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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1865.

ART. I.—*The Congresses of the late Season.*

WHEN the national Parliament is off, other Parliaments come on. Autumn has become the season for Congresses. Not many years ago, the dull days during prorogation were chiefly enlivened for newspaper readers by making the most of 'accidents and offences,' including much exaggeration and some invention, by reporting and criticising 'extra-Parliamentary utterances' of M.P.s, by the discussion of railway projects, and by reviews of books, with entertaining extracts. Now during several months these Congresses keep the reporting columns of the daily papers under a pressure of matter, while the editors have enough to do to keep pace with them in their leading articles. During the past season there has been a rich provision of congressional intelligence. There has been, as a matter of course, the autumnal Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held this year at Edinburgh. This is the eldest but one of the Congresses, having annals which extend now through a period of nearly twenty years. And although it has encountered not a little satire and ridicule, and may perhaps sometimes have assumed a style and arrogated a character which did not properly belong to it, yet as the embodiment, however imperfect, of a true and noble idea, which cannot be kept too much before the view of Christians, it has materially contributed to promote mutual good understanding and, to a limited extent, good fellowship among the Churches. Moreover, the influence of the Evangelical Alliance in favour of religious liberty, both in Europe and in the East, has been very important. It has in this respect served a purpose which could be

served by no other organization whatever. It has afforded a common platform on which the true friends of religious liberty, in every Protestant Church and in every land, could unite, in order to plead for Christian tolerance and charity wherever persecution existed in nominally Christian nations, and to advocate the claims of Christians in Mohammedan countries. What the Alliance has done in this way has become a part of the world's history, and will be an enduring honour to its name. Here let us be permitted to add our tribute to the memory of the late Sir Culling E. Eardley, for so many years the President of the Alliance. No doubt he was very much of a theorist; insatiable in his generous scheming; ever restless after some new enterprise; by no means an eminently practical or an invariably prudent man. He was a man of eclectic tastes and sympathies; which in vulgar parlance would be rendered a man of crotchets. He was a man of earnest charitable soul, fertile in ideas and projects, and with some special projects which few believed in besides himself; hence in vulgar parlance, again, he might be styled a man of hobbies. But he was a man of a large and catholic spirit. He was restless and insatiable in promoting the progress of religious liberty and Christian union. If he had been a narrower man, he would doubtless have been more practical; if he had been less enthusiastic in his Christian philanthropy, and his zeal for Christian liberty and progress, he would have found less difficulty in being prudent, and might have passed through life, as an active Churchman, or the foremost Dissenter, without incurring any reproach on account of his 'crotchets' or his 'hobbies.' But he would probably in that case have done much less good in his generation. Neither a Churchman, nor a Dissenter, but dwelling on a little clearing of his own, he filled a special niche in the midst of the Churches, and was the means of rendering distinguished service to the cause of Christian liberty and union. Although not a profound or a pre-eminently wise man, he was a man of great intelligence, much knowledge of the world, special tact, indefatigable energy, and elevated Christian character. And these qualifications, added to his good standing in society, and his position of friendly neutrality among the various Christian denominations, enabled him to exert an influence in his day which it is hardly too much to say few other men could have exerted, and to do a work which few besides could have done.

Our business in this article, however, is not with the Evangelical Alliance, although we could not refer, in introducing our subject, to the Congresses of the season, without paying due homage to that Conference which represents the highest

and most comprehensive power of beneficence and of progress. Far less have we any direct concern in this paper with a religious Conference of altogether a contrasted character which was opened at Malines, on the 29th of August last. If a Roman Catholic Congress be in any respect whatever a motive force in favour of national or human progress, it must be because the conditions of the age and of the nation in which it takes place are such as in some measure to counteract the unmitigable bigotry, the incurable blindness, the unrelenting tyranny, which are essential to Popery, as such. Belgium, though a Popish country, is so surrounded, and consequently so pervaded, by an atmosphere of liberal ideas, derived from Holland, from France and its revolutionary literature, and from England, that it is, on the whole, excellently governed on constitutional principles. Hence in no country could a Roman Catholic Congress appear to so great advantage as in Belgium. It is somewhat entertaining to observe how, in such a country, zealous Papists identify the Papacy with liberty, with progress, with general enlightenment, nay, shade of Galileo! with scientific culture and advancement; alleging, as M. De Villeneuve would seem to have done, that 'pontiffs and cardinals,' in general, have been distinguished promoters of science and invention. It is at the same time instructive to note how, while claiming liberty and true liberalism as special attributes of Popery, the Congress bitterly execrates what are described as 'the turpitudes of that chaos of blood and mire called Italian unity.' It deserves to be specially remarked by Protestants who are in the habit of lamenting the divisions of Protestantism as contrasted with the unity of the so-called 'Catholic' Church, that one of the great complaints urged at this Congress was the 'want of unity' among 'Catholics,' their 'divisions into isolated and hostile parties,' leaving them exposed to the attacks of the Protestant foe. But by far the most remarkable thing about the Congress was that after Father Felix, the celebrated Jesuit preacher, had wound up his audience by a passionate peroration, which produced an inconceivable effect, he brought his oration to a close by proposing—a cheer for Jesus Christ! Whereupon the whole multitude, with one voice, and, as the reporter, writing in French fashion, expresses it, 'a hundred times,' cheered with the most vehement enthusiasm, *Vive Jésus Christ! Vive Jésus Christ!* Surely a scene reminding us much more of the uproar at Ephesus, when the mob clamoured with mad reiteration, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians!* than of any assembly of Christian people, desiring to uphold the honour of their Divine Saviour and Lord.

The Congresses which are worthy of special attention on the part of all men of public spirit, which now occupy the autumnal leisure of *savans*, philanthropists, senators, and divines, are the Meeting of the British Association for the Promotion of Science, whose annals reach back over thirty years, that of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, which is now of eight years' standing, and the Church Congress, which only dates back about two years. All these Congresses have had alike to contend with the sharp, if shallow, criticism of the newspaper press. They have all alike been sneered at as visionary, ridiculed as mere make-believes, good for nothing but banquets and gossip; of course also there has been a certain foundation for such imputations, a sufficient pretext for the sarcasms of daily critics in the *Times*, weekly critics in such journals as the *Saturday Review*, and individual cynics of the temper of Mr. Bernal Osborne, albeit not often of his unquestionable ability and wit, who, in his address to his constituents at Liskeard, among his flings at all things and all men, except Mr. Gladstone and his measures, could not forego the opportunity of discharging his characteristic satire upon the late Social Science Congress. But there can be no doubt that all these Congresses are real powers of enlightenment and progress. The mere sciolist will not be greatly the wiser for attending them; but those men, to whose genius and culture the world owes the strides which the present age is making in all that belongs to science, art, commerce, and social progress, being, at these Congresses, brought face to face with each other,—and rising men, worthy to continue the succession of philosophers, philanthropists, and discoverers, being brought into fellowship with the acknowledged leaders of the march of intellect and civilisation,—the result is an amount of mutual enlightenment and intellectual stimulation, and a general gain to the cause of true progress, such as could not otherwise be secured. To say that these Congresses are not practical is merely absurd—absurd either as a stupid truism which is utterly beside the only possible question open to discussion, or else absurdly and stupidly untrue. It is true that at these meetings the principles of science or philosophy are seldom applied in detail to art or commerce or legislation; it is not possible, nor, if it were possible, would it be desirable, that this should be the case, to any large extent. It would be a mere waste of time; indeed, the men to indicate the principles of artistic improvement, or of commercial enterprise and legislation, or of social reform and progress, or of enlightened philanthropy, can very seldom

be the men to work out their principles in detail. They are the masters of thought and philosophy, but they are not craftsmen ; to enlightened craftsmen it must of course be left to apply what these masters indicate.

