimate of their variety of topic and peculiarity of treatment.

Returning, then, to our immediate subject. This is, emphatically, the auto-biography of digressions. To those who are familiar with the author's writings, this circumstance will bring no surprise. It is characteristic of his fruitful and discursive mind, and is that to which both the charm and imperfection of his style are mainly due. All Mr. De Quincey's works are distinguished—not to say, disfigured—by the very large proportion of episodic matter. Not content with indulging in a copious and ramifying text, this also, in its turn, is loaded and enriched by numerous illustrative notes, often of great value, which hang loosely on the body of the work, like the scalps in an Indian's wampum-belt. They are the trophies of his vigorous and triumphant genius, gathered from every field of learning. They often encumber the free exercise of his artistic talents, so that few of his productions have any claim to the beauty of form and

highest symmetry : but the reader cannot wish them away ; for that would be so much loss, while their presence is a welcome superfluity of good. They are a kind of riches that our judgment might have forbidden us to desire, but which our avarice will not suffer us to refuse. They are an unexpected, and even a bewildering, addition to the author's theme ; but our greed of knowledge overcomes the strict simplicity of taste, and we take them by the way, like mouthfuls of a choice collateral salad.

But these endless deviations of Mr. De Quincey are still less to be regretted in reference to the volume of his memoirs. The byways of a country are always more delightful than the main-road ; and in a memorial retrospect we may be profitably led to visit those without wholly losing sight of this. The opening chapter is devoted to the author's remembrances of childhood, and especially of a young and gifted sister. There is something marvellous in Mr. De Quincey's memory of that early period, as well as in his eloquent descriptions of its affections and its griefs, of its pure and passive happiness, of the unconscious awe which invests the feeble mind of infancy when standing, for the first time, in the mysterious company of Death. But the reader of the "Confessions" is familiar with this peculiar power of our author, and we prefer to quote an instance of domestic portraiture :—

"This eldest brother of mine was, in all respects, a remarkable boy. Haughty he was, aspiring, immeasurably active ; fertile in resources as Robinson Crusoe ; but also full of quarrel as it is possible to imagine ; and, in default of any other opponent, he would have fastened a quarrel upon his own shadow for presuming to run before him when going westwards in the morning, whereas, in all reason, a shadow, like a dutiful child, ought to keep deferentially in the rear of that majestic substance which is the author of its existence. Books he detested, one and all, excepting only such as he happened to write himself. And these were not a few. On all subjects known to man, from the 'Thirty-nine Articles' of our English Church, down to pyrotechnics, legerdemain, magic, both black and white, thaumaturgy, and necromancy, he favoured the world (which world was the nursery where I lived among my sisters) with his select opinions. On this last subject especially—of necromancy—he was very great ; witness his profound work, though but a fragment, and, unfortunately, long since departed to the bosom of Cinderella, entitled, 'How to Raise a Ghost ; and when you've Got him Down, How to Keep him Down.' To which work, he assured us, that some most learned and enormous man, whose name was a foot and a half long, had promised him an appendix, which appendix treated of the Red Sea and Solomon's signet-ring, with forms of *Mittimus* for ghosts that might be refractory, and, probably, a Riot-Act for any *émeute* amongst ghosts inclined to raise barricades ; since he often thrilled our young hearts by supposing the case, (not at all unlikely, he affirmed,) that a federation, a solemn league and conspiracy, might take place among the infinite generation of ghosts against the single generation of men, at one time composing the garrison of earth. The Roman phrase for expressing that a man had died, *viz.*,

'*Abiit ad plures*,' ('He has gone over to the majority,') my brother explained to us; and we easily comprehended that any one generation of the living human race, even if combined, and acting in concert, must be in a frightful minority by comparison with all the incalculable generations that had trod this earth before."

From this point the author goes off into one of his digressions of speculation; but our space forbids us to admit the whole of this characteristic passage. We should have liked to tell the reader more of this enterprising boy, and to have enriched our page with a companion-picture,—that of a younger brother, familiarly called "Pink," strangely endowed with a feminine sensibility and beauty, in connexion with heroic strength and courage. But we must forbear. So far as Mr. de Quincey has yet proceeded, there is no want of interest in his reminiscences; but his style is more faulty than we had expected to find, and the arrangement of his story is hardly agreeable to his acknowledged skill and practice in composition. One cause of this defect is due, no doubt, to the fact that some of the sketches that make up this volume were written many years ago, and at different times, and are only made intelligible in their present form by repeated reference to the circumstances of their first appearance. Of the growth of the author's mind, under literary influences, we have no account; and, on the whole, we shall form a better opinion of this work from a first impression than in a critical and studied estimate.

In this hasty sketch of one interesting branch of literature, of course there is much omitted that individual readers might expect to find. Many standard examples of auto-biography have been necessarily passed by; with many lighter, but not less curious, memoirs,—such as those of that quaint and plausible impostor, William Lilly, and that pleasant and conceited gossip, Colley Cibber. The one assures us what it is to lie like an almanack-maker; and the other calls back the faded beauties of the stage, and re-animates their patched and painted smiles. Cellini, too, the brawling citizen and cunning artist; and Pellico, whose gentle nature resisted the worst power of tyranny,—its hardening and corrupting influence; and Lucy Hutchinson, from whose example we may learn, that man can rise to no altitude of virtue which is beyond the sympathy and fellowship of woman:—these characters have not been chosen to adorn our page, and are summoned only at the close, by the simple magic of a name, to excuse an omission which the reader's memory so well supplies. We have found no adequate space even for a due consideration of the last and ablest of our English Diarists,—so remarkable for his boundless energy, his sanguine spirit, his fluctuating fortunes, and his resilient hopes; and so unfortunate in wanting the sustained moral temper requisite for all great achievements, in art as well as in affairs. From this example we might have

enforced the greatest lesson which the career of genius has supplied to this or any age. But the painful history of R. B. Haydon, which was briefly glanced at in our last number, has been since more largely dwelt upon by many of our contemporaries; and those who have already taken it to heart are not likely to have lost so soon the sad impression.

- ART. IX.—1. *Correspondence relative to the recent Discovery of Gold in Australia.* Presented to Parliament, Feb. 3rd, 1852.
2. *Papers relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies.* Presented to Parliament, April 30th, 1852.
3. *Further Papers relative to the recent Discovery of Gold.* Presented to Parliament, June 14th, 1852.
4. *Further Papers relative to the Alterations in the Constitution of the Australian Colonies.* Presented to Parliament, July 1st, 1852.
5. *Further Papers on the Discovery of Gold.* Presented to Parliament, Feb. 28th, 1853.
6. *Further Papers relative to the Alterations in the Constitutions of the Australian Colonies.* Presented to Parliament, March 14th, 1853.
7. *Papers relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies.* Presented to Parliament, April 8th, 1853.
8. *Papers relating to Crown Lands in the Australian Colonies. Part I. New South Wales and Victoria.* Presented to Parliament, May 6th, 1853.
9. *Papers relative to Crown Lands in Australia. Part II. South and Western Australia, and Van Diemen's Land.* Presented to Parliament, August 16th, 1853.

SHORT as is the time since Thomas Campbell ceased to sing among us, it is not without an effort that we now enter into the feeling under which he made the "Departure of Emigrants for Australia" the subject of a finished poem. To us, that spectacle is ordinary, business-like, and promising; to him, the emigrants seemed exiles, with hunger behind them, and hope before, painfully exchanging a country which offered to their desires every thing but bread, for one which had nothing but bread to offer; whose harvests no neighbour's sickle would help to reap, and no forefather's homestead would enclose; which lay beyond the waves of the Bay of Biscay, and the roaring gales of the Cape, as far from the scene of all the wanderer's loves as it was possible for him to be driven, while still on the bosom of the world that bore him; which had heretofore been known, not as a real human home, but rather as a spot beyond the world, whereon the most forlorn tribes of barbarism, and the most corrupt offcasts of civilization, had met, each appalled at the other's

degradation ;—an unaccountable and outside country, which the science of Blumenbach had inclined to set down as no proper part of our earthly creation, but as some comet that had strayed and fallen into the South Sea, which even the wisdom of our legislators had selected as an end for the bad, standing, in point of terror, next door to the gallows. The poet's prompt eye saw broken ties hanging around each emigrant's bosom, like chords round a shattered harp ; his ear heard them, as tossed continually by gusts of feeling, give out mournful notes ; and he sang of—

“ Shores so far apart
From England's home, that e'en the home-sick heart
Quails, thinking, ere that gulf can be recross'd,
How large a space of fleeting life is lost.”

Little did he think that before he had been seven years in his grave, that far country would become the land of promise to tens of thousands in England, who had never been pressed by either hardship or suspicion ; would attract youth of all ranks from our fairest valleys and our proudest towns ; would be talked of, in almost every family in England, as the honourable home of some brother, cousin, or kinsman ;—that the Exchange of Liverpool would ring with huzzas, welcoming a mariner who, without help from steam, had, in less than twelve months, made two voyages thither and back ; and that, with that aid, another ship would go and come, each time, in four-and-sixty days. Yet, with that foresight which lies so near to high imagination, and is the birthright only of men of genius,—we do not mean the ordinary forecast, whereby common minds safely guess and provide for the ordinary future, by just remembering the past, but a high intuition and instinct of the future, in untried positions, where such forecast has neither an existence nor a calling,—by this, Campbell saw far more in the forest-fields of Australia than common eyes, and apostrophized that wild land, in words which now we can hardly read without wonder :—

“ As in a cradled Hercules, we trace
The lines of empire in thine infant face.
What nations, in thy wide horizon's span,
Shall teem in tracks untrodden yet by man !
What spacious cities, with their spires, shall gleam,
Where now the panther leaps a lonely stream ;
And all but brute, or reptile, life is dumb !
Land of the free ! thy kingdom is to come !

* * * *

Untrack'd in deserts lies the marble mine,—
Undug the ore that 'midst thy roofs shall shine ;
Unborn the hands—but born they are to be,
Fair Australasia !—that shall give to thee
Proud temple-domes, with galleries winding high,
So vast in space, so just in symmetry !”

It is one of the wonders of history, that, from the creation, a great continent has existed almost unpeopled, though containing more treasure than all the searches for gold, set on foot by the covetousness of man, have brought to light in any other part of the globe; a continent blessed with the variety of temperate and tropical climate, apt to nurse a great population; and lying within reach of the two most populous countries of the world,—of China, long over-crowded,—of India, whose shores teemed with poor. Just men enough reach it to increase the marvel, by showing that its forests had been found, though its riches were kept under a veil. Had things taken their natural course, China would have overflowed into it, and so would India, and at this day it would have been replenished with a hundred millions or more of Budhists and Brahmins. By an unnatural law against emigration, China holds in her swarms;—by an unnatural prejudice against the sea, India seals up her castes;—and the consequence is, that, through the long lapse of ages, that south continent lies awaiting its inhabitants, till, in the fulness of time, a people are brought from the most distant part of the earth's surface, with a light in their hands, which the nearer and more numerous nations of Asia had not received; and with a physical frame nursed under hardy skies, to which the Asiatic continent would be unfriendly, but which flourishes anew in the genial suns of Australia.

Time is given for this people to take such a hold of the country that nothing can sweep them off: then is lifted up a veil which had, since the Creation, hidden from man's eyes the rarest treasure they ever gazed on; and Australia draws towards her torrents of population. More swiftly than ever nation rose before, will this new nation rise,—numerous, powerful, and free,—offering to the wretched tribes of the isles which throng the Southern and Eastern Seas, an example of what, under the elevating influence of a true religion, an island race may become, and extending to the great continent of Asia powerful influences in favour of Christianity.

The feeling with which we are inspired, on looking at the progress of the British race in one short century, is something akin to awe. In 1753 less than three millions of our kindred were beyond our own isles, and they holding only what now forms the eastern seaboard of the United States. Their spread, and the conquest of Canada, have made all North America an outfield for the increase of England. The whole continent of India has become a political appendage of the same race. Much of South Africa, and the whole of Australia, has followed. This sudden accession of three magnificent continents, and a large section of a fourth, to one race of men, with provisions for permanency such as no former age of the world could give, is such an event as must be viewed with much feeling by every man who reflects, and as ought to move the heart of every Briton

to pray that we may prove worthy of the grand theatres opened by Providence for our action.

Nor is the reaction of Australia on the history of Europe likely to be without the highest importance. At the time the news of the gold discovery reached us, all the world was basking in the rays of genial amity, under the dome of the Crystal Palace. But as things were then running, only one powerful European nation had great gold resources,—Russia, which, annually drawing millions from her mines, would thereby have been gradually fortifying her one weak point, and preparing herself for European ascendancy. Australia, however, brings to light a store of gold, compared with which hers is insignificant; and that is poured into the lap of England, giving new vigour to every branch of her industry, new elasticity to every source of her revenue, and an incomparable stimulus to the energy of her people,—a stimulus which carries hope to the bosom of the lowliest, and sets prizes in view which move even the idle to be up, and quit themselves like men. Perhaps this last is the most important contribution to our strength of all. The hardy spirit which war has too often been the only instrument for breathing into a population, and which can never be lost without danger to national independence, will be well served by the discipline which thousands upon thousands of England's youth will cheerfully take on ship-board, in the bush, and at the mines; while the letters of these men, and their frequent return, full of colonial energy, will constantly act upon those who stay at home, and call out that strong English ambition, which, though well pleased and proud at the spirit of our children, is not content to be outdone by them. Thus, while the old country ministers to the comforts of the new, the new will minister to the vigour of the old; an effect which we have already seen in the case of America, if we specify nothing but the one cardinal article of ship-building; for all can see to how great an extent we owe the splendid vessels, such as the “Francis Henty” and the “Marco Paolo,” which now astonish us with their swift tidings from distant shores, to the resolution of our craftsmen “not to be beaten by the Yankees.” Another item of political strength for England, discernible in the rise of Australia, is this, that should Providence only grant our statesmen wisdom to make the connexion with England, instead of a restraint, an impediment, and a humiliation to the new country, a pride, a facility, and a defence,—as is the connexion of each new American State with the parent Union,—then the wealth and power of our countrymen in the far South-east will give an additional consolidation to our Indian and African possessions; the Cape, India, Australia, and New Zealand, being each a depôt of British power re-acting upon the other, gradually acquiring common interests, and contributing, in case of need, mutual aid and defence. Geographically, the route by India is the shortest mail-route to Australia, as was shown by Mr. Nicholay

at the late meeting of the British Association; and had our Government been as much alive to the consolidation of the Empire as its interests demand, and as ready to see into the future as the indications were plain, they would ere now have bound the Australian mails to the Indian route, by a line of packets from Ceylon, so appointed and sped that no rivals could gain the superior regards of the colonists, whose own habits—habits whereon all their success depends—teach them, above all things, to despise laggards, or, in their own phrase, “crawlers.”

Eighty-three years ago,* the shores of a lonely island on the extreme north of Australia rang with a volley of musketry. This strange sound, never heard there before from the Creation, was instantly followed by the roar of cannon; and then from the main-shrouds of war-ships rose a loud cheer in the voice of British tars. A second and a third time, the volley, the cannon, the huzza, successively broke the silence of that ancient solitude. The leading figure in the group ashore was that of James Cook, who, fresh from his Polynesian and New Zealand discoveries, had skirted the eastern shore of “the great south land,” so long the unknown and half-known wonder of mariners, and had just from the top of a lofty hill obtained evidence that he had found a passage into the Indian Seas. Now about to bid the land farewell, he had gathered his men to make a solemnity of claiming the lordship of these new-found coasts for his far-off native island in the north. The firing and the cheers had immediately followed the utterance of these words:—

“As I am about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I have coasted from lat. 38° to this place, and which, I am confident, no European has ever seen before, I once more hoist English colours; and, though I have already taken possession of several parts, I now take possession of the whole of the eastern coast, by the name of New South Wales, (from its great similarity to that part of the principality,) in the right of my Sovereign, George the Third, King of Great Britain.”

It would have been easy for a light spirit to laugh at our flag waving in sovereignty over no one, where, perhaps, a Briton would never come; and even the lips of the patriot discoverer could not prophesy for what immense results Providence had guided him thither, and led him to set up that right-protecting flag.

We are not the authors, but the heirs, of Australian discovery. Here, as in America, the Spaniards were first; and many a Dutch mariner had touched on its wild coasts, and borne back disheartening tales, before ever an English prow ruffled its waters. The islands which had rewarded the toil of Columbus glowed with tropical beauty, and his continent yielded gold. If the dark mountains and terrible gales of the African Cape had little

* August 21st, 1770.

charm for the Portuguese discoverers, India, to which it led, was the very Paradise of merchants; and the islands of the East teemed with every valuable and every rarity. It was, therefore, no wonder that the discoverers looked coldly upon a shore which, at first sight, offered none of these charms, and which, beside, lay so fearfully far away. The Spaniards seem never to have looked after their discovery; and though the Dutch came so often as to explore nearly the whole of the north and western coast, they saw nothing to tempt them. Carstens reports to his masters, the Dutch East India Company, "Every where shallow water and barren coasts, islands altogether thinly peopled by divers cruel, poor, and brutal natives, and of very little use to the Company." Van Diemen's Land got even a worse name; for, not content with saying, "There are few vegetables, and the people use no houses," some of the mariners, who evidently felt as if they had been guilty of trespassing beyond the bounds of man's proper world, reported it to be "the howling abode of evil spirits." Perhaps, indeed, this may have been a prophetic allegory, signifying what an English statesman, in days to come, would think he ought to make it.

Eighteen years after Cook's artillery had shaken the Australian shore, it again echoed to the sound of English arms; and this time not as a ceremonial of farewell, but of occupation,—an occupation begun under circumstances the most cheerless, yet destined not only to be permanent, but fruitful of grand events. So long as the fire of patriotism exists in America, the landing of the first desolate but glorious band on the bare rocks of New England will be a scene of which the poverty and the virtue will equally form proud objects of remembrance. No such memories will hallow the first page of Australian history. But if on the shores of the West we see how glorious a result Providence could draw from the exile of England's worth, on the shores of the South we are presented with a still more rapid greatness, reared up by the same mysterious Disposer, from the transport of England's crime. How many schemes, calculated by man's foresight to found great countries, have perished in the trial, or are languishing in obscurity, while these two movements, wherein no greatness was sought, but only in one case an asylum for conscience, and in the other a confinement for guilt, are now commemorated as the origin of nations, whose present glory but stimulates imagination to picture what they may hereafter be!

In May, 1837, eleven vessels, headed by a frigate, sailed from the shores of England for Botany Bay. It was a melancholy fleet, laden with the refuse of many jails. Eight hundred and fifty criminals, of whom six hundred were males, were for ever leaving the country which their deeds had stained, for one of which, probably, the majority had never heard, till the rumour that they were going to be banished quite out of the world, confusedly circu-

lated among their ranks. Two hundred soldiers, accompanied by fifty women, formed the guard and the free founders of the future colony. It may be doubted whether the criminal who was ordered to the scaffold, and the soldier who had to march up to face death, did not the one consider his own case quite as good, and the other his far prouder, than that of their comrades who had to set forth, as transport, or as colonist, on that dismal voyage. After these crime-ships had received their commission, and the statesmen had sent on board all their provisions for the new colony which was at once to punish and reform, it occurred to some one,—we know not whom, but to some private individual,—that for such a community it would not be amiss if something were done in the way of religious teaching. No schoolmaster, no Minister of the Gospel, had formed any part of the Government scheme for this reformatory colony. At the last moment the influence of the unknown individual moved Bishop Porteus, who persuaded Sir Joseph Banks that a Clergyman ought to be appointed for the fleet; and before they sailed, one was really got aboard. This is only one among ten thousand proofs of the distance at which it is too much the fashion of British statesmen to keep religion from their official thoughts. In other countries, men whose private life is scandalous, feel a responsibility to acknowledge Providence and uphold religion in public affairs; but among us, too often, even men whose private life is commendable, seem to touch public movements as if nations were not within the dominions of God; and as if public prosperity had other sure foundations than individual goodness.

After nine months at sea,—not a very long voyage for those days,—the “first fleet,” as it is called in colonial phrase, cast anchor in Botany Bay, which Cook had visited and named. But Governor Phillip soon found that the harbour was unsafe, the land not capable of cultivation, and the fresh water insufficient: he therefore was compelled to admit that the spot to which he had travelled sixteen thousand miles, was unfit for its purpose. He had sufficient decision not even to land his convicts, but resolved at once on seeking a practicable site for a colony. A sailor named Jackson, in Cook’s fleet, had descried an opening in the high cliffs some few miles north of Botany Bay; but the eye of the navigator, on inspecting it, decided that it was only some cove where boats might shelter, and fixed upon it the name of the unknown seaman, Port Jackson. Governor Phillip, though intending to reach Broken Bay, considerably to the north,—a port also named by Cook,—thought that he might examine this unpromising opening. Two high heads facing steeply to the sea, with an immense depth of water at their base, showed a channel of some three-quarters of a mile broad. Through this the boats passed, and hailed with joy the unexpected opening of a glorious harbour, fifteen miles long, by about three broad, studded with islands, enlivened with black swans, and other rare birds, and

fringed on either side with a various coast of jutting points, deep bays, and retreating mazy creeks, the whole coloured with the various green of forest-trees, or the grey of boulders which lay heaped up on some of the promontories. The Governor found a cove formed by two points of land, with a brook running into it, and, calling it Sydney Cove, resolved to build his new town on one of the projecting points, which, starting steeply out of the water, offered natural quays on three sides. On the 26th of January, 1788, the fleet was anchored close by this spot, the British flag was hoisted in the forest which covered the selected point of land, the King's proclamation for constituting the colony was read, and a salute of small arms fired; and so the history of New South Wales began.

Though Port Jackson was incomparable as a harbour, and beautiful as a scene, it soon proved that its shores did not offer ready sustenance to its new population. The trees were hard, and, when removed, the soil was a barren sand. All around, frowned terrible forests inhabited by wild natives. No animals worth mentioning, besides the kangaroo, offered to reward the huntsman who should risk his life in the thickets. Never had helplessness, misery, and vice a more absolute reign over Britons, than in the first years of a colony which has already become renowned for energy and wealth, and will, we trust, gain equal eminence in virtue. Slaves and tyrants, jail-birds and jailers, ignorant of agriculture, inapt at contrivance, reckless of morals, trusting to Government rations for food, and to stripes and chains for order,—not even building a church,—the colony crawled and drivelled for three years, till it was on the very point of starvation: then a ship with provisions was hailed in the offing; but an adverse wind drove her back from the Heads, and for a while the life of the poor creatures ashore, and the existence of the Colony of New South Wales, were fluttering in the uncertainty of the gale. At last she made the harbour, and only a few days after 1,200 more convicts arrived; so that, had not the stores come in, the work of death by famine would have been short. Yet this was more than three years after we had fairly sat down on that rich and fruitful land! It was not till after seven years that the first church, a miserable temporary structure of wood, was opened; and even this had few attendants. At the same period, and, indeed, for more than twenty years, the ordinary currency of the colony was—abomination as it is, we must write it—spirits! When the officers wanted men to work hard, they would give them half-a-pint of spirits each. The whole condition of morals was such as these facts, taken in connexion with total inattention to family emigration, or to maintaining any natural proportion between the numbers of the sexes, would lead one to expect; and one does not wonder that when Governor Hunter arrived, in the same year when the church was opened, that is, seven years after Englishmen had made this spot

their home, only 179 were able to support themselves without rations from Government! Rather we might wonder that such a community had escaped the lot which at one time seemed hanging closely over their heads. Yet, in the designs of Providence, they, with all their sins and feebleness, were treading out a path on which a great and powerful people were to follow.

By degrees the pleasant lands along the river Hawkesbury began to attract settlers. The slowness with which anything considerable was effected, is all the more remarkable when we remember that each man who took a grant of land, had his hut built at the public expense; was furnished with implements and seed, with as many convicts as he could employ and keep; and, if he desired it, was victualled and clothed for eighteen months. A loss which befell the colony almost at the outset, led to one of the first openings to real colonization and wealth. Four cows and two bulls from their small stock were permitted to stray; and seven years afterwards, a wild herd of sixty cattle, sprung from these, were found in a situation so well chosen, that it was as valuable for its pastoral advantages, as the herd was welcome to an ill-fed colony. The place where the joyful discovery was made,—one so joyful that even the Governor went on purpose to regale his eyes with the sight,—is still known as the Cow Pastures. On this district settled John M'Arthur, a gentleman who had come to the colony as an officer of the New-South-Wales Corps. Made of the observant and spirited material out of which Colonies grow, he soon remarked that the climate favourably modified the hair of some sheep which had been imported from India,—a country where the sheep has a hide resembling that of a calf; as if to show how animated nature is capable of adaptation to external influences. M'Arthur's observations led him to purchase eight fine-wooled sheep, which had been sent by the Dutch Government to the Cape of Good Hope, then in their hands, but exported to Sydney by the colonists, who did not care for them. He soon formed plans for turning the new country into a wool-farm. Having to visit England, he succeeded in stating his schemes to the Privy Council, obtaining a grant of ten thousand acres to carry them out; and, what was not of less moment, he was allowed to purchase from the King's own flock a few pure Spanish Merinoes, which could not then be exported from Spain, but under penalty of death. He chose his estate on the site where the herd of cattle had been found, and there, at "Camden," produced the first growth of the vine, and the first flocks of pure Merinoes, from which has sprung that amazing power, whereby Australia now holds the whole of the West Riding, populous and powerful as it is, in anxious attention upon its yearly crops. These services earned for M'Arthur the title of "Father of the Colony,"—a title which will be accorded to him with greater and greater zest, as years develop the value of the enterprises which he initiated.

Perhaps no State is to be great without a revolution ; and it is to be hoped that Australia will be content with the very well-managed and successful one through which it has passed. By one of those fearful blunders which are not so rare at our Colonial Office as we could wish, the unfortunate Captain Bligh, whose intolerable temper had caused the mutiny in the "Bounty," was appointed to the delicate post of Governor of the jail-colony of New South Wales. His whole career was foolish, savage, and almost insane. Happily for the community, he was not content with devouring convicts and soldiers ; but fastened on M^r Arthur, and so exceeded all bounds of legal proceeding, that the entire community rose up, and besought Major Johnson, the Lieutenant-Governor, to arrest his Excellency. He had the courage to do what, to a soldier, must have been painful,—an act of overt rebellion, though of downright and valuable loyalty. He called his men to arms, and, with band playing, colours flying, and bayonets fixed, marched direct upon Government House, where poor Bligh was dragged from under a bed. Major Johnson was of course called home, and tried ; but the sense of Bligh's conduct was strongly marked by the fact, that for a proceeding so plainly revolutionary, the Major was simply sentenced to be cashiered. He returned to the colony he had saved, to spend his days in respect, near Bathurst, the first place where gold was extensively discovered.

The alarm which this revolution caused, led the Government to send out a man of energy and talent,—Governor Macquarie ; whose name is not more clearly printed on the maps of Australia, than on its institutions, and on the recollections of every colonist of standing. He resolved to make the place, not a prison, but a home ; and whether the man was bond or free, who deserved encouragement, he would give it to him. His own words justly describe the state of things as he found them :—

"I found the colony barely emerging from infantine imbecility, suffering from various privations and disabilities, the country impenetrable beyond forty miles from Sydney, agriculture in a yet languishing state, commerce in its early dawn, revenue unknown, threatened with famine, distracted by factions, the public buildings in a state of dilapidation, a few roads and bridges almost impassable, the population in general depressed by poverty ; no credit, public or private ; the morals of the great mass of the population in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost totally neglected."*

It was he who said that "the colony consisted of those who had been transported, and those who ought to have been." Acting on this estimate of his subjects, he reigned with a high, but generous, authority ; making little difference between a man who had been transported, and one who only ought to have been, provided both would but work and get rich. He had not

* "Colonics of Australia," p. 68.

been more than two months on shore when he made Andrew Thompson—a convict Scotchman, who had well earned both character and wealth—a magistrate; and not only he, but other “emancipists,” (to use the awkward colonial word for a freed convict,) were often invited to dine at Government House. This proceeding gave great offence; though no such feeling was shown some years before, when a convict, (James Dickson,) who was known to have been a Romish Priest, was conditionally emancipated, to act as a Clergyman; no other belonging to his Church having yet reached the colony. But religion was then a thing which might be attended to by anybody who thought it worth his while. The energy brought by Governor Macquarie to his duties soon diffused itself. He made tours in all directions where fertile lands had been discovered, beyond the comparatively sterile district immediately around Sydney; planted townships, and urged on the whole community to enterprise. The blue mountains which had hitherto bounded the colony were crossed; and beyond them fine tracts of upland plain opened new sources of wealth. This district received the name of Bathurst Plains, and has since attained a celebrity in comparison with which the noise made by its first discovery was nothing. In Governor Macquarie’s day roads were made, public buildings raised, and all the benefits which could be derived from the labour of the convicts secured with great energy. In fact, it was during the twelve years of his administration that New South Wales ceased to be a mere sea-walled jail, and became a country. Yet he does not seem ever to have embraced the idea of its probable greatness; but rather to have been zealous for results on a small scale, and to accept what he attained with wonderful self-satisfaction. His guiding idea was that of a penal colony; but he thought it easier to govern convicts by making them rich, than by mere brute force. How little he foresaw the great destinies of the territory he ruled, may be judged from his expressing to the home Government “a fond hope” that New South Wales would never be burdened with such an institution as a Council to assist the Governor; and yet more from the fact of his discouraging the import of females, because they were troublesome, while work could be got out of male convicts. Indeed, no just views of the great moral and social duty of properly apportioning the sexes, appear to have been entertained by any one in power, till the labours of Mrs. Chisholm forced attention to the point. Now it is not likely to be again overlooked, nor may we fear that any other shore will see a community of Englishmen formed, where provision is not made for basing all other institutions on that whereon alone they can surely rest, namely, the family. No records are more fearful than those of early Australian society, whether found in the guarded language of books, or in the verbal descriptions of those who witnessed a state of things which they shudder to

remember. Never were institutions better arranged to breed vice, and never antidotes more sparingly provided:—a host of men, the majority the worst Europe could spare out of her mouth; a few women, and the majority of them of the same order as the men; convicts assigned to settlers, in a sort of slavery, well used by some, ill used by many, and frequently subjected to the most savage floggings; spirits circulated with terrific profusion; all educational and religious restraints woefully neglected. Even so late as 1835, Judge Burton, in his charge to the jury, felt bound to use this language:—

“The picture presented was one of the most painful description. It would appear, to one who could look down upon the community, as if the main business of all were the commission of crime, and the punishment of it,—as if the whole colony were continually in motion towards the several courts of justice; and the most painful reflection of all must be, that so many capital sentences and the execution of them have not had the effect of preventing crime by way of example.

“In his (Judge Burton’s) opinion, one grand cause of such a state of things was an overwhelming defect of religious principle in this community,—a principle which he considered as the polar star to guide a man in all his conduct, and without which none other would prevent him from crime. But, that he might not be said to make so grave a charge upon light foundations, he would instance the crimes of violence, the murders, the manslaughters in drunken revels, the perjuries, the false witnesses from motives of revenge or reward, which in the proceedings before him had been brought to light. Many instances, upon his notes of evidence in cases tried before him, had brought him to the conclusion, that there is an overwhelming defect of religious principle in this colony.”*

To meet the defect of religious feeling thus deplorably manifested, the agencies of the different Churches in this country were not prompt; and no stronger cause, surely, can be shown for earnest effort to pervade all our population at home with true religion, and to follow them *pari passu* wherever they emigrate, as settlers, convicts, or soldiers, with every restraint and every light which Christianity can offer, than is seen in the fact, that, from an irreligious English population, we may form, in one of the finest climates upon earth, a community literally blotched and bleared with crimes. When Mr. Johnson, the first Chaplain, left the colony, Mr. Marsden (a name of which the honour, though dimmed by sheep-breeding and secular pursuits, is still great) alone held that office for seven years; and, when he left for England, a temporary substitute was appointed. It was not till 1818 that a Roman Catholic Priest landed; and he was not allowed to remain, for want of proper sanction from the home authorities. He left behind him a consecrated wafer, around which the Romanists assembled to offer up their prayers. In 1815—that is, twenty-seven years after the colony was founded

* See Montgomery Martin’s “Australia,” p. 411.

—arrived the first Methodist Missionary, Samuel Leigh, of whom a highly interesting Life has just appeared.* It is to be hoped that no spot of the British dominions will ever again be allowed to pass so many years, and witness so many scenes of darkness, without the presence of a Methodist Missionary. Mr. Leigh was just more fortunate than Mr. Flynn, the Romish Priest, having narrowly escaped being sent back, through the pains taken to provide him with proper credentials, and through the happy effect produced on Governor Macquarie by his own open account of the way in which he meant to do his work. It was not till 1826 that a Presbyterian Minister was appointed.

Mr. Leigh was the first who attempted the only mode in which the Gospel ministry can be brought to bear on all the scattered population of a new country. He soon pushed his way through forests and hills, from one end of the colony to another, making visits in a regular plan of itinerancy to all the townships he could reach. How absolutely such a plan is needed, may be judged from the following statement, made by Mackenzie, respecting one remote district on the Hume, as the Murray is called in its earlier stage:—

“In a populous district on the Hume river, the people are two hundred miles from the nearest church or Clergyman. There is neither Missionary, Catechist, nor Schoolmaster, in all the district. It cannot boast even of a burial-ground; and hence the dead are generally buried in sight of the huts. These graves may be seen here and there in the forest, fenced-in by a few rails. The very form of Christianity is lost among them. In one place the people kept, they knew not how long, the Friday instead of the Sabbath-day. One man stated, that, having been accustomed, when young, to shave on the Saturday night, he knew when the Sabbath came by the length of his beard. Their children, eight or nine years of age, are still unbaptized. All that is wanted to change the habits of the people are a few proper men to *itinerate* among them. They ought to have prudence, unconquerable zeal, and fervent piety. They should be good riders, able to sleep under a tree, and capable of enduring fatigue. They should learn to swim; and think it no hardship to dine, in the hut of a native, on a half-roasted opossum.”†

Men who will count anything in the way of eating, drinking, and sleeping, hardship, in the work of Christianizing a new empire, are not worthy of any share in such an honour. “Bonaparte a great man!” said Lady Hester Stanhope, in one of her bright sallies, “he complained of his bed at St. Helena! Who ever heard of a great man complaining of his bed?” Many a sawyer, in the cedar-forests of New South Wales, has lain, for months together, on damp beds; many a common labourer has gone through endless hardships, in creeks, gullies, floods, and

* “Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh. By the Rev. A. Strachan.” London: Hamilton and Adams.

† *Ibid.*, p. 65.

storms; and many a graceless digger has faced hunger, cold, damp, fatigue, and danger,—all professing nothing higher than the desire to make a living: and surely the Christian Church can yield men whose heart in the holy ministry is such that they will dare, will sacrifice, and will endure, for the glorious ends they have in view, not only what any man will do for gold, but so much that they may look on the whole swarm of workers, and say, “In labours more abundant than you all.” Without such men the work of Christianity in Australia cannot be done.

The following incident shows that, even in the darkest condition of an English community, the good seed will spring up somewhere, and hallow the worst scenes by, here and there, a family and a rite which remind us of “The Cottar’s Saturday Night:”—

“A gentleman in Sydney expressed a wish that he would visit a friend of his at the settlement of Castlereagh. ‘I will give you,’ said he, ‘a letter of introduction to him; he will be glad to see you; for, like yourself, he is a Staffordshire man.’ Mr. Leigh mounted his horse, and reached Castlereagh late in the evening. On arriving up to the fence enclosing the premises, he observed the gentleman standing in the door. ‘Sir,’ said Mr. Leigh, ‘I have a letter from your friend Mr. M., of Sydney. He wishes you to allow me, as a Wesleyan Missionary, to preach to your people.’ The haughty settler replied, peremptorily, ‘I shall do nothing of the kind.’ ‘Perhaps,’ said Mr. Leigh, ‘you will be so kind as to allow my horse to remain in your yard all night, and permit me to sleep in your barn? I shall pay you whatever you may demand for our accommodation.’ The gentleman repeated, in a tone, and with a vehemence, that settled the question, ‘I will do nothing of the kind.’ ‘Do you think,’ inquired Mr. Leigh, ‘that any one in the settlement will take me in for the night?’ ‘I think John Lees will,’ said the farmer; ‘he lives about two miles off in that direction,’ pointing with his finger.

“Mr. Leigh turned his horse, and rode, as fast as the entangling nature of the underwood would admit, in search of the homestead of John Lees. On arriving at his wood hut, he knocked with the end of his whip at the door, and called out, ‘Will you receive a Wesleyan Missionary?’ The door opened, and out came a little, stiff, ruddy lad, who laid hold of the bridle with one hand, and the stirrup with the other, and said, ‘Get off, Sir! My father will be glad to see you.’ Mr. Leigh dismounted, and entered the hut. His astonishment may well be conceived, when he observed a number of persons sitting round a three-legged table in the most orderly manner. Directing the attention of the stranger to some books that lay on the table, old Lees said, ‘We were just going to have family-worship. Perhaps you will have no objection to take that duty off my hands?’ ‘Not at all,’ said Mr. Leigh; and, taking up the Bible, opened it on Isaiah xxxv.: ‘The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.’ Here he was obliged to pause, and allow the tears to flow, until he could again command the power of utterance. He then proceeded with the second verse:—‘It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of

Carmel and Sharon. They shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.' But he could proceed no further. Five minutes before, he had felt himself to be a stranger in a strange land, enclosed in the woods of Australia at a late hour, and without a home; now he was in Bethel, while the verses which he had read opened to his view the moral renovation of the world. He was quite overcome; and his manly spirit, that could unbutton his waistcoat to receive the spear of the man-eater, was unable to breast the tide of its own feelings. When they arose from their knees, the farmer crossed the floor, and, seizing Mr. Leigh's hand, squeezed it until he felt as if the blood were dropping from the points of his fingers. 'We have been praying for three years,' said Lees, 'that God would send us a Missionary: now that you are come, we are right glad to see you. We had not even heard of your arrival in the colony.' After supper, they retired to rest, exclaiming, 'We have seen strange things to-day.' '*

After Macquarie, the Governor whose name will be most prominent in the future history of the colony, will be Sir Richard Bourke, who did much to prepare the rising community for self-government, and in whose days Port Phillip was settled as a dependency of New South Wales, and Melbourne received its name.

He endeavoured to introduce the Irish system of education, but was unable to carry his measure. Before his reign closed, both the Churches of England and of Rome had Bishops in Sydney. In his day, also, commenced the system of importing free emigrants, at the cost of a fund raised by the sale of lands; and then sprang up a class of great settlers, who desired to bless Australia with an aristocracy grown out of sheep-farmers; who, by virtue of laws against small settlers, by a high price for land, and by a combination of masters to give only low wages, would keep the market stocked with workmen, who, not being able to get land or high wages, must take what could be had. Some of their schemes, opinions, and doings, are amongst the queerest specimens of English selfishness putting on the air of gentlemanly tastes and plans: and had they long had their way, doubtless all the labouring population of New South Wales would have grown sour against England, law, authority, and wealth, till some day the "great settlers" would have found their flocks and herds no protection against popular fury. But even in ordinary times wages would keep overleaping bounds, poor men would prosper; and at last the gold discovery dashed in pieces all hopes of creating an artificial dearth of employment.