They do for art, commerce, law, and practical progress, a work analogous to that which Bacon did for science in general and scientific progress. If they are not themselves practical after a workmanlike fashion, still it is from their ideas and suggestions that practical improvements of the widest range, the highest order, the grandest power, are continually derived. And one great advantage of the Congresses is that the most skilled and intelligent craftsmen are brought into intercourse with the men of the finest scientific and philosophical genius, the most practical workers with the men of profoundest insight into the laws of action and effect, into the principles of working ; and thus science and art, cosmopolitan enlightenment and culture and world-wide commerce, philosophy and philanthropy, Christian faith and devotion and civil and individual liberty, are in the way to be blended and harmonized.

The three Congresses which are now in our view were so arranged as closely to succeed each other, leaving intervals of only a day or two ; and, each lasting about a week, they covered conjointly nearly a month, the columns of the newspapers being daily supplied with reports of their proceedings. Making allowance for the fact that the Church Congress referred only to the affairs of the Church of England, or at least only to Christian culture and progress so far as related to the influence and administration of the Church of England, it may be said that the three Congresses are mutually complementary, and that together they cover the whole field of human faculty and responsibility. All that belongs to the domain of science, whether abstract or inductive, together with its applications to art, commerce, education, and, especially through the statistical branch, to law and crime, appertains to the eldest of the Associations, which appropriately holds its annual assembly first. All that belongs to the region of moral influence as affecting social conditions and progress ; all social developments, and all existing laws or customs, in proportion as they affect for good or for evil the moral condition and progress of the nation or the race ; all the means whereby existing social evils may be removed or social elevation may be promoted ; all that can be demanded by equity, by humanity, by the highest moral sense, on behalf of any or every class or race of men ; comes within the range of Social Science. All that the Christian Church can, by its organization, administration,

and activities of every kind, do towards promoting the self-same grand result of social well-being, of moral equity, of universal brotherhood, as viewed in the light of the Christian revelation, comes fairly within the scope of the Church Congress. The first organization is not moral, it is merely scientific; mental philosophy in its abstruser reaches and regions might possibly be included within its scope, though we doubt if it ever has been; but moral philosophy would hardly be admitted. Physiology is the subject nearest akin to mental or moral philosophy that is free of the British Association. Political economy, regarded as the science of the relations between capital, labour, and profit, belongs to the Association; but the high moral subject which at this moment so loudly demands attention, the ethics of political economy, would be excluded. There are indeed several subjects which, in a sense, belong in common to the Scientific and the Social Congress, as for example Education, Jurisprudence, and Economy and Trade, which indeed are the leading subjects of distinct sections in the Social Science Congress, and of sections or sub-sections in the Meeting of the British Association. But then the British Association has to do with the science of these subjects, merely as such; whereas the Social Science Congress, taking the mere scientific principles and theory, as investigated and ascertained, would apply them to the great object of social purification and elevation, and of brotherly union among men. The distinction is analogous to that between pure and applied mathematics. The applications which come within the scope of the Social Science Congress have all a moral bearing. The grand principles which regulate all the aims and discussions of this body are the golden rule of mutual equity, and the grand law of mutual responsibility, as co-extensive with personal faculty and opportunity. The Social Science Congress is thus supplementary to the elder organization. It is a product of advancing Christian civilisation, the result of a deepening sense of moral responsibility and a quickened feeling of human sympathy, throughout our modern society; it is akin to the influences which have made the moral and social condition of the lower classes occupy of late years a large and growing space in public attention, and which have produced their fruits in the various public organizations and movements for educating and elevating the people at large—such as Christian Day Schools, Ragged Schools, Town and City Missions, Reformatory Institutions, Associations for improving cottages, for erecting model lodging-houses, for effecting sanitary reforms, and the like. These various and manifold movements, carried on at the same

time in many different places throughout 'the three kingdoms,' and in most Christian nations, made a common platform for mutual intercourse and discussion a necessity for Social Reformers, and thus brought forth the Social Congress. And, on the other hand, the transactions and publications of the Congress during the last eight years have lent a powerful stimulus to these various associations. The reproaches which have been cast upon the Social Science Congress, not less than upon its elder sister among the Congresses, that it was not practical, have indeed been peculiarly misplaced. From the first its records have been a repertory of experiments, made not by mere theorists, but by practical philanthropists; and its fruits, in the quickening and multiplying of benevolent activities, and in suggesting and directing legislation, have been large and immediate. Of course theory has been conjoined with practice. Of course also experiments on a limited scale have led to projects and theories conceived on a much wider scale. But thus only can what is wisely practical be initiated, and philanthropic philosophy light the way to enterprises of benevolence. Verily one cannot but be disgusted with the callous criticism so often indulged in by the writers who represent the capital and commercial interests of the country, in regard to all that rises above the dictates of self-interest, and beyond view of the course of trade. It is remarkable that while the writers for the fashionable world, on the one hand, and those who purvey literature for the million readers of the working class, on the other, are accessible to the influences of enthusiasm, can appreciate projects of pure philanthropy, can fall in love with theories and enterprises which seem to rise above the prosaic level of selfish and commercial considerations to the height of a benevolent sentiment or a truly Christian idea, those papers, whether metropolitan or provincial, which are the great oracles on 'Change,' are notorious for the cold, critical, cynical, view, which they are apt to take of all such matters. Such journals as these long treated the Social Science Congress with a sort of contempt; and, in particular, have up to a very recent period flouted the grand idea of co-operation, which occupies so large a space in the attention of the Congress.

But besides science and moral philosophy, there is Christianity. The highest forces which can be brought to bear upon national or human amelioration and progress are enshrined in the distinctive truths and energies of the Christian religion. Hence, to complete what is necessary for the development of national life and of human brotherhood, the Church must be

continually at work, and must ever be adapting its immediate aims and its machinery to the continually changing, the ever-advancing, character and condition of the times. The need of such adaptation, felt of late years as never before,—the sense of such need in the Church of England having been quickened by observing the intelligence and activity of other denominations,—has led, full late, to the organization, within the Established Church, of a Church Congress, such as in 1863 assembled in Manchester, and last autumn at Bristol.

The British Association appears to have had a very pleasant meeting in the fair city of Bath, and to have enjoyed fine opportunities for geologizing, ruralising, and holiday-making, in the beautiful country around, and by the aid of the splendid hospitality shown to them by the mayor of the city and the nobles of the neighbourhood. But, so far as the transactions of the Association are concerned, there would seem to have been less of what was brilliant or remarkable than in several recent years. The address of the president, Sir Charles Lyell, was the great feature of the meeting. This was worthy of the reputation of so great a master of geological science. As an essay on the origin of hot springs, such as those of Bath, it was most interesting and instructive. Exact knowledge, fine mastery of the best style of scientific exposition, characteristic comprehensiveness of grasp and treatment, high inductive genius, rising to what has been well described by Bacon as a sort of divination, were combined in his inaugural address. These qualities, however, were somewhat marred by indications here and there of those peculiar tendencies, those foregone conclusions in a certain direction, which unfortunately belong to Lyell. There can be no doubt that his bias is all in favour of that view which regards the universe as an evolution rather than a creation. Hence he would explain away all that looks like evidence of creative epochs, and all that seems to show that there have been geological convulsions or chasms. Hence the difference, at this point, between himself and his friend and equal, Sir Roderick Murchison, who belongs to the class described by the school of Lyell as 'convulsionists.' Hence Sir Charles is endeavouring to push the evidences of organic life as far back as possible; and is anxious to believe that traces of such life may yet be discovered even in the oldest, the azoic, rocks. Hence he declares his agreement with Darwin in the belief that the stratified successions of fossil remains hitherto discovered are but 'a fraction' of the whole chain and series of extinct organisms, and can furnish no ground whatever for argument against the theory of gradual

evolution, or the Darwinian hypothesis in regard to the origin of species. It is satisfactory to note that Sir Roderick Murchison, whilst emphatically declaring his agreement with his distinguished friend and fellow-labourer in regard to all the great positive facts and laws of geological science, very significantly intimated his disagreement as to these matters of opinion and speculation. He believes that the oldest strata contain no indication whatever of organic life, and he is content to be rated as a 'convulsionist.' We confess that one reason why we are unfavourably disposed towards Sir Charles Lyell's views respecting the invariable uniformity with which the forces of nature have operated is, that these views imply, almost of necessity, and seem, in the person of their supporters, to be connected with, a pantheistic view of the universe. No personal will is ever to intrude. Miracles of creation, no less than miracles of interference, are to be eliminated from the history of Kosmos. All is to be evolution, development; all the silent, ceaseless, uniform working of a nature-spirit. Nature, not the Creator, plan and order, but not an ordering intelligence and will, appear in the scientific expositions of this school. 'It has never,' says Sir Charles, 'been part of the plan of Nature to leave a complete record of all her works and operations for the enlightenment of rational beings who might study them in after ages.'