Where, sixty-five years ago, Governor Phillip looked upon a silent harbour from an open boat, Governor Fitzroy now dwells in a castellated structure, which cost about £60,000, with a tower seventy feet high, soaring stately above the wood and water of Farm Cove; and thence he looks out on a proud and stirring scene. On the north shore, across the harbour, lies St. Leonard's,—a

* Leigh's Life, p. 46.

pleasant and wealthy suburb. On the waters, instead of the black swans of the native solitude, are the black swans of commerce,—a noble and numerous fleet, representing many nations, some under sail, some lying close against the rock-face of the natural wharf, with steamers continually coursing up and down. On the south shore stretches out the spacious city of Sydney,—the boast and wonder of the colonial population, which even the newly-arrived European readily pronounces worthy to be the young capital of the grand dominion lying around it. Covering the whole of the ridge first chosen, sweeping down the valley, and climbing up another hill, with its George-street two and a quarter miles long, its 65,000 people, its thorough English look, shopped and gas-lit,—it is, altogether, so like a seaport of our own shores, that the traveller is almost sorry it does not look stranger; for, as to anything outlandish, he might almost as well have stayed at home. But, now and then, an orange-tree blooming by a cottage, a flock of green parrots resting on a roof, the tattooed cheeks of a New-Zealander, or the spindle-legs and matty hair of a black Australian, certify that it is England at the antipodes, and not England at home. This city has its Legislature, possessed of the most important powers, even to the revision of the Constitution; its Corporation, with a Mayor, whose official salary is £800 a-year; and its University, of which the Senate consists of members of all the leading religious denominations. It has also its hospitals and its poor; the latter accounted for chiefly by the frightful number of public-houses,—the former, by a goodly, yet insufficient, number of churches of various persuasions. Few cities are so orderly at night, notwithstanding the excesses of intoxication to which so many of its people are wretchedly addicted. Even after the great province of Victoria has been separated, the territory of which Sydney is the capital, is as large as ten Englands; with a thousand miles of sea-coast, rich in forests, mountains, plains, and table-lands, in pastures, crops, and mines; glittering with gold, studded with prosperous towns, resounding with the voice of industry and the bleating of innumerable flocks. In a sensible, clever little book, we have the following picture of an agricultural district:—

“Whichever way I looked, I could see fields of the tall green Indian corn, (maize,) with its tassel tops, bending and waving under the fresh breeze that was sweeping over it. Here, again, a square of orchard, loaded with splendid peaches, broke the uniformity of the surface; there, a piece of ground new ploughed, or with the teams at work upon it; and here, a square of wheat stubble, on which a boy tended a herd of pigs, as they picked up the scattered grain,—still further varied the prospect; and, every few fields apart, some more or less simple edifice marked the homestead. In some places it was no more than the bark hut of a few feet area, with its own dung-heap and stack; in others, it was the capacious and costly mansion, surrounded by farm-buildings of all sorts, and abundance of grain. My way to the farm of the first settler I had been advised to go to, a miller, lay

along the lowlands ascending the river. On making my way down into this tract, I found all sorts of vegetables and fruit-trees flourishing,—at least, all the settlers troubled themselves to plant. There were excellent figs, gooseberries, currants, lemons, oranges, melons, peaches as large as a good-sized breakfast-cup, and of the most exquisite flavour; potatoes, pumpkins as big as a large bucket, cabbages, radishes, onions, beans, pease,—in short, everything of the kind profusely produced, and of the most superior quality. In one place I saw a whole cart-load of the most delicious peaches going along the road; and on asking the driver where he was taking them to market, he told me they were for the pigs, and that all the season through they gathered a similar load every other day, from under the trees in the orchard, for the same purpose. In another place I found a large tract planted with what, at first glance, seemed to be a species of cabbage; but on inquiring of some men, who were working among the plants, hilling them up, I found it to be tobacco. They said there would be about twelve hundred weight to the acre, and that, if well cured, it would be worth £150 per acre; and that really well-cured Australian tobacco would sell about that part as well as American; but few people could succeed, from want of a knowledge of the true process, in effecting a good cure of their leaf.”*

The colony is divided into twenty-two counties, eleven “Commissioners’ districts,” and five “other districts;” and its revenue for the last quarter, ending July, 1853, shows an increase of 73 *per cent.* on the corresponding quarter of 1852, and is as follows:—

	Amount.	Increase.
Customs	£75,658	£30,550
Colonial spirits	6,314	3,351
Gold	16,295	3,785
Land sales	12,326	12,326
Publicans’ licences	31,003	3,427
Postage	5,110	735

For a full description of the various departments of the colony we must refer to books; and that containing the clearest, fullest, and most pleasing we have seen, is the Australian volume of Mr. Montgomery Martin’s new work on the Colonies; a work so produced by author and publisher, as to be at once a drawing-room book, a collection of national portraits, a good atlas, a store of official statistics, a guide for the emigrant, and a book of entertaining knowledge for any one.

The next point on the Australian continent which received a colony was Swan River; the most distant site from the original one at Sydney yet chosen; and now, from a variety of causes, becoming so distinct from the other colonies, that we almost begin to think of it as a different country. And, indeed, so far as difference of country can be caused by territorial distance, and not by distinctness of population, it, and the South and East

* “Settlers and Convicts. By an Emigrant Mechanic,” p. 121. London: Cox, King-William-street.

colonies, are different countries, even more than Germany and France. But it is held by the children of the same island, speaking the same tongue, and instinct with the same sympathies: therefore, however far from Sydney, or even Adelaide, it is really a member of the same hardy and thriving family. Its history has none of the salient points in which that of the other colonies abounds; except, indeed, for the purpose of reading our Government a lesson upon foresight in founding colonies, and on consideration in tempting people to put a vast sea between them and the chances of home-comfort, before they are provided with anything like a chance of making comforts for themselves. Swan River has fallen into comparative obscurity, and been often looked upon as a failure; and so far as the hopes of the first settlers, and the sufferings which they had to endure, are concerned, a failure it might be called. But it has never been a hopeless enterprise. The climate is good, the territory immense, much of the land of great value, the settlers steady and respectable, and the progress of the colony, in all that promises ultimate importance, highly gratifying, and now more rapid than ever; especially when we consider that its more showy sisters of the South and East have been constantly attracting all the emigrants, while it has been left chiefly to the unaided labour of its original settlers and their families. The decision of the Government to send small and well-regulated supplies of convicts, will probably be of great material advantage to the colony; while all precautions which the experience of New South Wales suggests, will apparently be taken against moral evil.

The recent discovery of guano on islands about Sharks' Bay promises greatly to increase the revenue of Swan River; for in late dispatches Governor Fitzgerald speaks of as much as four thousand tons of shipping lying there at a time, for that valuable cargo.* The pearl-fishery, which sounds tempting, does not appear as yet to have produced much; out of two thousand shells, only eighty small pearls having been taken,—“not worth £10.” What is of the highest importance, good lead and very rich copper mines have been lately discovered, at a convenient distance from a harbour, at the mouth of the Hutt; while at the same time noble regions of pastoral land are coming to light; so that the days of Swan River's prosperity seem close at hand.

If the history of Swan River has been comparatively obscure, that of South Australia has been as noisy as, perhaps, that of any country less than twenty years old. Before the colony existed, its fame was great, its admirers eloquent and powerful, its destinies fascinating the imagination of hundreds. Mr. Wakefield conceived grandly, described winningly, theorized plausibly, worked everywhere, inspired the press, possessed the Parliament, and altogether blew a bubble which, brilliant as any

* Blue Book on “Crown Lands,” August 16th, 1853.

of its family, looked, to the eyes of most men, solid as a nugget. There *was* to be, at last, a colony with “plenty of land, and plenty of labour,” where gentility was to seat itself on its ancestral level, and thence to survey and (if it would condescend) superintend the operation of making a fortune, by the labours of a properly subordinate working population,—a colony wherein an English city was to grow up at once, and flourish by its innate vigour; in fact, a colony so fitted for transplanting and propagating that most delectable variety of the human species,—the English country gentleman,—that the wonder was, how all who were or wished to be country gentlemen did not make haste to go and be great. Mr. Wakefield was much admired when his bubble was developing, its globe expanding, and its hues growing livelier, at each puff of his breath; when the city of Adelaide rose like magic, and town lots and rural lots changed hands so fast, and fortunes were made, and balls were given, and champagne flowed, and English style swelled, yea, towered, on the shores of Gulf St. Vincent. But, alas! when the breath was spent, and the bubble burst, how hardly he was set upon! Those who had been ready enough to believe that, by fixing a “sufficient price” on the land of a new colony, and so putting it out of the power of poor men to buy it, they would keep a population together on so small a surface, that the labour market would be at the command of the land-owner, and thus the gentleman would have no trouble in drawing from his dear acres a fortune that would enable him to found a great colonial line; or, perhaps,—better still,—would come early enough in life to enable him to return to England, and there, on some broad lands, rear up a monument of his early enterprise in the aristocratic El Dorado of the south;—men who had believed all this, and loved it, and been slow to see that it would not answer, when the bills of the Governor were dishonoured, and then the bills of everybody else, when the bankrupts’ gazette of Adelaide became as rich in good names as the lists of fashionable routs used to be, turned fiercely round and laid upon Mr. Wakefield, as if he were the silliest of mortals for having believed in such a theory, and the most depraved for having led them into his plans. Yet, if he thought that dear land would do wonders, Lord Aberdeen agreed with him, Lord John Russell agreed with him, bankers lent their money, and gentlemen embarked their all; and New South Wales, which had flourished and was flourishing with cheap land, was forced to try his plan, even its own Governor, Sir George Gipps, finding reasons for it. After all this, we feel disposed to be indulgent to any one individual, even though the author of the mischief. And as to the spectacle of a knot of English gentlemen sitting down to form a plan for preventing poor men from using the opportunities offered by Providence in a new country, a plan for entailing poverty upon certain lines, and wealth upon others, by malice

aforethought, why, it is altogether such an ugly, un-Christian, selfish scheme, that we are not disposed to be more severe on the one heart which had the perverse warmth to hatch it, than on the multitudes who welcomed its birth, and nursed it in their bosoms. When the dreams to which South Australia owed its premature celebrity and factitious growth were dreamed out, and the plain work of colonization alone remained, it proved that there was a noble country, a genial climate, and everything to reward the practical settler. And soon the discovery of copper, never hoped for either in the days of imagined prosperity, or in the first terrible times of disaster, gave a new spring to the resources of the colony, which has never ceased to grow steadily, except just when the gold fields in Victoria came to light, and draughted off the labouring population in mass, so that a panic, threatening a paralysis, fell for a moment on Adelaide. But the colonists, wisely confident in the wealth and permanent importance of their country, stood the shock, took prompt measures to avert its consequences, established an assay office for gold, and an overland convoy from the mines, and thus speedily began to enjoy again a prosperity on which no heavy cloud is likely soon to settle.

The good fortunes of South Australia seem only in their dawn ; for to her lot it falls to have the only great navigable river which has yet been traced in the country,—the Murray, which, rising away near the eastern shore, among the Australian Alps, runs right across the continent, dividing Victoria from New South Wales, and receiving in its course several important rivers ; of which the last is the Darling, a stream of 100 yards wide, and two fathoms deep ; while the Murray itself, before the junction, is 209 yards across. From this, onwards toward the sea, its course is 600 miles ; but, instead of making a clean channel to the ocean, it at last squanders itself in the great shallow, Lake Alexandrina, to which the sea entrance, by the Goolwa, is difficult, so that it was long regarded as useless for purposes of navigation, especially as the rapid changes of its depth, at different seasons, were represented as such that a hope of finding constant water for vessels scarcely existed. To the present Governor of South Australia, Sir H. E. F. Young, is due great credit for the ardour he has brought to the work of rendering this stream of real service to the immense tracts through which it runs, and to the province where it terminates. In all his dispatches on the subject, ordinary official coolness gives way to hearty enterprise. He might be a *savant*, pushing his discovery, or a settler, avaricious for the enrichment of his estates. He tells with pride of his personal survey of the river up 600 miles to the Darling, saying, “ There are no falls or rapids, or other impediments of any kind, except the insignificant ones already alluded to ; and, throughout the entire distance, there is a channel most amply deep for steamers of greater draught of water than that of the limit prescribed by the Legis-

lature of South Australia to the competitors for the premium for the successful navigation of the river Murray." Since then, Captain Cadell has proved that the river is navigable 700 miles beyond the Darling, or 1300 miles in all; and, whatever obstacles may be found to retard his attempts at steaming up and down for a time, there is evidently sufficient energy awake to overcome them all eventually.

To complete the communication between the Murray and the sea, Lake Alexandrina has been surveyed, a channel traced and buoyed off, (a work effected, it ought to be remarked, by the natives, superintended by Mr. Mason, Sub-Protector of the Aborigines,) and a tram-way constructed from the Goolwa to Port Eliot, on Encounter Bay.

Port Phillip does not owe its origin to the desire of a jail from which convicts could not escape, as New South Wales; or of a colonial park-land for country gentlemen, as South Australia; but is at once the parent and the child of the neighbouring colony of Van Diemen's Land. In 1803, our Government dispatched Colonel Collins to found a penal colony here; but after attempts to find a site with sufficient water and other necessities, which either disinclination or incompetence rendered abortive, he led his fleet to the river Derwent, on the coast of the opposite isle, and founded the now flourishing Hobart Town. This colony grew rapidly, spreading to the banks of the Tamar, where arose Launceston; and, while an attempt, on the part of the New South Wales Government, to occupy the rich tracts which were reported as lying around Port Phillip, was given up, the settlers of Van Diemen's Land were beginning to desire wider fields for their multiplying flocks. In 1835, six settlers formed themselves into a company, intending to procure a vessel from Sydney, and carry their families and flocks across Bass's Straits to the rich lands on the opposite shore. While, however, their plan was yet in embryo, another settler, a native of New South Wales, proceeded with a promptitude of action which was equalled by the extent of his plans. Mr. John Batman was one of the few settlers who had treated the aborigines as human beings, consulting their feelings, and endeavouring to lead them to settled habits of life. With seven of these poor people, who, under his care, had made some advance toward civilization, he sailed for a new country. He soon fell in with a tribe of aborigines, among whom he remained for a month, making them presents, and doing all he could to win their good regards. He made them understand that he wished to come with his family and live among them; and, desirous, at once, to establish his own rights, and to respect theirs, he negotiated with them for the purchase of two immense tracts of land lying around Port Phillip, making in all about 600,000 acres, for which he agreed to pay them an annual rent, or tribute, of 150 pair of blankets, 150 knives, 150 tomahawks, 100 pair of scissors, 100 looking-

glasses, 70 suits of clothing, and 7 tons of flour. These terms were recorded in formal documents, signed by Batman, on the one hand, and, on the other, by marks made by Jaga-Jaga, Cooloolack, Bungarie, and five other natives, who, in all probability, had no notion of the meaning of the transaction, further than that the white man was going to live on the land, be their friend, and give them blankets and other good things. He wished to employ, clothe, and feed the natives, as he had done those who accompanied him. Having thus, as he imagined, established his right to be at once the lord of the soil, and the protector of the aborigines, he left two white men and five of his own blacks, to build a house and begin cultivation, while he returned to Launceston. Here he formed an association of sixteen individuals for colonizing Port Phillip, was appointed its agent, and reported his proceedings to Sir George Arthur, the Governor. As might be expected, neither the authorities nor the other settlers felt disposed to acknowledge his treaty with the natives. Both looked on the country as the property, not of those poor wanderers, but of the British Crown; and Mr. Batman soon found that those whom he had anticipated were settling on his lands; and one of them, a Mr. Fawkner, pitched his tent by the Yarra-Yarra, on a site so well chosen, that Batman was fain to leave the one he had first selected, and come to plant himself beside the intruder. It has often been said that the first building put up by Spanish colonists is a church; by French, a theatre; by English, a tavern. And the whole history of Australian colonizing sets upon our nation the brand of drunken infamy even deeper than before, bad as has long been our repute, in that respect, among all the people of the earth. Faithful to our traditional shame, the first enterprise opened on the Yarra-Yarra was Fawkner's public-house; which was soon followed by Batman's store: and where these two log-huts invited the traffic of a few whites no longer ago than 1835, now spreads the great city of Melbourne, with its stores, its ships, its churches, its rich suburban villages, and its "Canvas Town;" having, in all, at least 80,000 inhabitants.

Nature has an old habit of upsetting theories. At the very time when ingenious gentlemen were convincing the press and the Parliament of England that "dispersion" of population in Australia was the great danger to be avoided, and that by concentration South Australia would be a model; the course of nature was leading the people of Van Diemen's Land to spread to the best lands they could get, and to found a new colony, which was meant to be no model at all, but only the best country for them which industry could make it. And as its origin sprang from the most natural causes of any of the colonies, so its prosperity was the most rapid and uniform, even before the gold discovery, a circumstance apart from human foresight, gave it that all but incredible eminence of which we

have for the last two years heard so constantly. The lands were rich, the flocks multiplied wonderfully, exports began almost at once; and in only fifteen years after Batman had built his "store," the annual amount was a million sterling.

Upon this steady stream of prosperity a flood came down, as suddenly as ever down the Hawkesbury; the swollen stream broke all bounds, and noised, and foamed, and revelled, making more commotion than Niagara, depositing more riches than the Nile. Men's heads were turned with the whirl, and away they plunged, madly diving for gold. A well-behaved, sheep-breeding, sheep-shearing, sheep-eating, sleek and sober colony, all wool and tallow, comfort and prosperity, became at once the noisiest country in the world;—talked of, written of, legislated for, envied, abused, praised, coveted, and, above all, hurried to,—by energy, as its own place,—by laziness, as the shortest road to live without doing anything; by avarice, as its heaven,—by generosity as the best hope of lifting up the grey head of a ruined father; by money, as its market,—by poverty, as its relief; by theft, as the land for plunder,—by honesty, as a way to pay debts; by vice, as an open sphere,—by piety, as the scene for a mission;—all this, rushing in red hot, and bringing to one point every passion and every project that youth or age, ambition, energy, whim, or genius could foment, the whole stirred by the burning hope of gold, gold, gold, has poured itself out—is pouring itself yet—on those once peaceful plains; and there is a heaving, and a weltering, as when a waterspout is discharged upon the sea. Yet it has been a great wonder to some people, and a source of grave complaint to others, that the Government of the place, which had barely got seated in the saddle, (for the colony had only just been separated from New South Wales,) was not prepared with a police, quays, boat regulations, roads, lodgings, porters, prevention of vice, and all other provision for this inburst of flaming energies. We are not disposed to contend that all has been done which human wisdom could have done in the case; but we dare say that had all the world sent Governor Latrobe two years' notice that they were coming to settle with him, and would expect accommodation, they might have found him better prepared. As, however, they all neglected that precaution, and "took him as they found him," surely at least part of the blame must lie on their own haste. If everything in Melbourne had been as everybody would have liked it, no doubt history would have set down Governor Latrobe as the most favoured of Governors: but as there has been loud grumbling, and the papers have been very angry, and his dispatches are calm and sensible, we are disposed to think on the whole, that he has had a heavy handful of it, and has done as well as might be expected of an ordinary man in emergencies so unthought of and ungovernable. When his unmerciful foe, the "*Argus*," with all its powers of doing everything for the State better than all England, or any-

body else, has not been able to foresee and control events so as to save it from the proud embarrassment of declaring that, for want of a sufficient supply of paper, it cannot add any new names to its subscription-list, and cannot insert its standing advertisements more than twice a week, we are inclined to think that if Governor Latrobe had mastered all the difficulties of "the situation," he would have been abler than his critics. He will leave the province, the government of which he has resigned, in possession of an immense revenue,—that for the last quarter being £887,886,—and of a wonderful trade, no less than 968 vessels having been entered inwards, and 830 outwards, in the last half-year; and in the first two weeks of the month of August, 1853, the gold mines of the province forwarded to the capital no less than 115,195 ounces of gold.

Nothing is more a matter of course than that an old resident in Australia declares it to be the finest climate in the world; while it is very usual for new-comers angrily to protest that it is shamefully over-praised. When an Englishman who has never been out of his own dear island fancies to himself, "The finest climate in the world!" it is, of course, a climate where sun, wind, or rain will never cross his feelings,—where it will never be too hot or too cold, or rain at the wrong time, or change without giving notice: but an old traveller is content to call that the finest climate where he can live the longest, work the hardest, be least dependant on artificial comforts, and have the fewest diseases. The man who has fancied fine climates on the former scale will be sorely disappointed with Australia: the sun blazes; the rains are shot down out of the sky like fury; the floods come on you in a twinkling, and scour all before them; the thermometer is now raised by a hot wind to 102° or more in the shade, and, while the perspiration is yet standing, down it comes to 60° or 50°, while deluges of cold rain search you through. The brickfielder, or "southerly-buster," so familiar in Sydney, is a special tornado, in which the winds, sands, and rains combine to beat and dust you first, and drench you afterwards, as if you were either to be choked or blinded, or, failing both, ducked. Not only in the same place are the changes of temperature great, but, in travelling, different parts of the country vary amazingly. In Sydney the thermometer is seldom below 40° in winter; and in Paramatta, only fifteen miles off, it is often at 27°; yet, when the nights are so cold, the days are hot enough to ripen oranges.* The amount of rain is annually much greater than in England; Sydney has about double as much as Greenwich; and it is said that once twenty-five inches fell in twenty-four hours. The floods are so fearful, that in a few hours a river springs up ten, twenty, or even thirty feet; the Hawkesbury is said sometimes to reach eighty or more. On

* See R. M. Martin's "Land of Gold." London: Tallis and Co.

the mountains and table-lands snows fall plentifully in winter, July being the coldest month ; but in Sydney, and other coast regions, the nearest approach to an English winter is a little ice : this year it has been severe enough to kill the orange-trees.

All this may ill comport with the popular notion of a fine climate ; yet such Australia does enjoy in the highest degree. The heats bring no fever, the rains no ague, the colds no consumption, the rivers are not bordered by miasma, the plains are bracing, the air pure, the sky open, blue, and bright ; the bush itself is free from forest poison ; the settler can range over the land by day or night, and carry his family over downs, hills, prairies, and bush, sleeping in waggons, or on the sward, without any fear of malaria to blight the healthy, or insidious fogs to undermine the delicate. The natives never built houses ; a shelter of bark was all they needed. The Englishman's hut, whether bark, log, or slab, is ordinarily so comfortless, that the maintenance and even growth of health—manly, hard-working health—in it for years is no small proof of a friendly climate. Mitchell, Leichardt, and other travellers, spent weeks with no shelter at night but the sky. Thousands of Englishmen yearly sleep unhurt on the open field. At some military stations seven years have passed without a death. The colonists, in spite of intemperance and exposure, are, perhaps, the healthiest community of Englishmen in existence. Many renewed their youth in the genial suns of their second home, and are living at one hundred years old. In the year 1848 the rate of deaths in New South Wales was one in eighty-five : while in England it is one in forty-seven, and in the United States one in thirty-seven. The annual mean temperature of Port Jackson and Port Phillip respectively is about the same as Sicily and Naples. Governor Young says that of Adelaide is a little above Madeira ; and, in point of salubrity, no settler in Swan River or Van Diemen's Land will concede the palm to other land than his own. While, therefore, persons going from England will greatly err if they expect a climate which will be all pleasures and no trials, they may fully count on one which, for themselves and their children after them, has all that contributes to long life.

The floods and hot winds are probably closely connected. The latter come from arid tracts, and deserts of broiling stones, whereof the desolation has a peculiar horror, not so oceanic as the sand deserts of the old world, yet seemingly more impracticable,—as Sturt calls it, "a dark and adamant sea." The floods, again, show that quantities of water rush wastefully to the ocean. A proper system of tanks, built at fit intervals across the bed of the streams, and retaining the waters, would provide funds of fertility for the tracts now arid ; and if at last the spread of population and of culture did not reclaim the desolate region of stones, yet tens of thousands of acres of sand deserts might be added to the estate of man. How vast are the tracts already fit

for human occupation, may be judged, when the brave and intelligent explorer, Sir Thomas Mitchell, was so impressed with the rich clay, the plentiful waters, the healthy grasses, which he found on the table-lands, lying about the river Victoria, in the heart of the Continent, and not far from the Tropics, that he declares that those plains *seem sufficient to supply the whole world with animal food.*

To the universal question, "Who should emigrate?" we are not disposed to give the universal answer, "No one who can do well at home." That applies fully to doctors, lawyers, editors, and clerks; but not to all. On the contrary, a whole class who are sure to do well at home, are the very men to do better there; young men who have learned a useful trade, and possess vigour and talent. Our first exception would be against those who can never do well at home: they will never do well there. Our next is against those who cannot live without comfort. Such men are easily known; hardship is a horror to them; they would give anything just to be at ease; they would even work a good deal for it; but comfort they *must* have. Then old England for them. Comfort neither grows on the back of Australian sheep, (except in the raw material,) nor in the bowels of Australian rocks; diggers cannot find it in the cradle, nor shepherds in the fold; and if you really must have the good, old, indescribable something which we all know so well, by every means sit still on this snug isle of your own. Again, no one should go who cannot make up his mind to do manual work, or who is conscious that he has not the physical strength, or the perseverance, to go on with it for a while, if needful. Persons seldom find things open before them as they had expected. In a week after landing, nine out of ten have their plans all upset, and they either lose heart, or begin to look out for anything that may offer. We knew a gentleman emigrant, who landed with really modest notions, and began at once to seek a situation; he could not, however, find one to suit him, and went on seeking with a like result, till he had come to his last shilling. That day he went out determined to find a situation, and so he did; but it was as a sawyer. The heat was terrible; he was drenched many times a day with perspiration, and almost worn to death; but by frequent changes of linen and a good heart, on he kept, till from sawing he was able to go to something else, and at last reached a position suitable to his tastes. Another case we know of a young man who had been so brought up, that manual work would have been a family shame: but finding that he had not the means to follow a gentleman's ways, he, with a gentleman's heart, offered himself as a carpenter, and, being a "green hand," was taken at only forty-eight shillings per week. He walked three miles a day to his work and the same back, and, unused to labour as he was, did so well, that in a few weeks he was earning three pounds weekly. Now, if men are made of this metal, no

matter what their education or tastes, let them go, they are sure to thrive ; but if, rather than thus stoop, they would live upon their family, or beg their friends to get government situations for them, or, having gone, would write home for money to keep them from starving, then the nearer their mothers they stay the better.

There are four courses open before the settler,—handicraft, mining, trade, and farming, either in agriculture or stock-breeding. As to the two first, they are for the strong, and the conditions of success are generally known : in a word, a man must be able and willing to work hard, live without comforts, sleep where he can, and bear heat and wet, with now and then a little cold. Men from the country, accustomed to weather and work, are the men for the mines : and for a London tradesman's son, whose utmost idea of exposure and enterprise reaches to skating on the Serpentine in hard frost, to attempt gold-digging, is a folly on which we will spend no time. As to handicraft, most men can turn better to one thing than another ; and every one ought to make up his mind beforehand, that, in case of need, he will turn blacksmith, mason, joiner, painter, or work upon the roads. He who is not ready for such an alternative, is not fit for the enterprise ; and surely a man is far more respectable earning ten shillings a day on the roads in Victoria, with a certainty of never wanting bread, and of being able in time to establish himself comfortably, than living on narrow family resources, or supplicating the patronage of friends at home. But none need work for so little, except those unaccustomed to work : artisans are now earning in Victoria twenty-five, and in New South Wales from eleven to fourteen, shillings a day. The right idea for people to form, is not that they will get an easy accession of competence in Australia ; but that, if they are resolved to work their way right through such circumstances as they would never think of facing at home, no doubt rests upon their ultimate independence, and the finest openings for their families. The following, which reaches us while we are just writing this, is from Bendigo, from a not unsuccessful digger of our own acquaintance, in good spirits ; yet many would pause before they exchanged a good home for this lot, with the dangers and chances of the mines. He is one of a party of three :—

“ This leaves me high in hope for the future. We are quite domesticated,—bake our own bread, make our own yeast, have pancakes, or a dripping-cake, or a fruit-pudding, a joint of meat, or a leg of mutton, just as suits the desire of the moment. No extravagance permitted : sobriety and moral conduct the order of the day. I sometimes wish we could have our tent and ourselves daguerreotyped, with tub and cradle, pick and mattock ; sack of flour in one corner, bag of sugar in another ; keg of butter here, box of raisins there ;—all in the most orderly confusion imaginable. It would afford you food for mirth for a few minutes, to be succeeded by grave reflection, as to the possibility

of cramming most of these articles, with our own dear selves, into a compass of nine feet square."

As to trade, those who have capital and sense, will take some time to observe, letting their money bear good interest at the bank, till they have acquainted themselves with the character of business, and of men, to some extent; for, without precaution, it is just as possible to lose capital in Melbourne as in London. Those who have small means, need more caution still, and must not be resolved upon carrying on their own trade in just the old-country way, but ready to take anything that offers. And men who have to turn to manual labour, yet prefer trade, will find a thousand odd, unlikely ways of making a beginning, once they have saved a little money. Let them only be content to begin ever so poorly, and ever so comically. Up country, store-keeping seems to be a line in which the supply does not as yet nearly equal the demand, and one which, to a careful and active trader, offers great advantages.

As to farming, it is gratifying that Governor Latrobe has, at length, "unlocked" so large a tract of Crown lands; this will open the way for many,—whose trials as diggers have at once inured them to hard work, and given them a relish for a home,—to employ their earnings well. In this, however, as in all other lines, ideas of English comfort must be kept in the back-ground; hard work, plenty, good health, and roughing it for years, are what must be looked for. The man of small means buys a few score, or a few hundred, acres, and commences agriculture;—the rich man buys thousands, and breeds stock. The hut is the first essential of either farmer or grazier. Take a few sheets of bark, and nail them to a frame of nine feet by six: put a bark-door on one side, and a bark-roof over all, leaving one end open above for smoke: opposite the door, nail a sheet of bark on four posts, driven into the ground, for a table: get a few blocks of wood, about eighteen inches high, and sawed smooth at the ends, for chairs: at one end of the hut, if bent on luxury, nail up a berth of bark, as on ship-board, and, at the other end, on the hearth, kindle your wooden fire: and there is all you need to begin life with in the bush. If you are more than one or two, instead of sleeping in a berth, you spread your bed on the floor, a few feet from the fire; if not broad enough, eke it out with old clothes, and dried sheep-skins with the wool on: this below, a blanket above, the fire beside, and, in case the mosquitoes trouble you, a piece of dried cow-dung set on fire, smoking and smouldering in the corner,* will make you comfortable for the night. As you proceed, your views expand, and you must have a log-hut, or a slab-hut,—the one built of logs, cut off from spars,—the other, of the outside "slab" of trees, or the first cut—round outside, flat inside—which is taken off in sawing. These, let into ground-

* This is a sure remedy against mosquitoes, and not seriously offensive.

plates below, and wall-plates above, can be made into a very comfortable house,—the size and furniture of which, your taste and means must decide.

Meat is of course plentiful in the bush, tea is drunk immensely, thrice or four times a day, and “damper” is the staff of life. Its mode of manufacture is thus:—mix your flour with water, knead it two or three minutes, form the dough into a cake under two inches thick, shovel your fire and ashes aside from the hearth, gradually lower the cake in both hands over the smooth, hot spot thus cleared, till it is near the ground, then let it fall lightly on its oven, shovel back the burning ashes over it; in half an hour, or less, remove the ashes, lift your well-baked cake, take the tuft of a bullock’s tail (or a duster) and switch off every particle of ashes; and then your damper, as clean as a biscuit, is fit for table, and as enjoyable as good health and spirits can make it. This kind of life seems hard for those to whom beds and carpets, cushioned chairs and kitchen-ranges, are the pillars of the earthly paradise; and we must not imagine that it is without serious drawbacks, such as no one should undergo who has not a weighty purpose to serve by it; but in the fine air of Australia, with high health, even spirits, and a flourishing appetite; plenty of work by day, and sound sleep by night; many a man hails his log-fire, his quart-pot, and his damper, with more real zest than he ordinarily felt at the cosiest table in England. A settler’s wife, like a soldier’s, ought to be superior to all personal indulgences, when need is. Those poor creatures of women, who are most plentiful in the lower levels of the middle class, without either the hardihood of labour or the high spirit of gentle blood, and who bemoan the absence of every English accessory, ought evermore to stay by their saucepans and testers, and not attempt to do anything considerable in this earth. But a woman who is ready to go where her husband goes, and laugh with him at odd shifts and unimaginable contrivances, to breath the bush air, and train up her children healthy as young trees, with a prospect open as the Australian sky; can be happy there, and play a noble part in the history of a family, while, at the same time, as the French say, she “deserves well of her country.” The following case is a well-told and a happy one, of a sensible family who reached South Australia when all were out of their senses with speculation:—

“A Scotch gentleman, of ancient lineage and no fortune, in every respect the converse of Mr. B., afforded a striking instance of what may be done in a colony by industrious hard work, with the help of a large family, without that capital which, according to theorists, it is indispensable that a land-owner should possess. He arrived in the colony very early, the owner of a single eighty-acre section, with twelve children, one-half of whom were stout well-grown lads and lasses: his whole property consisted of a little furniture, a few Highland implements, a gun or two, a very little ready money, and several barrels of oatmeal and biscuit. His section had been selected for him previous to his arrival. It lay on the other side of a steep range of

hills, over which no road had then been made, ten miles from the town. He lost no time, and spent no money, in refreshing or relaxing in Adelaide: he found out a fellow-countryman who lent him a team of oxen, dragged his goods over the hills to his land, and encamped the first night on the ground under a few blankets and canvas spread on the brush. The next day, and from day to day, the family worked at cutting trees; there was timber plenty for building a house. This house, situated on the slope of a hill, consisted of one long, low, wooden room, surrounded by a dry ditch to drain off the rain, and divided into partitions by blankets. The river lay below; any water needed was fetched in a bucket by one of the young ladies. A garden, in which all manner of vegetables, including tobacco and water melons, soon grew, was laid almost as soon as the house; an early investment was made in poultry; the poultry required no other food than the grasshoppers and grass-seeds on the waste land round. Until the poultry gave a crop of eggs and chickens, the guns of the lads supplied plenty of quail, ducks, and parrots. In due time, a crop of maize, of wheat, and of oats was got in. Before the barrels of oatmeal were exhausted, eggs, chickens, potatoes, kail, and maize, afforded ample sustenance and something to send to market. Labour cost nothing, fuel nothing, rent nothing, keeping up appearances nothing; no one dressed on week-days in broad cloth, except the head of the house. First, a few goats, and then a cow, eventually a fair herd of stock, were accumulated. Butter and vegetables found their way to Adelaide; and, while the kidglove-gentry were ruining themselves, the bare-legged boys of the Highland gentleman were independent, if not rich. The daughters, who were pretty, proud, and useful, have married well. In another generation, families like this will be among the wealthiest in the colony."*

We may congratulate ourselves that Lord Grey left the Foreign Office before he had completed the alienation of Australia; and certainly the dispatches of Sir John Pakington, and of his successor, the Duke of Newcastle, to Governor Fitzroy, expounding the views of their respective Governments on Australian policy, are highly creditable to themselves, as they have been serviceable to the Empire, and kindled afresh the feelings of nationality in hundreds of strong hearts, whence they had nearly died out. The colonial press is at present very loyal: even the Melbourne "Argus," which has distinguished itself by anti-English feeling, ceases to storm for the time, and acknowledges that public feeling on the part of the newly-arrived population is against it; while the "South Australian Register" is not willing to admit that it is necessary even to look forward to a separation from the mother country at any future time.† By the last advices, we find the Legislature of New South Wales busily occupied with that revision of the Constitution recommended by the dispatches just named, and on which, indeed, the surrender of the Crown-lands to local management is made contingent. A Select Committee of the Legislative Council has, after three months' labour, presented

* Sydney's "Three Colonies of Australia," p. 201.

† See a review of "Colonial Politics," in the Sydney "Morning Herald" of July 5.

a report, not only recommending that an Upper House shall be created, after the analogy of the House of Lords, and the example of Canada, but, to our surprise, containing a recommendation which, up to the time when this article was more than half written, we expected to make for the first time, not at all sanguine that it would find any support in the colonies. Several of the above passages will show how cordially we dislike any scheme for hatching an aristocracy by artificial heat, such as dear land, and other obstructions of the fair openings whereto every man has an equal right. But where an aristocracy rises by natural means, we consider its existence of the most immense national value, so long as it is not a weight to keep the strong down, but an eminence to which any man who has giant strength and virtue may climb. We, therefore, meant to give our strong opinion that the introduction of titles, conferred by the Crown on the heads of really powerful colonial families, would be a desirable step; and if only given to such men as M^rArthur, denied to all mere pets and creatures, rigidly reserved for those who on the fair, open field of colonial enterprise had risen to lordly station, we see no reason to think that many a democratic settler would not easily reconcile himself to a coronet, which his own son or daughter might by honourable success obtain. With regard to this point, the Bill "to confer a Constitution on the Colony, and to grant a Civil List to her Majesty," makes provisions, thus described by the Select Committee:—

"That Act" (says the Report) "authorizes the Crown, whenever it thinks proper to confer any hereditary title or honour, rank or dignity, to annex thereto an hereditary right of being summoned to the Legislative Council. Your Committee are not prepared to recommend the introduction into this colony of a right by descent to a seat in the Upper House, but are of opinion that the creation of hereditary titles, leaving it to the option of the Crown to annex to the title of the first patentee a seat for life in such House, and conferring on the original patentees and their descendants, inheritors of their titles, a power to elect a certain number of their order, to form, in conjunction with the original patentees then living, the Upper House of Parliament, would be a great improvement upon any form of Legislative Council hitherto tried or recommended in any British colony. They conceive that an Upper House framed on this principle, whilst it would be free from the objections which have been urged against the House of Lords, on the ground of the hereditary right of legislation which they exercise, would lay the foundation of an aristocracy which, from their fortune, birth, leisure, and the superior education these advantages would superinduce, would soon supply elements for the formation of an Upper House, modelled, as far as circumstances will admit, upon the analogies of the British constitution. Such a House would be a close imitation of the elective portion of the House of Lords which is supplied from the Irish and Scotch peerage; nor is it the least of the advantages which would arise from the creation of a titled order, that it would necessarily form one of the strongest inducements, not only to respectable

families to remain in this colony, but to the upper classes of the United Kingdom and other countries, who are desirous to emigrate, to choose it for their future abode."