For ourselves, we are so obtuse and old-fashioned, that we have never been able to escape from the force of the argument so well and tersely put by Cowper:—

'But how should matter occupy a charge,
Dull as it is, and satisfy a law
So vast in its demands, unless impelled
To ceaseless service by a ceaseless force,
And under pressure of some Conscious Cause?
The Lord of all, Himself thro' all diffused,
Sustains and is the life of all that lives.
Nature is but a name for an effect
Whose cause is God.'

Having touched upon the subject of Sir Charles Lyell's peculiar views, we cannot refrain from referring to Professor Phillips's remarks upon the estimated age of the world, remarks very nearly related to the President's speculations. He informed the Geological Section of the Association of the respective conclusions of 'two eminent mathematicians,' with regard to the probable age of the earth, regarded as a solid mass. One of these, Professor W. Thomson, from certain data,

calculates that the crust of earth must have cooled to its present condition within the period of 98,000,000 of years. 'On the other hand, Professor Houghton finds, from the data which he adopts, that 1,018,000,000 of years must have elapsed while the earth was cooled from 212 deg. Fahrenheit to 122 deg. Fahrenheit, at which temperature we may suppose the waters to have become habitable, and 1,280,000,000 of years *more* in cooling from 122 deg. to 77 deg. which is assumed to represent the climate of the later eocene period in Britain.' So much for 'applied mathematics,'—that is, mathematics applied to the calculation of geological problems! One 'eminent mathematician' reckons 98,000,000 of years, where the other, no less 'eminent,' reckons 2,300,000,000!

It is perhaps a sign of the times that some of the most popular papers and discussions at Bath related to social questions, and approximated to the topics which specially belong to the Social Science Congress. Of this nature were Dr. Edward Smith's paper on the dietary question, the transactions relating to the adoption of the decimal system of weights and measures, and the lectures and discussions by Captain Burton, Dr. Livingstone, and others, respecting the condition of the native tribes in Africa, and the prospects on that continent of discovery and colonisation. We confess that, next to the great doctrines of Divine Revelation, we regard social questions as the questions of the age and henceforth of the world; and we shall accordingly devote the remainder of this article almost entirely to such questions, chiefly as brought forward at the Congress which met at York.

There was, however, one circumstance connected with the Social Science Congress which, though accidental, was so conspicuous and remarkable a fact, that we must not fail to do some justice to it before we proceed to the staple matter of the Congress itself—we refer to the Presidency of Lord Brougham. A second time, and in succession, he has presided over the Congress. The intellectual effort of preparing the inaugural address, at his time of life, must be great, even for him; while the exertion of reading it was so far too much that not only was his voice throughout far too feeble for the task, but it was necessary for him to be relieved in the course of reading by the aid of Mr. Hastings. And the fatigue of presiding, throughout the Congress, of taking some part in the most important discussions, and of appearing at the public assemblies and entertainments, must have heavily taxed the enfeebled energies of the wonderful old man—who had entered upon his eighty-seventh year. It is not to be wondered at,

therefore, that even Lord Brougham, veteran lover as he is of public meetings and public appearances, shrunk, in the first instance, from undertaking a second time to preside over the business of the Congress. We learn, however, from his opening address, that what induced him to yield to the request of the Council that he should again act as the President of the Congress, was the consideration, urged upon him by some of his old friends in the county, of his illustrious political connexion with Yorkshire,—as one of the last complement of members for the undivided county,—with which his brilliant parliamentary course as a commoner of England came to a close, upon his elevation to the Chancellorship more than thirty years ago. Warmed and moved by the recollections suggested by this consideration, he could not refuse to occupy in the city of York the position at the head of the Social Science Association which was thus offered him. And in truth there is something pleasing, and surely nothing inconsistent, in finding the great political leader and reformer of thirty years ago, who as member for Yorkshire had won such hotly contested political victories, both in the county elections, and on the floor of the Commons' House of Parliament, coming back to the county and the city, in his extreme old age, that he might preside over a Congress assembled to promote the peaceful prosecution of social and, subordinately to this, in a certain sense, of legislative reform, for the sake especially of redressing acknowledged grievances and inequalities, and of promoting the national elevation and progress. In both characters Brougham has been abreast of the foremost men of his age; in both leading the van of national advancement; in both true to his instincts and his principles. Nor was the Political Reformer of 1832 more truly a representative man than the Social Reformer of 1864. Thirty years ago political reform was *the* question of the hour; now social reform is the most pressing demand. And only so far as social reform advances is political reformation and progress likely to be secured.

Lord Brougham has his foibles and his faults; nevertheless he is a man of whom his country may well be proud. It is sixty years since he began his course in connexion with the earliest history of the *Edinburgh Review*. Some ten years later his reputation as a pre-eminent parliamentary orator was established by his memorable speeches on the 'Orders in Council.' Ten years later still his fame as an advocate culminated in the part he took in the legal defence of Queen Caroline. Another decade saw him installed in the highest judicial office of the realm, and carried him in triumph, as the greatest orator and debater of his party, to the accomplishment of those measures

of political and in part also of legal reform, to the advocacy of which his political life had been given. Then followed ten clouded years, years of disappointment and to some extent of rancour. He had broken, on some personal grounds, with his old political friends, and his restless and fiery spirit chafed and fretted in the bondage of inaction. He had been compelled by the exigencies of his party, and sorely against his will, to leave the great arena in which for so many years his eloquence had eclipsed the splendour of most illustrious contemporaries, and in the House of Lords he found no congenial or adequate sphere. In his personal estrangement from the ministry of Lord Melbourne there was no party with which he could identify himself, and equally no party which he could at once heartily and on principle oppose. As an ex-Chancellor his career at the bar was at an end. In every sense his occupation as a public man was gone. Continual eulogies on the Duke of Wellington, by the extravagance and frequency of which he exposed himself to ridicule, and even came near to lowering the reputation of the 'great Duke,' were unfortunately the most conspicuous feature in his parliamentary course during the period to which we now refer.

Happily, however, for his own fame, Lord Brougham after a while found scope for his energies, in a new line of intellectual exertion. Early devoted to arduous study, he had, even in his youth, proved himself to be at once a thorough mathematician and an accomplished man of letters. Whilst pursuing his properly political course, he was throughout the chief leader among the corps of public educationists, to whose labours we mainly owe our later educational impulse and progress. To his influence and energy the public were very largely indebted for the formation and the establishment of the London University, and for the maintenance of the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,' to which, among many other publications of great value, we owe the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' and for which he prepared and published his famous 'Inaugural Discourse.' About five-and-twenty years ago he published his 'Dissertations on Subjects of Science connected with Natural Theology,' which included the charming Dialogues on Instinct, and the valuable observations on 'Fossil Osteology,' since published together as one of Knight's Weekly Volumes. His lordship was thus not merely an orator, a debater, a great equity-judge, and a keen and leading politician, but he was also a literary man of high culture and of large sympathies. His personal experience and relations moreover had specially prepared him for certain departments of historical and literary