This Upper House is, according to the proposal, to be balanced by a Lower House, elected by not only all who pay a certain house-rent, but who pay £10 a-year for a lodging, or £40 for board and lodging; and this the Committee truly hold to be a close approach, in New South Wales, to universal suffrage. The Bill also reserves a power to alter the Constitution, on the vote of two-thirds of both Houses, subject to the assent of the Crown. On the vexed question of a Civil List, they make what appears reasonable provision, and close with the following sensible remark:—

"Your Committee cannot, however, take leave of this subject without the expression of a hope that the liberal provision which your honourable House has just made for the public service will abundantly show, 'that as long as the representatives of the people are entirely free to grant or refuse according to their deliberate views of the exigencies of the public service, her Majesty's faithful Commons in this colony can never arrive at any other conclusion, than that it is the soundest policy, as well as the truest economy, to maintain that service in the utmost efficiency.'"

They propose to pension the Judges of the Supreme Court, "in all cases of permanent disability or infirmity, or after fifteen years' service," to the amount of seven-tenths of their salary. Present incumbents of public offices, who will be ejected by the new Constitution, are to be pensioned at the present rate; but not till *actually* displaced, and not after they may have accepted other offices.

A yet bolder measure is embraced in the range of this great proposal; namely, a General Assembly, representing all the colonies, and legislating on questions which affect more than one colony. The following is the view of this very important question taken by the Select Committee:—

"One of the more prominent legislative measures required by this colony, and the colonies of the Australian group generally, is the establishment at once of a General Assembly, to make laws in relation to the inter-colonial questions that have arisen, or may hereafter arise, among them. The questions which would claim the exercise of such a jurisdiction appear to be as follows:—

"1st. Inter-colonial tariffs, and coasting trade.

"2nd. Railways, roads, canals, &c., running through any two of the colonies.

"3rd. Beacons and lighthouses on the coast.

"4th. Inter-colonial penal settlements.

"5th. Inter-colonial gold regulations.

"6th. Postage between the said colonies.

"7th. A general Court of Appeal from the Courts of such colonies.

"8th. A power to legislate on all other subjects which may be submitted to them, by Addresses from the Legislative Councils and Assem-

blies of the colonies: and to appropriate to any of the above objects the necessary sums of money, to be raised by a per-centage on the revenues of all the colonies interested."

We are tolerably certain that the Committee, in recommending this important federation "at once," are considerably in advance of public opinion around them; but their proposal does none the less indicate a want which now exists, and the pressure of which will yearly be more sensible. We do not imagine that Parliament will adopt the Lang notion of forcing the Provinces to a Union; but we hope that no obstacle will be thrown in the way of their voluntary approach to it, according as their own sense of what is desirable shall dictate. It is odd that some of the Australian democrats, in objecting to hereditary titles and legislative rights, are disposed to prefer rather an Upper House directly nominated by the Crown; not seeing that Members of an Assembly, if they inherited their honours, and derived their seats, according to the proposal of the Select Committee, from the suffrage of their peers, would be much more independent of the Government of the day, than if it alone was the author of their elevation. It will, no doubt, be difficult to prevail upon men, in the haste of such a history as Australia is now transacting, to pause and read the histories which other nations have bequeathed; else we think it would be easy to make out a clear and overwhelming case, in proof of the position, that, in all free communities, the very energy of liberty creates an absolute necessity for a permanent head, and a powerful hereditary element of stability. Were it possible that a tyranny could ever be attempted by the British Crown against Australia, or that a titled class, raised from among the colonists, could oppress their fellows, then would resistance to the erection of the one, and severance from the power of the other, be a legitimate object of the Australian patriot. But Anglo-Saxons pride themselves, and colonists above all, on being practical men. In practice, then, we contend that no country is so free as England. America, of course, is an anomaly: it is by courtesy a free country, on the understanding that you forget as many of its people in bonds, as would outnumber the inhabitants of New South Wales about twenty times. But we never yet met with a man, Briton or American, who had resided five years in each country, who did not own that in England individual liberty was more complete, as against the mob on one side, and the Government on the other, than even the liberty of white Americans in the States. America has not lived a century; yet, as it proceeds further in its history, it shows a new example of the tyranny of Republics over their Helots, and presents no evidence that it is destined to escape the anarchy into which the incurable evil of a changing head has always plunged powerful Republics in the end. In a small State, or among a languid people, a changing headship may not bring on bloodshed, and end in military tyranny; but where

the public prizes are glorious, and the passions of the multitude strong, no example has yet been realized in which that principle has long worked safely. America is a young, and so far an illustrious, exception ; yet few philosophic politicians would pledge their hope so frankly to the future of the President's chair, as of our Monarch's throne. In the benign power of the English crown, Australia is provided with a permanent head, under circumstances which make the dream of oppression purely absurd ; and if on the spot an aristocracy arise, not having other interests or other laws than the community, it would be a powerful aid toward protection from the woe which has ever cursed democracies, the rash, unreasoning, and destructive dominion of the mob.

But we would go beyond the Select Committee in their proposals, in more points than one. Not only do we consider it unnecessary that the British Empire should dissolve, as its members grow to maturity ; but we think the time is now fully come for serious measures to stop the dangerous progress of opinion, both here and in our distant possessions, toward that result. A short time ago, Canada seemed eager to be annexed to the States ; all our Australian colonies were rapidly losing the loyalty which ever distinguished them ; and the Cape was all but in rebellion. Now the Fugitive Slave Law has made every honest Canadian proud to dwell on British soil ; the policy which succeeded that of Earl Grey has won back the good regards of the Australians ; the Kafir war and the Constitution have stayed the disloyalty of the Cape. The moment is, therefore, favourable for taking a stand which will point the general mind forward, not to the breaking up of our existing possessions, but to the development and organizing of that wonderful preparation which has been made for the most glorious and permanent Empire the world ever saw. "The Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" was a fit enough description of us a century ago : and "the Parliament of the United Kingdom," a fit enough name for our Legislature, even within half a century : but now our American, Indian, African, and Australian territories are of such immense magnitude, that the idea of the United Kingdom ought to merge in the greater and juster idea of the BRITISH EMPIRE ; and all our national proceedings should henceforth be inspired by the thought, that our possessions are not dependencies, to be schooled while weak, and dismissed when strong, but members of one family, to be endeared to us by every tie, considered in every decision, and held in the bonds of perpetual amity.

To us it seems next to treason against the human family to contemplate the disruption of the only existing Empire, where every person, every conscience, every organ of opinion, and every industry is free ;—the Empire that is the only steady bulwark against the absolutism of Kings in Europe ; the only strong protest against the slave-grinding of Presidents and mobs in America ; the only real terror of the robbers who

hereave poor Africa; and the only power which is pouring in upon Asia the blessings of European inventions and of Christian light. But the idea that this Empire can permanently be conserved by merely giving Constitutions to our colonies, is not to be entertained. That is right in itself, and immensely valuable in its time, and for its stage; but its time will expire, its stage be run out, and, unless further-seeing provisions are made, the glorious spectacle of the BRITISH EMPIRE will dissolve, and England be left alone,—a kingdom, with, perhaps, a few dependencies.

Let us at once recognise the fact, that, by growth and accessions, we are an Empire, comprising many States. Let us lay down the *organic laws* of this Empire, which no Legislature, either of the Parent State or of any other, may infringe: let us add to our legislative chambers an IMPERIAL SENATE, without the concurrence of which no measures affecting *imperial* questions can pass: let each existing colony, on reaching a certain point of population or revenue, be eligible to become, on its own application, a State, and a member of the Imperial Federation, bound by the organic laws, and sending to the Imperial Senate its representatives in such proportion as shall be fixed: let it, on all provincial or internal questions,—such as its franchise, public works, Civil List, appointment of officers, (up even to Governor,) be entirely free, bound, in fact, only by the organic laws, and, in imperial questions, subject to the Imperial Legislature.

In making these suggestions, we of course use the word Colonies in its proper sense, not as describing all our foreign possessions, which are of several classes,—

1. COLONIES,—Canada, Australia, &c.
2. PLANTATIONS,—West Indies, Mauritius, &c.
3. SUBJECT COUNTRIES,—India, Ceylon, &c.
4. STATIONS,—Gibraltar, St. Helena, &c.

The stations could never come into any such relation as we propose; the plantations could rise to it only by first federating among themselves. As to them, time would sufficiently unfold the right course. Perhaps, as to subject countries, some hope might exist that they would become eventually—though the distance seems all but endless—fit to take their place in such a federation; and our wisdom and glory would be to train them to such a fitness. But let only the real British provinces of our Empire be cemented, and the rest is easily managed in comparison. Can this be done? It can, we believe, but not unless, at once, it is put out before the home and colonial public as an object of national ambition. That statesman will write his memory gloriously on our annals, who, casting aside the official tradition of reforming only where reforms are urgently demanded, will go before the public, and call the British Parliament to organize the great Empire of which it has so suddenly become the Head, and will challenge each rising State, in our western and

southern colonies, to the ambition of being an equal member of the grandest confederation ever seen, rather than of being itself an isolated sovereignty. When sons grow up, it is truly said, they will settle and have their own establishments. Yes, but they do not therefore break up the family. There is no youth in London who would not feel it a nobler settlement to have his own house and establishment, but, at the same time, to be partner with the Barings, than to have his own house and his own little business to himself. Canada, deciding all internal questions for its own superb territories, and taking its full share in the IMPERIAL SENATE which presided over the common interests of the British Empire, would be far greater than either as alone, or as swallowed up by its neighbour Republic; and Australia would surely be greater, when, just as free as it could be in a Republic,—just as much master of its patronage, local taxes, and franchise,—it yet had the grand armies of India as its unseen, but sure, defence against all European encroachments, and sat side by side with the mother country, and with sister states, in family council, deciding on family interests, while, at the same time, no question as to who should be lord of its noble people, was likely to trouble them.

To say that such a project has a thousand difficulties, some home, some colonial, some lying on the surface, some unseen, till you stir up the ground,—is only to say what is so plain, that it hardly need to be said. To say that, *if* possible, it will mature slowly, is equally plain. But here is a great national emergency, as certain to come upon us as that boys who are springing up by inches will soon be men. Are we to do, as we did with our eldest son,—part with them in a horrible family broil, and inherit their hatred for ever? Or are we to train them up in the belief that, when once men, they and we can have no common interests, but take towards each other the place of friendly strangers, or honourable rivals,—parting as a master and apprentice? Or are we to say?—"We ought to be one while the world stands; and if generosity,—if pride in your progress,—if giving you all the *status* you can claim,—if taking you to our counsels, and making your cause our cause, can keep you and us one family, then one we shall ever be." This, we repeat, is the right strain for the day: let but our statesmen manfully give it forth; let them appeal to the patriotism of our families at home, all more or less linked with the colonies, and of our countrymen abroad,—all children of our fatherland, and, with some unnatural exceptions, retaining yet the filial heart,—and we doubt not that an enthusiasm may be kindled, before which the prejudices of stiff adherents to old fashions, the anti-national malice into which some colonists have fallen, and the real difficulties of the case, will gradually disappear. As the first preparatory step, to check at once the tide of feeling that the Empire must eventually be dismembered, we would take the proposal of New South

Wales, and there, and in Canada, in time also at the Cape, create an aristocracy, giving them the right, not only to sit in local legislature, but to elect two or three of their number to sit in the House of Lords, as the Irish and Scotch peers ; and give, at the same time, the Colonial Commons the right to elect a few Members to our Commons. Whether or not this provision ought to continue when the IMPERIAL SENATE would come into action, could be decided hereafter. But the measure now proposed would surely do something to arrest the opinion, that mature colonies must become isolated states,—an opinion of which the American Union is a notable refutation, but which, coupled with the generous antipathy of the people of this country against oppressing a colony, and with the natural desire of a great community to be more than a dependency, will, if not arrested, most certainly dismember the Empire which believes it, even at the very time when another and kindred nation, holding an opposite doctrine, is deriving new splendour from every colony which reaches maturity.

The only doubt as to the destiny of Australia, arises from her moral condition. With such a soil, climate, and people, her material prosperity is a full stream rolling upon golden sand. But if drunkenness continue to spread, carrying other vices with it, wealth and energy will but multiply the means, and increase the hardihood of wickedness. In Turkey, “perishing for want of Turks ;” in Spain, wasted and tottering ; in Spanish America, distracted and base ; and even in France, scarcely adding to her population ; we have contemporary witnesses,—not to speak of countries in other days buried in their vices,—that, in spite of the rarest advantages, an immoral people will wane and blench. We do not look with much alarm on the disorders arising from an influx of new population, or the outrages committed by escaped felons, but on vices which appear to be chronic, and will certainly survive the re-establishment of order. When Sydney alone has 400 public-houses ; when one in nine of its population are annually arrested drunk ; when men of fortune reel in the streets ; when even the seats of the municipality, and the legislature, are not pure of drunkenness ; when, morning, noon, and night, spirits, raw, fiery, and in fearful quantity, are consumed by habit everywhere ; it is too plain that alarming causes of demoralization lie far deeper in the structure of society than any irregularities chargeable on the rush of immigrants ; causes which, if not counterworked, will reduce the strong and rocky mass of that young commonwealth to rottenness. The new-country energy which smashes through a thicket of difficulties, like an elephant through a field of sugar-canes, is beyond price when impelled by a pure heart ; but, under the sway of bad passions, it smashes down proprieties as well as principles, and noisily rejoices over the ruins of decency. Had not America possessed two moral powers, (Puritanism and Methodism,) to close upon,

and wrestle foot to foot with the vices of her passionate people, it is hard to say how much she would have been happier or stronger now than Mexico. The first left foundations, lessons, and bright examples of goodness, to which New England owes debts never to be counted. The second, just before the war of independence, had kindled a glow of Christian life, that soon warmed all the older Churches, creating, at the same time, one more numerous than any of the others, whose stationed Ministers pervade the dense population of towns, whose untired itinerants overtake the most advanced woodsman; so that everywhere righteousness has a witness, and sin a rebuke. Hitherto it is frankly to be said, that Christianity has not taken that powerful hold of the Australian community, which alone can save it from corruption. In the early days of colonization it was too common with Ministers of the Gospel to farm, and breed sheep, bequeathing to their children an honest name and numerous flocks, but not producing any great spiritual impression upon the community. Governor Macquarie remonstrated with Mr. Leigh because he had no property to return on the schedule, which each settler sent in every three years, except "his old horse." Yet, doubtless, much of the favour which the Governor showed him, arose from this very circumstance; for when a man professing a call from Heaven to bring sinners to repentance, dabbles in honest trade, people feel towards him much as soldiers would towards an officer who should deal in grocery. True, the Minister has a family, and is but a man: so an eagle is but a bird; yet no one expects to find an eagle turning a duck, though without doubt the duck is a good, useful bird, and may, with great propriety, find comfort in ponds or even in pools; but for the course of an eagle we look towards heaven.

Now several denominations have Ministers in the colonies whose whole life is consecrated to their work; men capable of appreciating the special dignity of their mission, as called to give a nation, intoxicated with money, examples of unworldly labour, of spiritual wealth, and amid the very altars of Mammon to lead human hearts into fellowship with God. Yet it is certain that, before the gold-immigration began, many squatting districts were totally neglected by the Ministers of all Churches; and the rush of population to the gold-fields has not been followed with anything like sufficient promptitude and force. True, men enough have not been on the ground, and those who were could not multiply themselves; but the fact that neglect has heretofore fallen upon much of the population, greatly increases the need for energy now, that lost ground may be recovered, as well as new ground won. In many parts of the colonies individuals, and even societies, are to be found, in whom piety shines in fair contrast to the greedy worldliness, or reckless sensuality, around; but these are yet a thin minority, and, perhaps, morally enfeebled, though mate-

rially enriched, by the new course of events. The battle against ungodliness has yet to be won, and no easy battle will it be!

In New South Wales and Victoria public grants are made to the Church of England, the Romanists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. In South Australia grants have been discontinued. Thus in the former the French, and in the latter the American, example is followed, which will probably extend, in time, to the other colonies. All the denominations seem, from the public dispatches, to be applying their grants chiefly to the support of Ministers, rather than the erection of churches. This seems wise; for, amid a population so rapidly increasing in numbers and property, a man of the right stamp will, in a comparatively short time, create all the means for the future support and propagation of religion. The Sydney University has lately adopted a regulation that no one shall be admitted to examination for a degree without a certificate of religious instruction and fitness from the authorities of the denomination to which he belongs. This has been done at the instance of the Anglican Bishops, who would not otherwise connect themselves with it. The Government gives to each of the leading denominations mentioned above, a site of land for a college, and £500 a-year for the salary of a head-master; but they are to raise the buildings themselves; and we observe by the last mail, that one Methodist Minister has given £1,000 towards founding the one to be connected with his own body.

The Episcopal Church has its sees in all the great colonies, and two in New South Wales; and has been, as all are aware, making efforts, with aid of Parliamentary friends, to obtain a Bill for holding Convocation. While, however, this is delayed, the Methodists, as yet inferior in numbers and influence, have received, from the British Conference, and readily accepted, a proposal to become themselves a distinct body, raising all their own funds, holding their own Conferences, and managing their own Church affairs. The Rev. Robert Young, who went out as a deputation to effect this object, was instructed at once to send home for seven additional Ministers for Victoria, and six for New South Wales, the funds for their passage out being readily subscribed. Not only are the Australian Methodists willing thus to "go to warfare at their own charges," but they contemplate taking under their management the extensive Missions in New Zealand, the Friendly Isles, and Feejee, hitherto conducted by the Methodist Missionary Society, on condition that, for the present, a grant be made towards their support, decreasing yearly till it shall cease. This is a noble project, displaying a zeal and liberality which speak well for the future vigour of this young Church. With the example before them of what Methodism has done for America,—with the absolute certainty that their system of itinerancy, and of lay co-operation in edifying and administering the Church, is the only one by which a

new, dispersed, and shifting community can be leavened by true religion,—with the prodigious examples of energy in worldly enterprise which are before their eyes,—with the boldness which vice puts on,—with their broad, generous, and practical creed, bidding every living soul, without exception or doubt, to come and take, and that now, all the mercies of redemption; surely the Australian Methodist Ministers will lay their hand to the plough with a labourer's grasp, and make to themselves a memory that shall be blessed on every future page of Australian history.

But too much work is to be done, to be looked for at the hands of any one denomination: all are needed, and, happily, all are in the field. The Independents are sending out some of their well-known and influential men; and the Presbyterians are not remiss. The relative progress of these bodies will depend, not on their status at home, or their favour with the public abroad; but will declare in favour of that Church whose Ministers are the holiest, the hardestiest, the closest Pastors of town-populations, the most resolute followers of scattered settlers; who care least for money, respectability, or ease,—take most kindly to floods, rains, and open bush-beds,—who think it a shame for the Evangelist to be outdone by any man in soldierly spirit, and who are determined that he shall be known as the most ubiquitous and unconquerable being in the country,—up, in spite of everything, to the furthest point where an axe rings, or a sheep bleats.