criticism. The recent history of England he had not merely studied,—he knew it, as only one can know it who has himself taken a large part in enacting it. Having received much of his early intellectual training, and having entered upon literary life, at Edinburgh, before the close of the last century, as a member of the same political party with Mackintosh, the vindicator of the French Revolution, and whilst the sweep of the forces, which were set free in that revolution, still exercised a very powerful influence upon the advanced Whigs of this kingdom, and especially of the Scotch capital, he was from an early period familiar with the literature and philosophy of the Encyclopædists, with the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire, and with the leading ideas which gave birth and impulse to the Revolution. To these qualifications he joined accomplishments the least likely to be united in one and the same man. Competent as a mathematician to expound Newton or Laplace, he at the same time acquired, early in life, an intimate acquaintance with the best Italian literature, and even now quotes Dante, stanza after stanza, with the greatest freedom and ease. To such a man, when the avenues of forensic employment and the ways of political ambition were closed, it was natural to turn to literature, and to spend his leisure in the preparation of historical and critical essays on French literature of the classic age, the men of the French Revolution, and the British statesmen of the last age. To such subjects, although in an order almost the reverse of that in which we have indicated them, Lord Brougham devoted much of his energies during ten or a dozen years after his reluctant retirement from public political life. His residence in France during the latter part of this period no doubt materially aided him in that part of his work which related to France. And now, though he reposes on his laurels, he cannot be idle. His life-work is not yet over. He has closed his career as a lawyer, a politician, a literary man—but not as a philanthropist. Combining, scarcely less than the great Leibnitz, amazing versatility with high concentrated power; embracing, as no one besides that we remember has ever embraced, in his own person the whole round of scholarly and statesmanlike gifts and accomplishments;—at once mathematician, mental philosopher, *littérateur*, orator, statesman, and judge;—it is yet a higher glory that, with all this, he has ever been an unwavering and devoted philanthropist. From the beginning of his course he identified himself with the pure and gallant struggle on behalf of the emancipation of the slave. History has associated his name with those of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Buxton, in that

holy crusade. In law reform, again, his name must be classed with that of Romilly; in scarcely any department does he appear greater than in this. In him, again, as we have noted, the cause of public education found for many years its most effective advocate. His ruling maxim seems ever to have been, '*Homo sum; nil humani a me alienum puto.*' And now true to the last to his best principles he is found, after more than sixty years of public life, presiding in two successive seasons at the annual meeting of the Social Science Congress.

A certain egotism is the one thing which appears throughout to have minified the greatness and marred the symmetry of Lord Brougham's character—a restless self-assertion which must be perpetually reappearing in the public eye. Perhaps, however, we do not sufficiently reflect that a certain amount of apparent egotism is inseparable from the unweariable energy, the irrepressible buoyancy, the inexhaustible vigour, which have enabled Lord Brougham to crowd into the life of one the parts of many men, which have carried him triumphant over so many difficulties, and which are still expressed in the marvellous vitality which has sustained him, in his eighty-seventh year, under the burden of presiding over the Congress at York. He who is ready to assert his moral convictions at whatever cost; he who never shrinks from the sore battle of principle against caste, or class, or party; may be excused if sometimes he seem to assert himself. It is easy for those to appear modest who never hazard an encounter or a loss for the sake of principle, of truth, of humanity.

It is inevitable that such a man as Lord Brougham should often say things which seem rash. In some cases the rashness will be only seeming; the greatly generous, the nobly bold, are always at first pronounced imprudent and impracticable. But many of Lord Brougham's utterances have unquestionably been more or less unwise. It has not been his wont, save on rare occasions or in the greatest concerns, cautiously to select his winged and ever waiting words. To a large extent he has given way in speaking to the strong impulses of his nature. As of late years his personal responsibility has declined; as he has become more and more individualised, and at the same time more and more indulged; he has allowed himself increasing liberty in the expression of his personal opinions and feelings. In a sense he may be described now as a somewhat spoiled old man, privileged to say what he will. This license he has exercised pretty fully in his two inaugural addresses, the one delivered at Edinburgh in 1863, and the other at York last autumn. He has marched to and

fro, with the freedom of a Gavazzi, over the length and breadth of the platform on which he stood as President of the Congress. Not only all social grievances and projected reforms in this country, but the whole breadth of international relations and morality, have been embraced within the scope of his addresses. Russia's conduct to Poland, the conduct of Germany, especially of Austria and Prussia, towards Denmark, the despotic principles of the French autocracy, the questions involved in the American war, have all been the subjects of his free criticism; and it is evident that he has the feeling that what he may judge and pronounce concerning the Czar, the fatherland, the French potentate, the United States, is of much more weight and consequence to them, than can be to himself any judgment which the parties concerned may pass upon him. In regard to some of these questions there may have been a colourable ground for their introduction into the purview of his address; but as respects several of them, we think there can be no doubt that his lordship's introduction of them was as much out of place as his comments were severe.

The points in his Lordship's address which most touched the sympathy of his audience were those which possessed a personal interest. He began by a reference to his own former relations with the county of York. More than thirty years had passed away since he vacated his seat for the county, on accepting the seals of office as Lord Chancellor. Since that time, his relations with the county had ceased. But now, revisiting the city which had been the chief scene of his former electoral struggles and triumphs, the scene also of not a few of his brilliant forensic successes, the losses and changes wrought by the lapse of time could not but deeply impress him. Very briefly, as if the subject were too painful to be dwelt upon, but very feelingly, did the President advert to this topic, and then hurried on to the proper matter of his opening address, quoting, as he passed forward, lines with which he became familiar before the more modern style of poetry came into vogue.

‘ Offspring of woe, but parent of our ease,
The toil which teaches pleasure's self to please,
Diverts the grief which spurns direct control,
And stills the raging tempest of the soul.’

If, at the commencement of his address, Lord Brougham was taken back a whole generation at a step, and placed in the midst of scenes and associations so long gone by, at the close he was yet more painfully reminded of the history and losses of the past by the duty which seemed to devolve upon him of

commemorating the decease twelve months before, during the meeting of the Association, of his ancient and most formidable rival and antagonist, but yet his long-standing friend, Lord Lyndhurst. Those who were present at Edinburgh, when the news was brought of the death of Lord Lyndhurst, cannot have forgotten the profound emotion, which, though restrained, was not to be suppressed, shown by Lord Brougham, on receiving the intelligence. His 'oldest friend' was gone; and he found himself incapable that day of taking the part he had intended to do in the business of the Congress. It was reported, at the same time,—we believe with truth,—that one of Lord Lyndhurst's last acts was to dictate a letter to Lord Brougham, in which, speaking of his own spiritual reception, however late, of the saving truth of the Gospel of Christ, he commended the same truth and Gospel to the loving regard and faith of his friend. Bearing these things in mind, the closing paragraph of Lord Brougham's address will be read with special interest, and with no ordinary pleasure.

'His irreparable loss leads us, in connexion with the topic now handled, to reflect with satisfaction on the peace which he enjoyed in his latter days, and the lively interest he took in religious study. The book which he read without intermission was the New Testament.' It formed for many months the subject of his daily perusal; and he left in writing his important testimony to the comfort which he derived from the Gospel truths. The last matter of a secular kind which occupied his attention was the Edinburgh Congress and its proceedings, the very day before he retired to that rest for which he often said he was anxious and prepared.

"Soul of the past! companion of the dead!
Where is thy home, and whither art thou fled?
Back to its heavenly source thy being goes,
Swift as the comet wheels to where he rose;
Faith lured thine eye to deathless hopes sublime,
Beyond the realms of nature and of time."

Assuredly, in these days of restless criticism and vague and threatening doubt, it is not a little comfort to observe how loyally many of the great leaders of the age adhere to the Christian faith and hope. The equally unaffected and unwavering Christianity which pervades all the great expository orations of Mr. Gladstone; the high Christian character and explicit faith of such men as Sir Roundell Palmer, the Duke of Argyll, Sir Hugh Cairns, Mr. Walpole, Sir W. Page Wood, and not a few others of scarcely inferior position and influence as public men—men of the highest culture, of eminent abilities, open to

all the intellectual influences of the day, and accustomed to sift and weigh evidence—may well justify persons of narrower information and of less ability in holding their own happy and transforming Christian faith with calm confidence against the subtle and intrusive scepticism which prevails too widely among clever men of a secondary rank and of superficial education. And it is no inconsiderable triumph of the faith that such a man as Lord Lyndhurst should, in his last days, have turned from all other studies to that of the New Testament, as the only fountain of hope and peace; that he should have left behind him his written testimony to its supreme truth and value; and that his great coeval Lord Brougham should take the most public opportunity of making emphatic announcement of the faith and experience of his friend,—in such a way, also, as to indicate his own earnest sympathy and consent.