The part of Australia, in the future history of the world, is plainly to be of transcendent consequence. Away from her shores, stretch those endless Archipelagoes which contain a vast, but a neglected, portion of the human family. China and India, with the countries between, contain more than half our race, cover the sites of the most ancient existing civilization, and represent the creeds—Buddhist and Brahman—most extensively diffused hitherto. At the time when these grand superstitions are worn out, the British occupation opens India, the Chinese revolution opens China, and, as if by the waving of Heaven's sceptre, a new nation springs up, face to face with these two ancient races, in the crisis of transition. It is not the Anglo-Saxon blood,—it is not the modern civilization,—possessed by this new nation, which assures us that it will shed forth, on its neighbouring archipelagoes and continents, a beneficent light. These went to Africa, and carried the slave-trade; to the red men, and carried drunkenness and destruction; to the Hindus, and carried state-commerce in conscience; to the Chinese, and carried opium; ay, to the lorn natives of Australia, and carried unmentionable diseases and death, even by poison. In fact, wherever Anglo-Saxon vices have not been counterworked by strong forces of missionary Christianity, they have deteriorated every race, into contact with which colonization has brought them. This terrible, but undeniable, truth, speaks in thunder to those whose ambition is, that

the new Empire of the South shall be a blessing, and not a curse. China is opening to Christianity,—India cannot long remain behind : if these two nations receive the new impulse of a faith which is instinct with improvement, and, at the same time, Australia run its race, and South Africa grow, it is easy to see that the centre of human intelligence and power will not long determine exclusively to the North. Never did nobler enthusiasm fire a human soul, than he may cherish, who aims to be one of the Apostles of this latest-born nation ; to imbue its energy with beneficence, its freedom with wisdom ; and to conquer, for the Prince of Peace, its power and wealth, which, in the hand of the god of this world, would deluge the South and East with impetuous and well-endowed iniquity.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

A Summer-Day's Dream: with other Poems. By Henry Francis Robinson. London: Pickering. 1853.

Thomas à Becket, and other Poems. By Patrick Scott. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

It is a reflection full of comfort to the critic, that one who is only a fifth-rate poet may, nevertheless, be a first-rate man. It is only in this belief that he maintains a cheerful confidence in his species, and is faithful in the discharge of his judicial functions; for otherwise he would be sorely tempted to question the utility of one large portion of mankind, and, in shrinking from the duty of cutting off a fellow-creature's only tie to life, by robbing him of the solitary grace laid claim to, would no longer remain "clear in his great office." To be impelled to despise so large a class, and, at the same time, wound so many individuals, would prove intolerable conditions of literary censorship. It would be difficult for the sternest of our craft—and we are very far from being such—to speak with necessary harshness of any rhymes whatever, if he believed that *in* them the author had put forth all his powers, and *upon* them rested all his human hopes; that they were, in fact, the sum and flower of one man's being. To speak slightly of a product so seriously laboured, and so wistfully regarded, would be impossible. The life of every man is sacred; and his talents—two or ten—are never wholly lost. And so we have a right to hope that any one who sends forth feeble verses to the world is not doing himself justice in the public eye; that he has, latent or otherwise directed, some noble human talent; that in him society has an able member, and his country a loyal son; that his imperfect prosody is not the mirror of his manly gait, nor his confused imagery the emblem of daily perplexity of purpose. That this is frequently the case, we have reason to know. How often is one whom no man can despise, that witnesses his mercantile or professional career, known only, at the critic's table, as the author of that elegant and well-bound volume, of thick cream-paper spread with sky-blue poetry!—a book that puts you in a positive dilemma; for it is a seeming waste of money to burn, and a certain waste of time to read it.

It must be understood, then, once for all, that when we speak with great freedom and plainness of verses of this kind, we do so with reference to the "work," rather than the author; and this consideration will leave us at liberty to make the exposure of any folly it may contain, without the risk of being considered even remotely personal. To

make this freedom agreeable to all parties does not rest solely with us. If gentlemen have more important titles to esteem than are furnished by their poems, it is not our fault that they are publicly judged by that which they have most publicly set forth.

We are willing to give Mr. Robinson the full benefit of these remarks, and believe that those who know him best would not rest his claim to honour on the verses published in his name. He has little or no success in cultivating poetry as an art, and evinces none of its peculiar gifts. Not to mention "the vision and the faculty divine," he has not even "the accomplishment of verse." The Muse has given him nothing to say, and he has taught himself how to say it; so we must not wonder if the speech is worthy of the subject and the tutor. His verses are very lame, and often come short of a foot, even when every "-ed" is uttered, and every "fire" dissyllabled. Yet Mr. Robinson is very voluble: he often halts, but very seldom stops. To a certain dangerous facility of language he adds a feebleness of thought, and a confusion of imagery, that combine to make his verses as unsatisfactory to read as they are difficult to scan. It is not necessary, we hope, to say that our statement is neither exaggerated nor malicious. It is only too easy to make good our words, though not, perhaps, to do as much for our author's. We do no injustice to the following passage by isolating it from the long poem where it occurs; for, as a moral and poetic aphorism, whose light is in itself, it may be allowed to stand and shine alone.

"Our manhood of life's ladder is a step
On which we build the noblest expectations,
And fondly think to realize youth's dreams;
But, ere we're let to crown what we've begun,
Or take our breath to reap what has been done,
Time piles his crushing weight upon our backs;
Takes, one by one, our treasures from our hands;
And leaves us stranded on the shore of age,
Half—prey to sorrow, half—unto oblivion."

This passage is a perfect study in itself. It is, in little, a complete embodiment of all the faults to which poetry is liable; a complex example of the style which every young bard is entreated *not* to follow. Seldom, perhaps, even in Homer or Milton, can we find a summary illustration of poetic laws comprised in one brief space of verses; but our author is more happy in an opposite ambition, and, within nine lines, succeeds in breaking every canon of his art, and scorns to "snatch a grace" either above or below it. We have only time to indicate the points of observation in this useful study; and the reader whom it may concern is desired to follow out the lesson for himself. Here, then, we have almost every fault of *versification*. From neglect of the *cæsura*, and a servile halting at the final pause of every line, all sense of variety and harmony is wanting, except the feeling of its disappointment. Our author is true to his ten fingers, but resolutely shuts up both his ears. His verses seem no more to belong to each other than the candles in a pound of sixes. In simple prose we should not have missed the peculiar rhythm which the form of poetry prepares us to expect; we should have had at least a chance of emphasis, even if we made it for ourselves; but, as it is, we are compelled to read it in unvarying lengths,—to draw it out of our mouths by the yard, like a conjuror measuring the tape he never really swal-

lowed. But the *imagery* of this remarkable passage is most remarkable of all. Our author is lavish of his figures beyond all poetic precedents. Where Milton would have made one serve,—though, perhaps, he would have put it, as befits the subsidiary nature of an illustration, into two lines only of the paragraph,—Mr. Robinson showers them with a prodigal, not to say imprudent, hand; so that every line has at least one to itself. To say that these figures are not individually appropriate, nor collectively intelligible, is, perhaps, being somewhat too nice. To object, for example, that it is not usual with men to build any thing upon the step of a ladder; that if, in that position ourselves, we pause to “take our breath,” it is by no means for the purpose of “reaping,” for which the situation would be most ineligible; that there is something very odd communicated to the picture when, still standing by or on life’s ladder, building with one hand, and reaping with the other, old Time is made to “pile his crushing weight upon our backs,” and then, strangely relieving and overwhelming us in the same act, “takes one by one our treasures from our hands,” and, not content with this heartless robbery, leaves us, far from our reaping and building avocations, “stranded on the shore,” and the unfortunate prey, not to one wholesome and soon-dispatching shark, but half to sorrow and half to oblivion, though it is impossible to say what satisfactory division is agreed upon;—all this, we fear, may be esteemed as so much hypercriticism, indulged in by those who have no soul to appreciate the happy and prevailing sentiment which these lines were intended to express. We are well-nigh forced to admit the imputation; for what the sentiment intended was, or is, or might have been, is that shrined and perfect secret which we shall neither presume to guess at nor surmise.

We have not thought proper to separate our notice of Mr. Scott’s drama from that of the poems of Mr. Robinson, although the former is a shade or two better, in point of composition, than the latter. It is impossible to approve of the one any more than the other; and, practically, they must fail in an equal measure of attracting and rewarding popular attention. Now that the resources of our poetical literature are so great, it is certain that the fourth-rate poet must share the fate of his fifth-rate brother, and both soon find an undistinguished level. That there is some talent displayed by Mr. Scott, even in the most difficult essay of the drama, and that the remaining pieces are very passable compositions, cannot fairly be urged as a plea for the approval of either. On the contrary, these furnish the very grounds of their condemnation; for, applied to poetry of this stamp, the blundering language of poor Dogberry becomes emphatically true: “*It is very tolerable, and not to be endured.*”

Infidelity : its Aspects, Causes, and Agencies ; being the Prize Essay of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance. By the Rev. Thomas Pearson, Eyemouth, N. B. London : Partridge and Oakey.

If the Evangelical Alliance had done no other service to our common Christianity than the publication of the Sabbath Papers, “Evangelical Christendom,” the “Prize Essay on Popery,” and this on Infidelity, it would have deserved well of the Churches of Christ. It

has done much more, and merits the hearty support of all Protestant Christians; and it is destined yet to accomplish most important results. The volume before us is published under its patronage, and is worthy of it. It is the production of a mind full fraught upon his theme,—earnest and forceful. Within the limits the author assigns to himself, he thoroughly discusses his subject. The forms and tactics of infidelity are ever changing; and it becomes necessary that the modes of defence and attack should also vary. The Treatises of John Goodwin and Richard Baxter are among the oldest defences of revelation of modern times; and the Boyle Lectures, some hundred and fifty years old, present perhaps the first and best-combined effort to prove, by direct argumentation, the inspiration and authority of the sacred Scriptures. These have proved the arsenal of most writers on the subject. But infidelity has changed its mode of warfare. It no longer boldly denies the facts on which Divine revelation rests for evidence, and has generally ceased to employ the gross and indecent attacks which distinguished the onslaughts of the last century. It is more specious, and more insidious. Literature, science, philosophy, are pervaded, as they are also employed, by scepticism. Doubts are insinuated; the lights of science are exalted; philosophy drops all allusions to any other revelations of the Author of nature than the works of God; and poetry tricks out a heartless and undevout sentimentalism, as the adequate and beautiful substitute for spiritual life. Mr. Pearson tracks the Proteus evil through every maze, and boldly tears off every mask. Infidelity, as a negation of religious truth, and a vast comprehension of the absurdities of error, is traced to an evil heart of unbelief, departing from the living God, and not desiring the knowledge of His ways. Its “aspects” are shown to be multifarious, and its effects simply evil. In so wide a range of excellent and effective writing, it would be difficult to make a selection of pre-eminence. We were much pleased with the first chapter, and especially with the succinct manner in which Mr. Pearson has adjusted the claims of the two modes of argument in proof of the existence of God,—the *à priori* and the *à posteriori* arguments, the deductive and the inductive,—and their mutual dependence, each being necessary to the other. The chapter on Naturalism, or the Denial of Providential Government, is replete with irresistible reasoning and beautiful illustration. Every chapter we deem to be triumphant in argument; and we wonder how infidels can bear to see their systems, so called, dissected, exposed, and ruined, and still hold to an unmanly credulity, and to palpable absurdities infinitely greater than any alleged against Christian believers. But the disease is moral, and one of the plainest proofs and most affecting illustrations of the doctrine which infidelity most resists,—the depravity of human nature.

Mr. Pearson, in considering the causes of infidelity, dwells with great power on speculative philosophy as one of its most fruitful sources. There is a fashion of opinion as well as of dress. Every man now-a-days is bold in discussion, and wishes to be considered free and unfettered, independent and liberal in his opinions; and, without settled way-marks of religious truth, and the humble spirit which Christianity implants, men are sure to become vain and self-sufficient, relying upon reason to shape their creed; and they will certainly then leave out at least all the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, which

alone have power over the conscience and life. Philosophy "will not bring itself to acquiesce in that *humility of knowledge*, and that *renunciation of self*, which Christianity requires." The true remedy for infidelity is abundantly indicated by our author, although not separately treated. Truth—heavenly truth—is the great and only weapon, and is successful whenever and wherever it is pressed by earnest and consistent men. A pregnant proof of the comparative value of Christianity and Secularism is seen as clearly in the history of nations, communities, and individuals, as the comparative value of the systems in respect of argument is seen in the writings and discussions which the unhappy scepticism of the times has occasioned. The controversy is but beginning. Infidelity is the natural offspring of Popery, as Popery is the worst type of Formalism. As men are awakened to the absurdities and emptiness of Popery, they will suspect that nothing in Christianity is true, because they have found nothing true in Popery; and their falling back into the limbo of universal unbelief, "the paradise of fools," will be the sad result, except so far as true Christianity is substituted. All the Churches need the enforcement of a living and practical Christianity; for all are, although not equally, yet really, in danger of lapsing into some type of multi-form infidelity. The ministry was never more peremptorily called upon to guard and warn and teach the thinking portion of their congregations against these perils of the times. Intellectual cultivation is an ineffectual barrier against infidelity, without religious truth and religious influences. Before the French Revolution, twenty thousand persons, it is said, were engaged in writing books; but the Bible was kept from the people; and where the Bible is least known, infidelity is most rife. The Bible is its own evidence, and its own strength.

It is most pleasant to read a book printed like Mr. Pearson's; but, for the sake of thousands, even of our educated youth, who cannot reach the price, but who ought to read this volume, we should be glad to see an edition made accessible to all. Mr. Pearson cannot perform a greater service to society, politically, socially, or religiously. The volume will instruct the Church, and benefit all. It exhibits the doctrine of the Gospel, is clear in its arguments, copious in its details, happy in its illustrations, catholic in its spirit, and practical in its tendency. Again we thank him for his book.

The Educational Expositor, specially designed for Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses, Mothers of Families, and all interested in Education. Edited by T. Tate, F.R.A.S., and J. Tilleard, F.R.G.S., assisted by eminent Teachers and Friends of Education. Published on the 1st of every Month. Nos. I. to VII.

THIS periodical comprises Expositions of the Principles and Methods of Teaching—Notices of the State of Elementary Education—Biographical Sketches of eminent Teachers and Educators—Translations from Foreign Educational Works and Periodicals—Reviews of Educational Books and Apparatus—Correspondence, including Educational and Philosophical Queries, and Mathematical Questions for Pupil-Teachers and Masters—and Educational Intelligence. It addresses itself to a most numerous class of readers, and promises

information on an extended scale, and on a great variety of subjects, within the province which is strictly appropriate to it. The names of the Editors are an ample guarantee of its general character and tendency, and of the ability with which it will be conducted. And, so far as this publication has proceeded, there is evidence of its being likely to satisfy the expectations of its projectors and supporters, and to promote, in a very high degree, the great objects which it is intended to subserve.

The Byeways of the Bible. By the Rev. Richard Brown. Liverpool, 1853.

THE title of a book is now generally allowed to be the publisher's contribution, and the suggestions of his taste (or prudence) are for the most part limited to novelty and brevity. For this reason a modern title-page is seldom a distinct and accurate index of the contents of the volume; and the present is an instance in point. We gather, however, on inquiring within, that by the "Byeways of the Bible" are signified those subjects of revealed truth which are of secondary importance, and doubtful, or at least disputed, interpretation. In this category Mr. Brown has placed *Baptismal Regeneration*, and the *Salvation of Infants*, with some topics of a more speculative character; such as *the final Number of the Righteous*, *the outward Form and Features of the Redeemer*, and *the Locality of Heaven*. The author's style is very pleasing; and, in spite of the difficulty with which some of his topics are attended, we are glad to observe a judgment and moderation preserving him from extreme views and dogmatic assertion. He finds occasion to dissent from the literal interpretation of prophecy, so rigorously enforced by those who contend for the pre-millennial advent of Christ. Without endorsing all the opinions of this author, we may remark that they are generally such as harmonize with the doctrines of pure evangelical religion.

Death Struggles of Slavery: being a Narrative of Facts and Incidents, which occurred in a British Colony, during the Two Years immediately preceding Negro Emancipation. By Henry Bleby, a Resident in the Colony seventeen Years. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853.

WE have long desired the appearance of a volume like the present, containing a faithful historical record of that dark period, when the cruel and selfish traders in human misery were called upon to meet the advancing intelligence and humanity of the age. It is well described as a time of mortal struggle. A gloomy but instructive page of human nature is here opened out,—rich in various kinds of interest,—chequered with scenes of fearful strife,—and illumined by every contending emotion that can arise from patience, hope, and despair. Such a record exhibits many striking contrasts. The ferocity and impurity of the white man; the Christian resignation, and burning love of liberty, in the African; and the zeal and moderation of the Christian Missionary,—are all exhibited in these pages. We cordially recommend the volume, as full of interest and instruction of the highest kind.

Sermons on some of the Trials, Duties, and Encouragements of the Christian Life. By the Rev. Charles Bradley, Vicar of Glasbury, Brecknockshire. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

FEW sermon-writers have attained to greater popularity, among a certain class, than Mr. Bradley; but we confess that reading the present volume has not initiated us into the secret of that popularity. These Sermons contain no novel or profound thoughts, no elaborate exposition, no close argument, no eloquent passages, no powerful appeals. The theology is nowhere sharply defined, nor has it any bold outlines. All the doctrinal statements are pervaded by the peculiarities and obscurities of the Calvinistic school. This obscurity, in reference to justification, pervades the volume, and particularly the sermon on Psalm lxxxix. 15, 16. Without raising here the question of the explication of the text, we may observe that our author, meeting with the phrase, "Thy righteousness," notwithstanding the preceding pronouns are referred to God, the Father and Judge, immediately finds the doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ, which, he says, "we are told in the Gospel, is *made over*, in God's amazing love, to every believing soul." "The great Lawgiver does not simply, in a legal sense, place it to their account, and give them the benefit of it; He *almost* regards it as though it were their own." The fair inquiry is, Where in the Gospel is this written? We know not any scripture in which "we are told" that this "lifts the soul up above the law's curses and penalties; gives it in Christ a right and title to the law's promises; places it on a level in Christ with those of God's creatures who have never sinned; yea, it raises it above them; for no righteousness of any creature equals the righteousness that is accounted the happy soul's." "I feel as though I could stand among the angels, and not be ashamed." Romans iv. is *an argument* to prove that *faith* is imputed for righteousness; and that thus, in evangelical justification, which is the forgiveness of sins, "God imputeth righteousness without works;" these, and various other scriptural phrases and ideas, being different phases of one and the same blessing. But the righteousness of Christ, and its imputation to the believer, is nowhere declared or referred to as the ground and mode of a sinner's present justification before God: it is only a theological figment. All Christ's righteousness was needed by Him to meet the demands of the law upon Him who was "made under the law," "like unto His brethren;" and this perfection rendered Him not obnoxious to any sufferings on His own account, and put it in His power to suffer for others, voluntarily making Himself our Substitute, and, by His death, making "a full, perfect, and sufficient satisfaction, oblation, and atonement for the sins of the whole world." Thus "faith in His blood" is the grand condition of justification; and that faith is imputed unto us for righteousness.

The theological views of the writer appear to us equally defective and obscure in reference to the seed and spring of the "Christian life." The life of God in the souls of those who "were *dead* in trespasses and in sins," cannot be a gradual process of moral resuscitation, but must be an instant act of Divine power. "You who were *dead* hath He *quicken*ed." It is a new birth, a spiritual resurrection, a *new*

creation. The Scriptures distinctly refer this Divine act of imparting "life" to the "dead," to the conditional and instrumental power of faith. "We are justified by faith;" and, among the concomitants of justification, the Apostle says, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." This, we apprehend, is the true commencement of the spiritual life, the starting-point of the Christian race. But these Sermons on the "Christian Life" do not exhibit this beginning of "life from the dead." Equally and consequently indistinct are they in reference to the progress of that life. It is a spark, a flame, very dependent upon circumstances; now burning with brightness, and now smouldering in ashes. The offices of the Holy Spirit, "the Author and Giver of life," are not duly recognised as "the Spirit of adoption," and "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," making us "*free from the law of sin and death.*" The *seventh* chapter of Romans might be the last in the Epistle; the *eighth*, the *counterpart and contrast* to the seventh, might never have been written. Surely some "better thing is provided" for Christian believers, and was enjoyed by the Apostle, than the bondage, misery, and death of the seventh of Romans!