The great idea of the Social Congress is social amelioration and advancement, the elevation, intellectual and moral, of the whole nation and race. In order to this, as a preliminary condition, there must be social equity,—the laws upon which social relations depend and by which the acquisition of influence or property is regulated, must be fair and equal, simple and direct. Social perfection is incompatible with class legislation, or caste privileges, or legal incumbrances and ambiguities. Hence one department of the business of the Congress relates to Jurisprudence. But while social equity is a necessary condition of social perfection, education, taking the word in its widest sense, must be the great instrument of progress. There must be education for the child or youth, and that for all classes,—the dependent poor, the self-sustaining labourer, the middle classes, the heirs of wealth and leisure. There must be facilities for special education in the case of those who are to follow particular trades or professions, for the perfection of which such special education is necessary. Above all, there must be the best provision for educating to their profession those who are themselves to become the responsible educators of the young. Hence another, perhaps we may say the central, department of the Association is that of Education. But education, taken, as we have said, in its widest sense, must imply, as its very matrix, proper home influence. Without a moral and wholesome home influence the teacher cannot accomplish the highest results proper to his profession; against a thoroughly bad influence at home the very best educational influence at school has often been almost powerless. And the character of the home influences which surround a child depends, as it has now been demonstrated by

a sadly abundant and conclusive induction, and as might have been anticipated on the grounds of reason, very greatly upon the sanitary and social conditions attaching to the habitation in which the family dwells. Hence the department of Sanitary Reform is one of the most important sections in the organization of the Congress. Furthermore, the teacher's tuition does but prepare for the grand school of life. That furnishes the discipline by which the character is to be finally fixed, and develops the forces and the motives by which the progress of each generation and so of the nation is determined. That condition of life is the happiest for each man which furnishes the best opportunities at once for the exercise of his intelligence and for the virtuous training of his conscience and affections, and which at the same time offers suitable and adequate motives both for the one and the other. A man who cannot enjoy himself in reading is almost certain to seek change and relief after labour by plunging into gross sensuality. A man who sees no chance of saving, or, if he should save a little, is ignorant of any method of investment which could make his little savings practically useful to him, is hardly likely to attempt to economize. What little he might spare he prefers to spend in pleasure, having no obvious or adequate motive to deny himself. In the school of life as in children's schools the intelligence must be stimulated, or the character remains stagnant and gross; and there must be prizes such as the scholars know how to appreciate, or there will be but little diligence and self-control.

Hence the intelligence and the morals of a nation at large depend, to a paramount extent, on the conditions in the midst of which the people prosecute their daily labour,—on these yet more than on any school-training which they may have received when young. A cheap daily press may be considered as the *sine quâ non* of intellectual progress on the part of a nation of free men, as the necessary complement of the shortened hours of labour which recent beneficent legislation has brought to a very large proportion of them, as the needful training for that direct exercise of political influence which, before very long, and in one way or other, must be extended to many of those who at present do not possess it. The question of a cheap press, however, has by our recent legislation been happily removed from the charge of the Congress. But all matters connected with people's libraries, people's colleges, and all popular institutions and movements allied to these, still remain as a part of their care.

All, moreover, which appertains to perfect freedom and equity

of trade, including, most emphatically, the trade in land, which is still swathed to a most injurious degree in the bonds of feudal claims and impediments,—and all that relates to the right development of the social principle in regard to trade and manufacture, especially as connected with the great co-operative movement,—is included within the special charge of the Congress. Hence there is a separate section under the general title of Economy and Trade. Finally, it cannot be overlooked that the progress as well as the comfort of society is greatly interfered with by the criminal population. To reclaim and reform this class is as needful as to educate and develop the better classes. There is more than discomfort and heavy loss in the existence of a criminal class; there is the deadliest infection, the gravest moral danger. There is a fearful gravitation towards this class on the part of those who lie but a little above it. For their own sakes Christian charity would hasten, if possible, to reclaim our criminal population. But it is a yet more urgent duty to do what may be done for the sake of the nation at large. Here is the moral sewage of our towns and country hovels. How is this mass to be disinfected? How to be disposed of in the process? This is the great question of the Reformatory Section of the Social Congress.

Over the Jurisprudence Department Sir J. P. Wilde presided. The Archbishop of York had the chief place in the Section which dealt with Education. Sir Charles Hastings presided over the Sanitary Department; Mr. E. Chadwick over that of Economy and Trade; Sir W. Crofton over the Reformatory Section. Sir J. Wilde, the Archbishop, Sir Charles Hastings, and Mr. Chadwick delivered elaborate discourses on the several subjects which were placed under their presidency.

Of these, able as all were, certainly none was abler than that of Sir J. P. Wilde. Equally profound and clear; equally compact and elegant; equally scholarly and lawyer-like; it appears to us to be a perfect discourse. Its strength and its symmetry are equal; its severe beauty of style is precisely adapted to a discourse which was at once to be popular and scientific, and the subject of which was legal reform. Due honour was in the first place rendered to the noble President of the Congress, and to his labours in this department.

'The 7th of February, 1828, was a remarkable day in the annals of law reform. Then it was that the greatest orator of his day delivered his celebrated oration in the House of Commons, and laid open the sweeping changes which our law required. From that

moment an impulse was given, which has not ceased to be felt..... Since that time the progress of law reform has been unceasing, though gradual; and now, after thirty-six years, after the destruction of a host of anomalies and the removal of barriers and obstructions, such as set justice at defiance, we find ourselves still engaged in the same work, and, singularly enough, under the guidance of the same hand.'

Sir James proceeded to explain, however, that all the reforms indicated and demanded by Lord Brougham in his speech, of which Sir James affirms that 'it is not too much to say that nine-tenths' have been effected in the precise manner propounded by his lordship, related 'to the procedure of the courts and the method of applying the law, not to the body of the law itself.' That which the accomplished judge of the Divorce Court now urges is to reform and remould the law itself. 'In 1828, the avenues to justice were so choked with artificial obstacles that approach was practically denied.' Now the way to the judgment-seat has been cleared; new courts, also, have been created, additional judges appointed, the specific functions and the mutual relations of the various tribunals have been better defined and more harmoniously adjusted; and thus 'the machinery of the law' has been very greatly improved. But the law itself remains an undigested accumulation; full, moreover, of anomalies and imperfections; so that to apply it is very often difficult, and sometimes to apply it pertinently and adequately is all but impossible. The principles of our law 'wander at large through the pages of three hundred volumes, and the leaves of its oracles lie as they first fell, ungathered and unsewed.' 'The laws of this country have suffered no general revision from time immemorial.' Is it, then, 'to be wondered at, if laws which sufficed in the time of the Plantagenets fall short in the present age?'

'With the exception of the Statute of Frauds, the Statute of Limitations, and a few Acts directed to very limited objects, the Legislature has laid no hand on the body of the common law. What wonder, then, that after the lapse of centuries legal procedure should have been found incompetent to the swift movements and varied terms of a community whose time had become wealth? And, in like manner, who would reasonably expect that laws which, originally highly artificial, were adapted to the time when nearly all property consisted in land, should be fit to pursue the complications of personal property and the intricate folds of trade? The gradual development which has turned a handful of military adventurers and a population of serfs into the wealthiest commercial community of the world, has surely called for the destruction of as much that was old and useless as the creation of what was new

and requisite. What have been the means employed to this end? With rare exceptions, nothing but the judicial power. It has been left to the tribunals themselves so to mould old principles into new forms as to make them subserve modern uses.'

But while the tribunals could adapt old principles to new cases, and thus create new precedents, they were powerless to abolish the old traditions, the old law-forms, the old precedents.

'The powers of the courts of law were constructive only; under the name of adaptation they could practically create; under no name could they destroy. But it was not enough to create, power was needed to abolish; it was not enough to build, unless timely clearance could be made of the ruins and rubbish of past structures. Here it is that the system has broken down. This it is which still affects the body of our laws themselves, *binding our real property in the clogs and shackles of feudal rights, and tainting the laws of personality with analogies largely drawn from the same extinct system.*'

Whilst, however, Sir James Wilde thus clearly sees and strongly exposes the radical defect of English law, as it stands at present, he is not blind to the great excellencies which distinguish it in one aspect; nor is he disposed, as a remedy, to follow the continental precedent by adopting a code.