The same obscurity and confusion hang upon the doctrine of these Sermons in reference to the lapses and recoveries, the apparent present salvation, and the possible final destruction, of believers. David must have been really converted, renewed, and saved, or how could he have experienced the *joy* of salvation? and how pray for its *restoration*, if he never possessed it? If that state were only apparent, and not real, then who can know whether he is saved or not? whether he really have religion, or is deceiving himself? If David, or any believer, "once only *seemed* to enjoy it," then he did *not* enjoy it; if he once *really* enjoyed it, then he may *really* lose it. Mr. Bradley, indeed, asks, "Could a man pray *more like* an unholy, unpardoned, utterly comfortless sinner" than David after his fall? Then a true child of God, it seems, may so lapse into sin, that "the righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him in the day of his transgression;" "for his iniquity that he hath committed, he shall die for it." Yet Mr. Bradley says, this salvation "the believer has accepted, and is in possession of, *and can never lose.*" "God's salvation they can never lose; their interest in it, when once obtained, is theirs for ever." We think these very confused *dicta*; and that they render warnings and exhortations nugatory to those who would cover their sins with perverted pleadings grounded on erroneous teaching.

That our author aims to do good, is very evident; and we have no doubt that his Sermons will be read, by those who heard them, with great pleasure; but something more than the best intentions is necessary to justify any one in presenting himself to the public by means of the press.

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΙΑΣ. The Ajax of Sophocles. Greek Text, with short English Notes, for the Use of Schools. Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1852. (A pocket volume, in stiff covers, price 1s.)

THIS edition of the "Ajax" was published as the first of a series of plays to be issued with similar notes. "The object proposed was to enable a less-advanced student, whether at school or college, to read

accurately and grammatically a Greek play, without being at first interrupted by the discussion of various readings, and by references to books which perhaps may be beyond his reach. In the notes, therefore, he is constantly referred to Jelf's Greek Grammar; such systematic reference to one grammar" being supposed to "be of the greatest use." But, occasionally, Matthiæ has been cited. Similar editions of others of the Greek tragedies have since appeared; but, in these latter publications, there are frequent references to Wordsworth, as well as to Jelf and Matthiæ. The Greek text is beautifully and correctly printed; and the notes furnish as much information as is necessary or desirable, for the peculiar class of students for whose use these publications are intended, who must needs be very grateful to Mr. Parker for the service he has rendered to them in this way, as well as in the publication of the longer series of the "Oxford Pocket Classics" without notes, which he commenced some years ago.

The History of the Church and Court of Rome; from the Establishment of Christianity under Constantine to the present Time. By the Rev. H. C. O'Donoughue, A.M. Two Vols. An improved and enlarged Edition. London: Partridge and Oakey.

THIS work has been for some years before the public, but has been re-issued, lately, in its present cheaper form, for the purpose of its being put within the reach of all classes. We agree with the publishers in saying that it is "a popularly-written history of the doings of Rome, ecclesiastical and political," and that it is "peculiarly adapted to the present times," as a guard against the misrepresentations and sophisms by which so many are in danger of being drawn into the delusion that its essential intolerance and crushing tyranny were no evil, and its abominable idolatries no sin. We hope this notice of the work in question may promote its more extended circulation.

Life in Sweden. By Selina Bunbury. Two Vols. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1853.

WHETHER a section of our female writers has lately taken to migratory habits, or whether sundry fair vagrants have suddenly turned authors, need not now be determined; but it is very evident that fiction is not the only branch of literature in which they have distinguished themselves, and that an ardent spirit of adventure is not confined to the ruder sex.

If the gentle travellers have not yet sought to explore the North-West Passage, they have ventured within the Arctic Circle, undeterred by the severity of a Russian winter. They have crossed the Alleghanies, and ascended the Himalayas,—have been blinded by the sand of the Eastern deserts, and drenched in the terrific rains of the tropics. Nothing seems to damp their resolution. They intrust themselves with equal unconcern to an African bullock-waggon or a Canadian sledge,—a Nile kandja or an Indian catamaran.

Very pleasantly these ladies write the history of their wanderings,—light, sketchy, gossiping sort of narratives, rather inclined to diffuseness, but never prosy: these, at least, are their general characteristics.

From a heap of such volumes we select Miss Bunbury's "Life in Sweden." Her style is pretty much what we have indicated,—clear and vivid, and no worse for being now and then a *little* careless. There is nothing stiff or guide-bookish about it; no dry catalogue of public buildings, with the date of their foundation, and their dimensions in feet and inches furnished with mathematical precision. The information which is given respecting the national manners and habits flows in the most easy and natural way. In fact, the people themselves explain every thing of this sort. For example: It is half-past six on Christmas-morning, and our author attends service at one of the churches,—which, by the way, contrary to the usual custom, is not only crowded to the doors, but far into the street,—and, in returning home, converses with an intelligent Swedish guide, or companion. We quote part of the conversation:—

"'This Jul-Afton is our great family festival; Jul-day, or Christmas-day, is observed more religiously. It is not so pleasant to you to see Jul-Afton here in Stockholm. In the capital all is artificial life. In my province you would have seen it better. There it is a joyful time, not for poor people only, but for beasts and birds.'

"'Beasts and birds!'

"'Yes: that it certainly is. I will tell you that also. At harvest-time the Yule-sheaf——Can I say that in English?'

"'Perfectly well.'

"'The Yule-sheaf is put by unthrashed at every farm-house; and on Christmas-eve it is hung out on a high pole near the farmer's door, for the famishing birds to make their Jul-Afton. If the Yule-sheaf were not seen there, the people would believe the farmer would have a bad season; they would think him a hard man, and not like to help him.'

"'And, pray, how do they manage for the beasts?'

"'They give them double food on Christmas-eve, and then say, *Eat well, my good beasts, and thrive well, for this is Jul-Afton.* If this were omitted, they would expect some misfortune to befall the creatures.'"—Vol. ii., p. 121.

Our traveller's blunders and misfortunes form a most entertaining part of her story. How she imagines herself to be "the distinguished foreigner," of whom so much is being said, and for whom such extraordinary preparations are made, and at length discovers the "foreigner" to be an English contractor;—how she goes out to seek a hairdresser, and learns that this is considered a most immodest proceeding;—also how, on venturing out, on a moonlight night, without a lantern, certain friends volunteer the information, that this, too, is a characteristic only of a certain class of women;—how an expression of hers at a dinner-party is misconstrued, and accordingly offends half the pretty girls in Stockholm;—and, lastly, how, from the misapprehension of a word, she goes out to dinner, an expectant guest, and finds neither dinner nor welcome,—all this is related with the best grace in the world, and is, of course, highly diverting.

Her perplexities appear to have been extremely various. Here is an account of a novel species of bath:—

"I took my ticket, which cost, if I recollect right, about ninepence, or perhaps a shilling, English; and this, I was told, would admit me to *all*. What the final word meant, I did not ask. I was told I had only to present my ticket, and all would be said to the attendants.

"I went, and presented the ticket to some very yellow-skinned old women, one of whom took me under her direction, and conducted me to a bathing-room. There she commenced operations; and, having left me sitting on a stool, went out for a moment, and came back with a tin can, full of warm, soft, slimy, black mud. This she rubbed on smoothly, until it was clear that, though the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, a European woman can. When the Ethiopian colouring-process was complete, she put me to stand in a deep bath of warm water, and raising a sort of pump, or immense squirt, she discharged at me a volume of cold water. At this I shrieked, and entreated mercy; but on she went—I suppose my ticket had said so—until the water-battery was exhausted. She then turned more hot water into the bath, ceased the cannonade, said something very polite, and went away; thinking, I suppose, that I had now got the worth of my ticket, and leaving me to faint or revive in the warm-bath, as seemed most convenient to me.

"This slimy mud—taken, I believe, from the bottom of the sea, and made warm—is reckoned very good for rheumatism; but the Baths of Strömstad in summer, and the Gymnastics of Stockholm in winter, are the Swedish panaceas."—Vol. i., pp. 209, 210.

This mud, which is saponaceous rather than slimy, is not taken from the bottom of the sea, but is the deposit of a small river in the immediate neighbourhood. There are many such mistakes, which, although hardly to be cavilled at, in the journal of a tourist who passes hastily from place to place, nevertheless look very awkward in print.

Our author excels chiefly in description; and it is unfortunate that her powers were not tested by a journey through the interior of Norway, with its noble mountains, gloomy forests, romantic fiords, and unrivalled waterfalls. Those who have had the good fortune to see the numberless falls in the Bergenstift, and especially Reukan-Foss, with its magnificent leap of nine hundred feet, and now read the description of Trollhätte, will think her notes of admiration pitched extravagantly high.

There is a very prevalent and vicious practice, which is not confined to young authors, and ought to be utterly abolished; namely, that of placing flimsy sentiment, and semi-poetic twaddle, by way of introduction to the several chapters, in the apparent belief that this is fine writing. The work under notice is not exempt from this error. The narrative is good; but when the writer apostrophizes the spirit of her youth, records her reflections, generally on some very common-place theme, and indulges in vague regrets, or dreamy speculations, she is tiresome; and, in fact, when most poetic, is most prosy; her preaching, especially, is intolerable, and is, if possible, worse than her metaphysics. A table of contents would have been a far more natural and useful prefix to the chapters.

Religion in its Relation to Commerce and the Ordinary Avocations of Life: a Course of Lectures delivered in Jewin-Street Chapel, in the City of London. London: Mason.

AN excellent idea, and well carried out. Twelve Wesleyan Ministers deliver a Course of Lectures on the various points in which Christianity bears upon the pursuits and practices of men of business. The Lectures are, of course, of differing merit; but all of them meet the

grand requisition,—an intelligible and faithful application of the principles and laws of *Christian* morality to “commerce and the ordinary avocations of life.” They are not perplexed with questions of casuistry, or any moral refinements. We should not have objected to find a somewhat closer application of rule to practice; a little more *bite* upon the conscience. In discoursing on practical subjects it is necessary and healthful. The publication of such a volume is timely; and we much regret that Ministers have not more generally dealt with these questions in the same manner: commercial failures had been fewer; Christianity had been saved from immense dishonour, and our Churches from the deadening influence of Antinomian leaven. We trust that the present example will have a good influence upon other Churches, and throughout the land; and we earnestly recommend the volume.

Religion and Business; or, Spiritual Life in one of its Secular Departments. By A. J. Morris. London: Ward and Co.

THIS little volume aims exactly at the same object as the one noticed above. Mr. Morris very modestly apologizes for appearing in print on such a subject, but very unnecessarily. Dr. Chalmers long ago observed, that “only a partial survey has been taken of the morality of the actions that are current among the people engaged in merchandise; and with regard to the morality of the affections which stir in their hearts, and give a feverish and diseased activity to the pursuits of worldly ambition.” The present volume is full of plain dealing on these subjects, “addressed directly to the conscience and the life.” It *must* do good; and such books will answer the vain plea with which commercial sinners strive to get rid of their guilt,—that “Ministers do not understand business.” If they do not understand the application of Christian principles to commerce, they do not understand their own proper business.

Margaret: or, Prejudice at Home, and its Victims. An Autobiography. In Two Vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1853.

THIS is the first work published by Mr. Bentley on his new plan. Of the boldness of the plan itself there can be no doubt, though we cannot help thinking that its success is somewhat problematical. Mr. Bentley appears to us to have been a little too sanguine in his calculations, as far at least as his own interests are concerned. We cannot see how his reduction of two-thirds upon the usual price of new novels, will bring him an accession of one-third, or even one-sixth, in the number of purchasers. Generally speaking, those who invest a large portion of their time in the perusal of these works, invest a very small portion of their capital in the purchase of them; whilst those who are not very anxious to read them, are certainly not very likely to buy them. In fact, with the exception of a few favourite authors, the circulating libraries offer almost the only market in the country for this description of literature. Here, novels can be had for reading—and that is all that nineteen readers out of twenty want—at a charge which amounts to no more than a tenth, or even a twentieth part of Mr. Bentley’s reduced price. Nor do we think that there will be any increased demand on the part of the libraries. The reduction in price

will scarcely be likely to give an impetus to the taste for novel-reading; and some of our metropolitan libraries already take two hundred, three hundred, and even five hundred copies of a single work. It is probable that Mr. Bentley is anticipating the abolition of the excise-duty on paper. Oracular intimations in various quarters, and more especially the recent remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Manchester, appear to point to this event as not far distant; and, in such a case, Mr. Bentley will certainly have gained an important start in the race with his competitors.

We cannot congratulate Mr. Bentley upon the work with which he has initiated his new scheme. "*Margaret: or, Prejudice at Home, and its Victims,*" can scarcely be pleasing to any but those who are themselves the victims of prejudice. In its general design, in its conception, and in its execution, it is alike full of errors and exaggerations. "*Margaret,*" like the "*Esther Summerson*" of Mr. Dickens, is what is now fashionably and delicately termed the "*Child of Misfortune.*" In the course of a short time, an illegitimate hero or heroine will be absolutely necessary to the success of every legitimate drama or novel. The object of "*Margaret*" is the inculcation of the philosophy that wealth is inseparable from meanness, vulgarity, or tyranny; and that the profession of religion is identical with ignorance, selfishness, or hypocrisy. The writer has the lowest possible opinion of English freedom, English progress, and English Christianity; and a sketch of an anti-slavery meeting supplies an opportunity for an Uncle-Tom parallel that will be most grateful to the complacent self-love of our trans-Atlantic friends. The different characters partake of all the distortion which might be expected from a pen dipped in the gall of these sentiments. The talent and vigour with which the work is undeniably written, instead of concealing its faults, only serve to put them in bolder relief, since they naturally exaggerate exaggeration. We regret that the writer has not turned his or her powers to better account; and regret still more that we cannot hope for anything very different, as the characters and scenes have been evidently drawn by a hand which is under the influence of earnest and deeply-rooted feelings.

Benedictions; or, The Blessed Life. By the Rev. J. Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E. London. 1853.

THE productions of Dr. Cumming stand in no need of recommendation from us. Their simple announcement is sufficient to insure a welcome from a large class of readers. We sincerely rejoice in the popularity of such an author, as both the sign and source of a widespread taste for religious books. This popularity has, indeed, its dangers, both for author and public; as the former may be induced, from the best intentions, to make the utmost use of an influence so rare and valuable, and do his own powers injustice by taxing them in the production of successive publications; and the latter, of course, must share in the injurious consequences. For this reason we regretted the haste with which Dr. Cumming dismissed into the world his series of prophetic interpretations. On a branch of exegesis so difficult and important, it was surely necessary to observe extreme caution, and avoid undue confidence. But the present work is not open to this

objection; for, if containing little that is striking in thought, and still less novelty of illustration, it furnishes a readable presentment of many valuable truths, full of consolation to the Christian mind. The matter is not united by any subtle chain of truth, connecting his several chapters, as so many pearls upon one thread; and this only was wanting to afford the highest pleasure to reflective readers. To them the volume will not seem to fulfil the promise of the title. The Blessed Life has calm clear depths, which are but faintly mirrored in these pages. Yet it is only fair to remember that his popular and desultory style is consistent with the author's modest aim, who writes throughout in the spirit of his selected motto:—

"It may be glorious to write
Thoughts that shall glad the two or three
High souls, like those far stars that come in sight
Once in a century.
But better far it is to speak
One simple word, which now or then
Shall waken a new nature in the weak
And sinful sons of men."

The Principles of Commerce and Commercial Law: explained in a Course of Lectures delivered by Sir George Stephen, Barrister-at-Law. London: John Crockford.

THIS is intended to be to the young student what more elaborate works,—such as Mr. McCulloch's,—are to maturer minds; and to a considerable extent it supplies a desideratum which has long been felt in early commercial experience. The work treats of brokerage, bills of exchange, discount, shipping, insurance, banking, book-keeping, and other mercantile terms and usages. To our mind, the treatise on Book-keeping is, perhaps, the least explicit and effective; but this is not very strange. Lawyers are proverbially bad book-keepers; and the science is, besides, one of those in which a month's practice will do more for the student than folios of theory. We can heartily recommend Sir George Stephen's work to the attention of those who have a commercial life before them.

Twenty plain Sermons on the principal Doctrines of the Gospel. By John Petty. London: Holliday. 1852.

IN the above little work the humbler classes of society are presented with a series of discourses written in simple, unpretending language. The chief doctrines of Scripture are plainly unfolded, and the work is pervaded by a strain of clear evangelical thought. An excellent present for working men on the commencement of a Christian career.

Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus, translated from the original Syriac; with an Introduction, and Historical and Philological Notes. By the Rev. Henry Burgess, Ph. D. of Göttingen. London: Blackader. 1853.

It is remarked by Dr. Plume, in a Memoir prefixed to his edition of Bishop Hacket's "Century of Sermons," that, "for knowledge of the tongues," that worthy Prelate "would never fix upon Arabian learning; the place was a *siticolosa regio*, a dry and barren land, where no water is;" and, accordingly, "he bewailed that so many good wits of

his time prosecuted the eastern languages so much as to neglect the western learning, and discretion, too, sometimes." But subjects are accounted "dry and barren," or otherwise, according to the varying tastes and objects by which students of various classes are directed. And so that, which to the Bishop aforesaid was so uninviting and profitless, is to Dr. Burgess, as it has been to many others, a field "yielding an abundant harvest of good things." To him the Epistles of Ignatius, the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius, the Theophania of Eusebius, and, above all, the Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus, "the renowned Deacon of Edessa,"—provided always, that they come speaking in the rhythm and accent of his favourite *Syriac*,—are "as cold waters to a thirsty soul." They are even sweeter and more inspiring than the fountains of Helicon, and only—near as some of them might be to "Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus"—not "better than the waters of Israel." And, as it respects the work before us, "if he can succeed in conveying to English readers some conception of the value of Syrian hymnology, and thus open the way to future acquisitions from the same source, his highest wish on the subject will be gratified." Independently of the intrinsic importance of the vast literary field, "a small corner of which," as he modestly expresses it, "he has attempted to till," it is quite refreshing to see the indefatigable earnestness with which he labours to communicate to others the enthusiasm with which he is himself possessed. And we sincerely congratulate him on the high reputation which he has so amply earned, and on the very honourable patronage under which the present volume makes its appearance.

Conscious of his being on ground which, as to the theological character of much of its produce, is even more than suspected, he is "anxious that it should be distinctly understood that his design is a *literary*, and not a *theological* one." But it is scarcely possible that "Hymns and Homilies," whatever be the wishes of the Editor to that effect, should be regarded by his readers, simply, after that one-sided fashion; especially when they are recommended as the productions of one who "knew no storehouse of facts and principles but the Bible, and the very slight (?) addition made to it by ecclesiastical tradition." As to the *history* and *literary* character of these productions, it would be great injustice to Dr. Burgess to give merely such an abridgment as our limits would allow. And we are quite sure that, in referring our readers to the account of *Syriac* literature generally, and of its metrical compositions in particular, contained in his very interesting and instructive Introduction, we shall best conserve his reputation, and most effectually promote the objects which he has in view. But, with regard to the *metres* used in Ephraem's compositions, we may take this occasion to say, that Dr. Burgess has looked, perhaps, somewhat too exclusively to Grecian literature, as the source from which they were derived. For it is remarkable that during the period within which he flourished, the ecclesiastical poetry of the Western Churches presented specimens of versification, approximating to, though they might not exactly resemble, the productions of the great Syrian minstrel. Commodianus, Juvencus, Hilary (Bishop of Poitiers), and Ambrose, all celebrated as writers of Christian verse, were more or less contemporary with him. Of Hilary, in particular, it may be remarked that, during his exile in Phrygia, where he continued four years, he employed himself in the

composing of several works; perhaps, amongst others, the *Liber Hymnorum*, which Jerome affirms him to have written, but which has since perished. And, considering his wide-spread celebrity, and his proximity to Syria during that period, it could scarcely be otherwise than that Ephraem, who was living at that time and for some years afterwards, should be acquainted with his writings, if not also with himself. This was, however, too near the time of his own death to justify the supposition that he first learned his metres from Hilary; still he may have been acquainted, at an earlier period, with his *writings*, as well as with some of the productions of other Christian versifiers of the same century.