'It is no small benefit that, in a fresh application of legal principles to a new class of cases, there should be apparently mingled the element and the sanction of time. It is another circumstance of value that the changes effected are gradual, and, while they do not anticipate, yet keep pace with the necessities of the day.....Does any code really offer a text which, when applied to the circumstances of an individual case, at once and without reasonable doubt decides it? Let the innumerable decisions on some of the most celebrated codes answer the question.....The truth is, that the intricacies and complexity of possible combinations of fact are beyond the range of human conception, and any attempt to foresee and provide for them all beforehand, and dispense a ready-made justice, will give little reward to the labour it wastes. But a code resting on no detailed decisions or elaborated instances to expound it, has an especial evil of its own. There is no more fruitful source of doubt or of litigation than the ambiguities of language. The careless use of language does much, but the inadequacy of language as the vehicle of precise thought does perhaps even more.'

For such reasons as these Sir James concludes that 'the most ardent lover of uniformity and symmetry would hardly be prepared to surrender the treasures of our common law for the inevitable litigation of a code;' but he goes on, notwith-

standing, to show that something may well be done 'to render our system more uniform and our jurisprudence more compact and harmonious.' At present in the English law there is 'nothing between the succinctness of a maxim and the detail of an individual case—no declared body of rules, however general, and no set of collected principles, however broad.' 'No subject can be treated philosophically that is treated entirely in detail, and no system can promise harmony that is based on separate trains of independent thought.' What Sir James proposes, as a remedy for the present confusion and discord, is 'not a code, but a digest.' He desires to see done for the whole body of the law, and by authority, what has already been done for portions of the vast and tangled mass of our legislation by individuals, what indeed every great barrister is compelled to do more or less for himself. He would epitomize and illustrate the law, removing at the same time, by authority, those incongruities of judicial decision which embarrass, by their present force as precedents, the administration of the law. Too many such instances of incongruity there are, in some cases constituting a succession of inequitable precedents, which, though obviously untenable on the ground of reason and justice, are yet intrenched in the force of judicial authority, are of course quoted in cases of litigation by the barrister on the side of the inequitable claim, and, as precedent governs our tribunals, in common law, are extremely troublesome to deal with. Sir James believes that 'within the bounds of reasonable labour and time the general principles and broad bases on which our common law reposes, might be brought to the surface, grouped together, subordinated in their general relations and contrasted in their differences.' What the late Mr. Smith attempted with success in his *Leading Cases* he would see done gradually, but with no loss of time, and by parliamentary authority, for all the various departments of law, until the result should be attained of a complete, harmonious, authoritative digest of the whole. At present we have 'instances in place of precepts, examples in place of rules,' and 'our recorded decisions stand thick together, like a fair field of grain, full of wealth and worth, but waiting the hand that shall gather it into sheaves and store it for the use of men.'

Sir James Wilde does not conceal from himself that the work to be done is great, and such as could only be accomplished by the labour of the most able and learned men, relieved from other duties that they might attend to this, and compensated accordingly. 'The first judicial minds of the

country are alone adequate to the task, at least in its ultimate stages, and it is far beyond the reach of the casual services of unpaid men.' But he regards the accomplishment of this work, at whatever cost, as a pressing necessity, a thing not to be postponed. 'Each year now calls into being a number of decided cases so large as to threaten the extinction of the law as a conscientious study. The present century has added more decided cases to the law than are to be found in the records of the five preceding centuries put together. This vast agglomeration of cases breeds not only confusion in those who are to be bound by the law, but inconsistency in those who administer it. No power of assimilation can keep pace with such a rate of production, and the tribunals, occupied to the full with the business before them, have little time to master the results of cotemporary decisions.'

Nothing can be finer than some of the aphorisms and illustrations with which Sir James Wilde has enriched his essay. Several instances of this will have been noted in the citations we have made. One more may with advantage be added here. 'Law' he says towards the beginning of his discussion, 'should be justice administered according to method. And in this justice should be paramount, and method subordinate.' How far from this has too commonly been the state of the case as respects English law will be evident from the pointed and impressive observations with which the able judge closed his address:—

'The great evil which has ever beset our judicature is that which legal education engenders—the prizing above their worth of refinement and precision. This it was that in legal procedure sacrificed the substantial rights of thousands at the altar of mere words. It culminated in the new rules of pleading of 1834, and begot its own downfall in the triumph of its complete adoption. But it still lives in all branches of our law. The fear of going too far ever present; the fear of not reaching justice faintly felt; positive injustice worked in the present to avoid possible injustice in the future; rights so bound in safeguards, lest they become wrongs, that they cease to be worth asserting; a structure in which form ever overlays substance, and a contest in which justice is apt to sink under the weight of her own armour; while precedent, casting its shadow both ways, binds the present by the errors of the past, and narrows it by the possibilities of the future—such are the fruits which a spirit of over-jealous caution and exactitude is calculated to bear. Nor is it the spirit of the lawyer alone. It is not long since a great peer was accused of shooting at a fellow-subject in a duel and acquitted, because it was not made to appear beyond doubt that his Christian name was Harvey Garnett Phipps, as charged, and not Harvey

only, to which the proof extended. Nor have many years passed since a great demagogue conspired, if he did not levy war, against the queen, and went unpunished after conviction, because the highest tribunal in the land decided in accordance with the law that the proceedings were faulty in form. And yet our own generation looked on without outcry, and accepted these results without indignation. To all those who would earnestly lay their hand to the task of law reform, I would counsel the necessary boldness to grapple with this evil. I speak not of that boldness which is assumed to challenge the admiration of the multitude, and play the part of superior wisdom in the eyes of the ignorant by sweeping denunciations of that to which others bow; nor of that audacity which is the spurious offspring of veneration, chafing under the reverence of others, and casting off its own in a spirit of defiance; nor of that begotten of idleness and shallowness, which feels the wrongs of a system whose true defects it takes not the pains to discover, and flies out into a general condemnation. But I mean that boldness which is born of the firm conviction that whatever is contrary to common sense and natural justice ought also to be contrary to law; the boldness which fears not to depart from the past to render homage to the present; which acknowledges that the law is made for man, and not man for the law; and which marches straight to its object, preferring simplicity with some defects to the perfection at which complexity aims, but rarely reaches.'

We have given so full an analysis of Sir James Wilde's Address, not merely, or even chiefly, because of the super-eminent ability with which he handled his theme, but because of its intrinsic importance. Codification may be full of risks; doubtless it is so. But, not to mention that a new code was a necessity for France and some other nations after the great French Revolution, we may here say that most competent authorities, perhaps hardly inferior to Sir James himself, are of opinion that the acknowledged inadequacy of the Code Napoleon, notwithstanding its high merits, has produced far less litigation than has been generated by the ambiguities, perplexities, and contradictions of English law, while, as a rule, litigation under that code has been disposed of with incomparably more ease and less cost than in the English courts. Our law, in fact, has been both the pride and opprobrium of our country. The adoption of Sir James Wilde's suggestions will do much towards removing the reproach, while the high merits of our system will shine out the more clearly and fully.

The most important suggestion which came before the Section of Jurisprudence, after that contained in the Address of Sir James Wilde, was that on which Lord Brougham insisted so strongly in his address, and which for years he has had so much at heart, the organization of a Public Department

of Justice, with a responsible Minister of State at its head. It would be the business of such a department to initiate legal reforms, and to mould and adapt our legal procedures from time to time to the changing conditions and circumstances of society. Such a department would stand in direct relation with any Commission which might be appointed to carry into effect the suggestions of Sir James Wilde. And the Minister of Justice, assisted by legal assessors of the greatest experience and highest authority, would exercise much more fitly than it is exercised at present, that function of judicial revision which now attaches to the office of the Home Secretary, and which, appealed to of late with growing frequency and urgency has almost devolved upon the Home Secretary, in his sole person, the authority and responsibility of what our Gallic neighbours call the Court of Cassation, a last resort of appeal in criminal cases of the gravest class. For such a responsibility to rest on any one man, and that man not a judge, or even a lawyer, and for that one unprofessional minister to be exposed to such a pressure, in cases of sentence for murder, as Sir George Grey has now to endure in almost a majority of instances, in every case, in fact, where legal ingenuity can environ the conclusion of the jury with anything like doubt, is undeniably a great evil, sorely calling for immediate reform. It is cruel to the minister to leave such a responsibility with him; it is an inducement to a sort of morbid agitation in such cases, that there is but one man to resist the pressure which may be brought to bear upon him; it is eminently and increasingly perilous to the rights of justice; it is an altogether undignified and inadequate conclusion of a solemn legal process—a most unsatisfactory final appeal and resort, fitted to bring justice into question and contempt. Nominally, it is true, the appeal is said to be to the Queen, the fountain of justice. These, however, are but 'brave words.' The Queen now gives her final answer and award through the Home Secretary; it should be given through a dignified and authoritative council of judicial assessors.

It may be hoped that as the representations of the Congress have, during the past year, led to the appointment of a Commission on Middle Class Schools, the direct result of the suggestions contained in the Addresses of Lord Brougham and Sir James Wilde may be, that steps will be taken for the preparation of a Digest of our English Law, and that Parliament will be advised to constitute a ministerial Department of Justice.

One of the most important subjects brought forward at the Congress was that of Bribery at Elections. Both Lord Brougham and Sir Fitzroy Kelly are deeply in earnest on this

point. We have, however, no faith whatever in the chief recommendation which they offer by way of remedy. The effect of a declaration by every M.P. on taking his seat, that he had had nothing whatever to do, directly or indirectly, with any act of bribery or corruption, would be most demoralising. It would deter some, especially at first, but not by any means all; it would break down under the cunning casuistry and equivocation which men learn to use when their interests and strong continual temptation concur in opposing their honour; society would learn to condone such offences against truth and rectitude; ultimately, and before long, no more would be thought of making a false declaration on this point in the House than now, most unhappily, is thought of making a false return to the Income Tax Commissioners; the equivocation would become customary, and therefore would pass for nothing, however solemn the form of asseveration. There can be no doubt, as Mr. Chadwick stated at the public meeting held on this subject, the attendance at which, we may note, was ominously thin, that bribery in general commences with the voter himself, who opens the way to it by asking who is to pay him for his lost time, and that the most effectual check would be put upon it by adopting the system of voting papers, as is now done in electing guardians for the poor. Even the stimulus of lavish bribery enables the candidates at a contested election only to bring up about one half of the voters to the poll, whereas 'ninety per cent. vote for the poor-law guardians by the simple machinery of voting papers.' We are glad to find that Sir Fitzroy Kelly agrees with Mr. Chadwick as to the importance of adopting voting-papers. For the secrecy of the ballot we care nothing; we utterly disbelieve in its virtue. But we attach the highest value to the privacy, the quiet, and the ease, which would be secured by the method of voting-papers. We cannot express our surprise and regret to find that Sir F. Kelly, notwithstanding the declaration which he would require of all M.P.s on their election, yet thinks it 'utopian and impracticable' to expect 'such forbearance (!) on the part of a minister who depends on the public feeling for his position,' as that he should abstain from spending the public money in any such way as to influence the voting of constituencies. If this is indeed so, who can expect that members of Parliament, who can expect that even prime ministers, who now have not honour or conscience to abstain from corrupt practices at elections, will feel any scruple at escaping by means of some evasion or equivocation from the pressure of any declaration which Sir F. Kelly could frame? Or who can

suppose, the case being as Sir Fitzroy Kelly states it, that the House of Commons would ever consent to adopt his declaration? 'His own belief,' he confessed, 'was that bribery had not been put down because the majority of the members of the House of Commons themselves were not sincere in their determination to suppress it.' And yet he would ask the House to adopt his declaration! Reason and public opinion united would doubtless avail to bring them to adopt the plan of voting-papers; and at the same time to enact stringent measures of punishment for those clearly convicted of bribery. But public opinion would utterly revolt, especially while things remain in other respects as they are, from compelling every member of Parliament to make a declaration on his word of honour, as to whether he had or had not been, in any sense or measure whatever, guilty of the legal or statutable offence of bribery or corruption. In truth, so long as elections are conducted as they are, it is so difficult, in certain cases, to draw the line between what might fairly be considered as a not unreasonable compensation for lost time or money spent, and what ought to be regarded as a corrupt inducement, that the only remedy seems to be to take the voting home to the voters' houses, so that they shall lose no time and incur no expense. Then all expenditure will become manifest bribery. At present the Income Tax, and our boasted privilege of popular election, are two of the most potent instruments of national demoralisation; the former, it must be admitted, being much the worse of the two, because operating continually and over the whole area of the upper and middle classes; the latter, however, being more coarse and debasing in its occasion and concomitants, and operating especially on the lower classes of voters.

We pass over the international commercial legislation which the Congress has taken in hand, as being, notwithstanding its great importance, too technical for these pages, and as not immediately connected with the vital well-being and essential interests of the nation as such. Sundry other matters relating to Jurisprudence, also, we leave unnoticed, as of secondary importance. The subject which next demands our attention is that of Education, especially as presented in the address of the Archbishop of York.

The points embraced in the Archbishop's address were the operation, so far, of the New Code, the Report of the Commission on Public Schools, the subject of Schools for the Middle Classes, and of Female Education for the same classes. As to the operation of the New Code we shall say a few words

presently; the Archbishop devoted the main strength of his observations to the three other subjects. We hope ourselves before long fully to discuss them. Meantime, however, we have some remarks to offer. The case of our great public schools, taking them as a whole, is almost as bad as it can be. It was never supposed by men who knew what is the meaning of education, and who were at all acquainted with their platform, their methods, and their results, that the schools frequented by the sons of the aristocracy and the wealthiest classes in this country were anything better, with one or two notable exceptions, than costly pretences where the pupils might, if they pleased, learn Latin and Greek fairly, and perhaps also French; but where no real training of their faculties and character was attempted, and where they were in imminent peril of losing all the delicacy of feeling which they might have imbibed in their homes, of acquiring coarse morals and low habits, and of becoming completely unfitted for ever gaining the knowledge, the habits, the discipline, needful for enabling them to discharge with virtue or with honour their parts in life as landlords, as legislators, as the wealthy and privileged classes, who are invested with an hereditary rank and influence constituting their order one of the great powers of the realm. Still few persons were prepared for such disclosures of ignorance, of abuse, of gross imposition, of glaring license and impropriety of behaviour, as the Report of the Commissioners has brought to light. Dr. Thomson has not made the worst of the case. Yet what he says and what he quotes make a sufficiently dark picture:—

‘When a youth presents himself for admission at the University, he has spent seven or eight years in an education almost exclusively classical. He is expected to translate passably a small portion of a Latin and another of a Greek author, selected from those which he has read, and to turn into Latin a short and easy passage of English, and to answer some easy questions in grammar, and to show some knowledge of the common rules of arithmetic. This is no very formidable demand. At the largest college in Oxford one third of the candidates in a given year failed to meet it, and were rejected. They are thus described in the evidence:—“Very few can construe with accuracy a piece from an author they profess to have read. We never try them with an unseen passage; it would be useless to do so.....Tolerable Latin prose is very rare. Perhaps one piece in four is free from bad blunders. A good style is scarcely ever seen. The answers we get to simple grammar questions are very inaccurate.” Arithmetic has improved, but “the answers to the questions in arithmetic do not encourage us to examine them in *Euclid* or *algebra*.” In such an account, and any Oxford man will recognise its

features, there is, indeed, much to think about. That seven years out of our short life should have been spent, with the most costly and elaborate apparatus of instruction, with no result whatever, would be deplorable. That seven years have gone in forming sleepy, indolent habits, or in learning shifty expedients for avoiding the lesson or getting others to do it, is an evil of the great moment, and one which is worth many pains to cure. Let us not evade the difficulty; it is, that the best means of educating the upper classes which we have yet devised, fail to attract in any measure the real interest of a large number of those who are subject to it. Whatever be the loss of the information that might have been acquired in the time, the loss of the training in real habits of industry during the very years when the nature is most plastic, most susceptible of good or evil impressions, is far greater. And until it can be said of a system of education, that all who are kept under its influence learn something, and most of them learn a good deal, and many of them learn a good deal well, the work of improvement is certainly not complete.'