After the *caveat* which Dr. Burgess has deemed it right to enter against its being supposed that his design is any other than a purely *literary* one, it might appear to be unfair to hold him responsible for the theology which is embodied in these very interesting selections. And, on this understanding, if we find, in the course of our perusal of them, passages clearly implying the value of the intercession of glorified saints,—the fact of a purgatory after death,—the intrinsic merit of good works,—and the availableness of prayers for the departed,—all that we have fair licence to do, is just to say, with a deep sigh, “These things are *there*,” and to indulge the fruitless wish that it had been otherwise. But if, unmindful of the line within which he is “anxious that it should be understood” that his design is limited, he attempts to palliate or excuse, however slightly, any of the instances in which these objectionable things are to be found, he forfeits, *quoad hoc*, the protection which his *caveat* was very wisely intended to provide, and even *compels* us to go, at least as far as he takes the liberty of going, into the *theology* as well as the literature of these compositions. And so, when we are indirectly given to understand as to certain expressions to which we object, as being Popish in their aspect, if not in their real meaning, that they are in harmony with truth and nature, or *were* so in the mouth of Syrian Christians, we must needs say that, whether in harmony with nature or not, they are not in harmony with *truth*. And, further, when it is said, that most of those expressions which incline to the view that the state of the dead can be reversed by the prayers of the living, may be explained as passionate exclamations, or be reduced within the bounds of the beautiful prayer, “That all those *who* have departed this life in the true faith, may have their perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul,” we must maintain that neither of these explanations can be considered satisfactory. Dr. Burgess himself admits that “all the pieces seem to refer to doctrines generally believed, respecting which no doubt existed.” And what those doctrines were, in sober theological treatises, as well as in impassioned hymns, it is unnecessary here to mention. As to the second explanation, the prayer to which he has referred is not for the dead at all, but for the living only. Correctly quoted, it is not, “That all those who have departed,” &c., “may have *their* perfect consummation,” &c., but, “That *we*, with all those who have departed, may have *our* perfect consummation,” &c. If the phraseology be deemed ambiguous, which we are scarcely prepared to admit, surely the benefit of such ambiguity is to be given, not to the Popish, but to the Protestant, interpretation. We must do him the justice to say, that he retracts *all this*, or very nearly so, in what immediately follows. But it would

have been still better if he had omitted it altogether. With these exceptions, we have read the whole work with great interest; and we unite in the commendations which have been given to him, for the important services which he has rendered in this somewhat neglected, but now, as we hope, reviving, department of Oriental literature.

Truth Spoken in Love; or, Romanism and Tractarianism refuted by the Word of God. By the Rev. H. H. Beamish, M.A., Minister of Trinity Chapel, Conduit-street, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of Bandon. London: J. F. Shaw. 1853.

FROM a passage in the *second* of the chapters comprised in this work, it appears that the matter they contain was originally delivered in a "Course of Lectures," which are now published by particular request, only under an altered and more descriptive title. The subjects discussed are some of those on which Rome and her lieges on the one hand, and all true Protestants on the other, joined issue some centuries ago, and are still implacably one another. The Rule of Faith,—Baptism, *per se*,—Baptism in connexion with the question of Regeneration,—Catholicity,—Auricular Confession,—Schism,—and Apostolical Succession, are the topics on which the author seeks to interest and inform his readers: these matters being by him very justly regarded as being "of the highest importance to the spiritual and eternal interests of man," and as involving principles, the triumph or defeat of which may materially, if not essentially, affect the welfare and stability of our "National Reformed Church." He addresses himself chiefly to the members of that Church; but his topics have, just now, an interest which attracts very general and earnest attention. We cannot subscribe to all that he has written, particularly on the subjects of Baptism, Regeneration, and Catholicity. His statement, that baptism is not necessarily connected with regeneration, may be very readily accepted. But when he says, that "Paul was regenerated when he fell to the ground terrified and full of consternation," though he had not yet washed away his sins, calling on the name of the Lord, he so confounds regeneration with repentance, as to render his assertion altogether inadmissible, except by those in whose opinion these terms are synonymous and interchangeable. In like manner, exception may be taken to his teaching that, in the cases of Paul, Cornelius, Lydia, and the jailer of Philippi, "preaching preceded, and was the instrument of, regeneration." But when he adds, "Regeneration preceded and was the parent of faith," he asserts an *order* as to the relative sequence of the one to the other, the reverse of that which Scripture teaches. For it was "to as many as received Him, that He gave power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name;" and we "are the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." Moreover, he holds views on the subject of "election and sovereignty," and the second coming of Christ, to which his readers may take fair exception. But if, in our judgment, his doctrine is not always "the truth," it must yet be admitted that it is "spoken in love," and that the *tone* is invariably "evangelical." The work, as a whole, will amply repay a careful perusal.

The Book and its Story. By L. N. B. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1853.

MODESTLY purports to be a book for the young, but we are much mistaken if it does not become popular with readers of every class. It sketches, first, the history of the Bible in past ages, noticing the earliest translations, both English and continental, and enumerating the most valuable manuscripts still existing; and, secondly, describes the rise, progress, and present operations of the Bible Society. The book is handsomely printed, and, unlike the generality of cheap publications, is not disfigured, but really embellished, by an abundance of wood engravings.

Notwithstanding the simplicity of its style, the narrative is interesting and spirited; and the mass of historical and statistical information which the volume contains, will render it an acquisition to the library of every biblical student.

Macariodos; or, The Happy Way, on the too short, but often sorrowful, Journey of Life. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853.

IT is among the "favourable signs" of these fitful and ambiguous times, that works of this description should be so rapidly multiplied, since that fact naturally leads to the inference that they are largely in demand. This book, with its somewhat quaint, but very significant and appropriate title, and its edifying contents, is an acceptable addition to the stock of these important publications. It takes up, in an easy and instructive style, some of the principal points connected with religious experience, from its commencement to its maturity, and may be particularly useful to those who are seeking information thereupon. The chapters on Conversion,—the Passage from Death to Life,—and the evidences by which the fact of that transition, when effected, is made to clear us, are especially important: only, like many others, the author confounds the witness of the Spirit of God with the witness of our own.

The Half Century: its History, Political and Social. By Washington Wilks. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: W. and F. G. Cash. 1853.

It is really amusing to witness the gravity and perfect self-possession with which people of ordinary abilities will treat of subjects which are quite beyond their reach. For example: an Englishman races over a strange country, as though the amount of information he gained were in direct proportion to the number of miles he covered; and, after whirling along, at high-pressure, for three weeks or a month, returns home, publishes what he has seen, and a good deal that he never saw; discourses learnedly of the evils, "political and social," which afflict the said country; and propounds the requisite aids and reliefs as dogmatically as though he had sat in its senate-house for half a life-time.

But travellers are not the only people whose indiscretion makes them look foolish. Young men of literary habits occupy themselves with some crude scheme or other, a historical work for instance, and

forthwith rush into print. The old masters of the craft were not quite so hasty, and deemed that a good subject should be leisurely and worthily treated. One author required thirteen volumes for the history of a princely house; another occupied seven volumes with the history of a rebellion; and a third filled four octavos with the records of a single reign. But the industrious "servants of all work" have formed a new school, and a Mr. Washington Wilks compresses, within the limits of a pocket volume, the History of Europe for fifty years, and those fifty years crowded with events more important in the history of the world than any two centuries which preceded them.

Now, if the object of history be to chronicle, not so much events, as their causes and effects; not so much the actions of rulers, as the condition of the governed,—their moral and social habits, their commercial policy, and the state of art, science, and education,—in short, the *morale* of their progress or decline,—then this effort must be pronounced a decided failure. But if history be literally "an old almanack," a mere list of dates and proper names, a biographical dictionary chronologically arranged; and if, in the stringing together of these dry facts, by giving undue prominence to some events, and depreciating the value of others, there may be exhibited a strong political, and even sectarian, bias; then this volume is a real history, and Mr. Washington Wilks is a veritable historian.

Classic and Historic Portraits. By James Bruce. Two Vols. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1853.

THIS is a curious piece of literary patchwork, into which are introduced all kinds of odds and ends,—scraps of legendary lore, clippings of venerable parchments; indeed, the work is a miscellany of biographical waifs and strays,—a new series of historic "Notes and Queries."

Mr. Bruce proposes to describe "the personal appearance, dress, private habits, and tastes, of some of the most distinguished persons whose names figure on the page of history;" and says, truly enough, that "these minute particulars have been in a great degree neglected." Interest in an author's writings naturally begets an interest in the author himself; and we gladly treasure up whatever can be gleaned respecting him.

But the knowledge of individual peculiarities is of more important use than to gratify an idle curiosity; it generally affords a clear insight into the character of the man. Johnson's habit of scraping his knuckles until they bled, gives a better idea of his irritable temperament than pages of description. And Goldsmith's love of finery, his presenting himself for ordination in a pair of scarlet breeches, and especially his renowned Dutch scheme, are almost sufficient of themselves to pour-tray the easy, good-natured, thoughtless, thriftless, happy Irishman.

It is not, therefore, with Mr. Bruce's plan, so much as with his mode of carrying it out, that we are disposed to quarrel. In the first place, the selection is often ill-judged. Of the fifty-eight portraits of *the most distinguished persons in the world's history*, hardly a score deserve to be thus characterized; the remainder are of very secondary importance, the female characters especially, the greater proportion of whom are only remembered for their beauty and profligacy. Surely, when

the selection was to be from among the illustrious of all ages, there should have been no difficulty in selecting so small a number from the front rank.

But, even taking the names as we find them, the sketches are very imperfect and ineffectual; and the reader's attention is perpetually distracted by digressions, entertaining enough, it is true, but totally unconnected with the subject in hand. As a specimen of this rambling style, we may take the chapter on Alcibiades. After a description of his personal beauty and accomplishments, reference is made to a statement of Plutarch, that Alcibiades had a graceful lisp in his speech. Our author immediately proceeds to quote from poets of various ages and countries, to show that this imperfect elocution has been generally admired. As the last of these quotations alludes to the lisp of Hector, a description of that worthy follows as a matter of course. The author then flies off at a tangent into an essay on squinting in general, and on squinting beauties in particular. Leaving this interesting topic, he next gives example of lameness in otherwise handsome women; and, as from the halt to the blind there is but a step, one-eyed beauties follow naturally enough, and close, somewhat abruptly, the sketch of Alcibiades!

Still more scanty is the information vouchsafed respecting some others, to whom, nevertheless, a distinct chapter is devoted. Our ideas of Germanicus, for instance, are extremely vague, as nothing more is stated of him than that he had spindle-legs. This portrait is drawn with an evident regard to the old proverb, "*Ex pede Herculem.*" Respecting Agrippina, we are only able to gather that she was very beautiful, and wore a cloak interwoven with gold.

Even where a minute and careful description is entered into, the result is by no means satisfactory. The ears of Augustus are described as "of the middle size;" his nose as "elevated in the upper part, and drawn more slenderly below;" moreover, "his *toga* was neither tight nor loose; his robe was not narrow, neither was it broad, like those of the nobles." Mathematical definitions truly!

These "minute private and personal details" would be much more palatable, if interwoven with, and subordinate to, some general narrative or biography. A seasoned dish is one thing,—a dish of seasoning is another; and Mr. Bruce would have done well to discriminate between them.

The Public and Domestic Life of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke.

By Peter Burke, Esq., of the Inner Temple and the Northern Circuit. London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co. 1853.

WE cannot congratulate Mr. Burke upon having written such a life of his illustrious namesake as will long satisfy his countrymen. The domestic occurrences of the Orator's life are, indeed, well described; but the great principles which, in connexion with personal idiosyncrasy, formed the basis of his philosophy and his political views, are apparently beyond his reach. In some particulars, as in the case of Burke's supposed implication in "Junius's Letters," we think he is decidedly in error. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, we think it well suited to become the popular presentment of the immortal statesman.

Outlines of Literary Culture, from the Christian Stand-Point.
By the Rev. B. Frankland, B.A. London. 1853.

THIS is an interesting review of the various aspects of literature in ancient and modern times; and the author arrives, we think, at a very fair estimate of the intellectual and moral value of each. The characteristic merits of the authors of classical antiquity are nicely distinguished by three particulars,—clearness of thought, concinnity of expression, and general intellectual sobriety. But, perhaps, in contrasting these points of excellence with the faults and feebleness of modern literature, it would have been only fair to remind the reader that our judgment is formed, in the one case, upon the noblest works of antiquity which have remained above the waves of time, where thousands of less merit have been long submerged; while, in the other, we are surrounded by a living, active world of letters, in which the most worthless elements are often most tumultuous. Our real classics are not yet isolated from this noisy competition; but the Australian schoolboy, of a distant age, shall be taught to make them the models of his themes. So, too, with the respective civilizations of ancient and modern times. Mr. Frankland has remarked, that the classic authors are not to be taken as faithful representatives of the Greek or Roman public; but, on this point he might have profitably enlarged, and showed the intensity of moral corruption and physical degradation in which the masses of society weltered, even around the base of those aspiring heights of Attic civilization. This, however, was not strictly demanded by his plan; and we have great pleasure in recommending his thoughtful and improving little volume to our readers.

Hippolytus and the Christian Church of the Third Century.
With a copious Analysis of the newly-discovered MS., and
a Translation of all its most important Parts from the original Greek. By W. Elfe Tayler. London: Arthur Hall,
Virtue, and Co. 1853.

THIS work is, in conformity with the design of its author, “a concise, clear, and popular Essay on the whole subject of the manuscript to which it relates,” and is especially adapted to the convenience of those who are interested in the subject, but to whom the larger works of Bunsen and Wordsworth are too bulky or expensive. It consists of a critical inquiry into the newly-discovered work, an analysis and translation of the work itself, and an account of the Christian Church in the time of Hippolytus, together with an Appendix, containing, “Ordinances of the Church of Alexandria respecting the Clergy, and the Regulation of Christian Life, as it respects Worship and Service.” We may add that, in this volume, the argument is in favour of the claims of Hippolytus to be regarded as the author of the work in question; that his orthodoxy, on the subject of the personality of the Holy Spirit, is satisfactorily vindicated from the suspicions cast upon it by Bunsen, as it is also from the allegation of his having entertained opinions in harmony with certain German innovations; and that it contains some things which have not, until now, appeared in an English dress. Mr. Tayler has executed his task with considerable ability, and has conferred a very acceptable boon upon a numerous class of general, as well as theological, readers.

Lectures on the History and Principles of Ancient Commerce.
By J. W. Gilbart, F.R.S. London: Longman and Co.
1853.

THE subject of this *brochure* is one of much interest to us a commercial people, and the mode of treatment adopted is such as to afford several lessons of practical importance. The connexion of commercial prosperity with maritime power, colonies, manufactures, accumulation of capital, &c., is clearly and instructively exhibited. It deserves a circulation equal to that of the popular "Elements of Banking," by the same author.

Remarkable Incidents in the Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh, Missionary to the Settlers and Savages of Australia and New Zealand: with a Succinct History of the Origin and Progress of the Missions in those Colonies. By the Rev. Alexander Strachan. London: Mason.

WE have long been of opinion that one of the best services that can be rendered to the cause of Protestant and vital Christianity, is the publication of such Biographies as the present,—the Life and Memoirs of a Missionary, who, actuated only by a burning desire to promote the welfare and salvation of mankind, carries the Gospel, at immense personal sacrifice and risk, to a purely heathen nation. No body of men are placed so much above the suspicion of mercenary or selfish motives, as Missionaries to savage Heathens; and no efforts so clearly mark the design and spirit, the Divine power and universal benefits, of Christianity. The biographies of such men are the supplement to the Acts of the Apostles,—the reproduction of Christianity as it wrought at its outset, but without the aid of sensible miracles. The success of Missions in the renovation of savage society, and the conversion of men to a pure morality who were once the apparent incarnation of evil, is a moral demonstration of the truth and power of religion, which rejoices and confirms the most established believer, and may well confound, if it do not convince, the most hardened sceptic.

Mr. Leigh was the pioneer and first Missionary to New South Wales and New Zealand, under the direction of that greatly honoured institution, the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society. The Rev. Samuel Marsden, originally connected with Methodism, preceded him in New Zealand and Australia, under the auspices of the Church of England, by seven or eight years. Having passed some seven years in Australia, Mr. Leigh and his noble wife spent nine years in New Zealand,—a country almost unknown to Europeans until penetrated and subdued by Missionary labour, but now risen into immense commercial importance. Mr. Leigh had a high sense of the spirituality of his vocation, and distrusted all schemes of Christianizing by civilization. He trusted only to the preaching of the Cross. He knew what must follow conversion. The triumph of subjugating the ferocious warriors and cannibals of New Zealand, is altogether and exclusively due to the Gospel. The ports, and supplies, and friendliness, and commerce of that interesting country, are the product of Christianity, and very largely of the Methodist Ministry. Mr. Leigh was an admirable type of the true Missionary. He had all the essential

characteristics of a New-Testament Evangelist, and was honoured by his Master with most extraordinary success. To follow him in his eventful career of Christian charity, would far exceed our limits. Mr. Strachan has raised his monument by recording his actions. He well laid the foundations which others build upon. His labours are imperishable : they will be found, centuries hence, written in the history of infant nations, who shall call him, and his noble coadjutors of every Church, blessed. We cannot, however, help wishing that Mr. Leigh had written his own simple annals ; for there is a charm in auto-biography which cannot be transferred ; and no one is so fit to give an account of such a work as the workman himself. To this act of justice, not merely to himself, but also to the Christian enterprise in which he was engaged, he was often urged ; and he had, indeed, promised to set about it. The present volume reveals almost boundless materials. The book is full of striking and moving incidents, enough, in the hands of some men, to fill a bulky quarto. Every where Mr. Leigh is seen to advantage, and deservedly. All he was, he put into his work ; and he had true greatness. His mission was every thing to him : it filled, guided, actuated, elevated him, and all he did. For His work's sake, he could "endure hardness," service, and sacrifice, very different from the zeal of a Missionary platform. He could calmly throw open his coat to receive the spear of a savage, or say to a friend in England, "In the prosecution of my mission, I am as happy with a crust of bread and a draught from the brook, as when I used to dine on your roast beef. I sometimes travel twenty miles, preach to twenty persons, retire to rest with twenty thousand blessings, and go off again in the morning singing for joy." His wife had, if it were possible, a more noble courage, and a more patient fortitude. With a band of Missionaries of such a spirit, no wonder that the Wesleyan stations belt the globe, or that they receive so great an amount of public attention and support.

We regret that we cannot speak of the volume before us with unqualified praise. We have nothing to except as to the *matériel*, or, indeed, the spirit, of the book ; but we hope that when a second edition is called for, which must be immediately, the author will be able to find time to give it a higher literary finish. There needs a little more clearness in the order and connexion of events ; a more frequent insertion of dates ; and, in some instances, greater precision, and even correctness, of language. A rigorous revision would greatly improve this valuable narrative ; and we would abolish that wretched engraving of a miserable picture, intended once to have been accepted as a portrait.

We earnestly recommend the volume to the perusal of all, both friends and opponents of Missions ; for, unfortunately, it has yet opponents, and there are even professed Christians who do not wish it well. We think they must not only be without the power of godliness, but bad men, if they do not profit by sitting at the feet of Samuel Leigh, and if they cannot rejoice in the success of his labours.

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