Assuredly not; nor is there any relief to be found from this conclusion in the pretext which we see is being made something of, that many of the boys in these schools are incapable and incorrigible dunces. This, although even the *Times* has been so complaisant as to allow it considerable weight, is, because it must be, simply untrue, a scandalous untruth. If such a statement were made respecting the scions of the aristocracy of some coloured race, it would be held by some of our journalist philosophers, and by certain members of the Ethnological Society, to prove the essential inferiority of the coloured to the European races. And will any one credit it when affirmed of the rising aristocracy of England? Indolent or untrained teachers, men who have never acquired the power to elicit intelligence and faculty, may, in their haughty ignorance or *insouciance*, affirm what they please as to this; but out of their 'duncish' surroundings (the libel, if it be one, is not ours) they will get few to believe them. It is not found in peasants' schools that the larger proportion are incurable 'dunces.' The proportion of dolts in those schools is but small: the testimony of both inspectors and commissioners goes to establish the fact that, if anything like continuous attendance at school is secured, not for 'seven or eight years' after the age of eleven, but for three or four years up to twelve, the result in the great preponderance of cases is that an excellent elementary education is obtained. If the fact were in reality as certain interested witnesses have averred, and as the *Times* seems to admit to be to a considerable extent true, then we might indeed ask, with what colourable show of reason that

outcry was raised as to the defective results of education in inspected schools, which led to the imposition of the Revised Code.* The Royal Commissioners on Popular Education gave it as their conclusion that 'three-fifths of the children' of the working classes, who attend school up to the age of ten or eleven during 'twenty weeks in the year,' ought to be able at that age to close their rudimentary education, having acquired the power 'to read and write with tolerable ease, and to cipher well enough for the purposes of their condition in life.' We gave our reasons, three years ago, for thinking the expectation on which this conclusion was grounded unreasonably high; we at the same time recorded our unhesitating conviction that 'if our great public schools were tested, it would be found that a considerable proportion of the young gentlemen who leave those seminaries of learning, though they may grace their blundering attempts at reading with a decided "high English" languor and finery of accent, instead of the broad Northern provincial, are almost as little able to render clearly, easily, and with correct emphasis, the sense of an English classic as the potters' or puddlers' boys who have reached the first class of a good national school in Staffordshire;' but certainly we were not prepared to find that on the whole a much larger proportion of the boys who remain till eleven or twelve years of age at the Inspected Denominational or British Schools of this country learn to read, write, and cipher well, than of the young gentlemen who at seventeen or eighteen leave Eton for the university or the army. Such, however, now turns out to be the case. But the reason is not to be sought in the innate stupidity of young viscounts or budding country baronets. Such a solution of the matter involves a grosser insult to the aristocratic institutions of our country than was ever offered by Radical or Chartist. No railer at the degeneracy inherent in an hereditary aristocracy ever ventured to affirm so monstrous a libel as this. The reasons are chiefly these two. First: these young gentlemen, before they go to Eton, Westminster, or Winchester, have too often received nothing better than a slipshod education at some feeble, fashionable, pretentious preparatory school, where they have been pampered, as the children of the titled or the wealthy, and where they have learned little more than to talk *Punch's* fashionable English,* and

* To mince the *a* in *man*, till all manliness is taken out of the sound; to broaden with a languid drawl the *a* in *castle*, till the alow and feeble word has scarcely strength left to stand; and to softly muffle the clear sound of the liquid *w*, so as to make *duke* rhyme with *book*; to pronounce *durable* as *doorable*, and *reduce* as *redooce*; this is now taught in certain preparatory schools, frequented by the children of our legis-

to take vigorous lessons in dancing ; or they have been taught in a yet more slipshod fashion by some underkept tutor at home. Secondly : after their arrival at the great school, no pains have been taken to ground them in the rudiments which they should have learnt before their arrival ; nor have they been instructed there, any more than previously, by well trained teachers and trainers, who have thoroughly acquired, and who continually and zealously practise, the art of eliciting the special intelligence and developing the leading powers and faculties of each of their pupils, considered as an individual charge and study. The strictures of *Paterfamilias* in the *Times* and the *Cornhill Magazine*, as respects Eton school, have been abundantly verified, and more than verified ; and it has been proved that, to too great an extent, the same strictures are applicable to most of the great public schools of this country. The masters teach diligently and successfully only where it is easy and pleasant or pre-eminently profitable so to do. Where the boys are slow or indolent, they are likely to remain so, for any effect that the school training will have upon them ; they are much more likely to have their bad habits confirmed than cured. Where the cast of intellect does not at first incline the pupil to classical studies, he is little likely to have his general intelligence stimulated and developed by any pains being taken to discover and in the first place to act upon whatever special faculties he may have for other studies, mathematical or scientific. Even the good teachers are only good at teaching sharp and diligent boys. The dull and the indolent must be left to their fate. Meantime the liberty of the young gentlemen to eat, and drink, and spend, is practically almost unlimited ; the accesses to coarse vice are never far away, nor is the way very closely guarded ; and thus the youthful patricians of Britain are set to learn self-control by being placed, while still in their raw and foolish youth, and far off from the guides and guards of their home, in circumstances of imminent moral peril and continual temptation. Such are the facts of the case. A Royal Commission reports them. It has been recommended that direct action should be taken to stay these crying enormities, which are sufficient of themselves to account for the worst faults of our aristocracy, and cannot but operate disastrously upon the character of our landed gentry and our legislature. And yet nothing is done ; and nothing seems likely to be done. The President and the Vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education promise that, when the Commission

lators as the only polite pronunciation. Presently *compute* will be *compoof*, and *repute* *repoof*.

appointed on the question of Middle Class Schools shall have reported, a measure on the subject shall promptly be introduced into Parliament. But it seems the schools for the upper classes may adhere to their abuses, if they please; these institutions shall enjoy, for the benefit of future generations of aristocrats, an immunity from the hand of legislative reform. Such liberal culture as this, we presume, is one of the few remaining privileges of aristocracy.

The Archbishop of York made some very sensible remarks on the subject of the authority of the Head Master, and the relation of the Head to the Assistant Masters. We agree with him that the Head Master should not *be bound* in any way to consult his assistants, however advisable it may be that a Head Master should do so of his own will and on his own terms, for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of their experience and suggestions, and for the sake of good understanding and zealous co-operation. But, as respects the mutual relations of the Head Master and the Governors of the School, we should not differ from the Commissioners so far as the Archbishop and Dr. Kennedy do. We think the Governors should have it within their competency to make both inquiries and suggestions with regard to the scope and scheme of the studies pursued in the school. We apprehend, indeed, that this is a very chief part of their responsibility. At the same time, it must be left for the Head Master to determine by what methods he will, and to what extent he can, carry out the views and ideas of the Governors; moreover, in case of his differing essentially from the Governors as to the general scheme and character of the education to be given in the school, it is not only open to the Head Master, but it is his duty, to resign.

As respects middle class schools, Dr. Thomson speaks with less confidence, and evidently with less fulness of knowledge and experience, than as to the great public schools. That the middle class schools, no less than the great public schools, are a reproach and affliction to the country, there can be no doubt. The only schools in England which, as a class, are good and efficient, are those very inspected schools which were so scandalously misrepresented and depreciated three years ago. It is certain, indeed, that if these inspected schools had not been so much better than the middle class schools, the feeling against them would not have been so strong. A large proportion of the middle classes grudged the expenditure of public money to support for the classes below them schools better than they could command for their own children. This feeling of jealousy on the part of the farmers and shopkeepers,

unhappily as natural a feeling as it was ungenerous, joined to a yet more discreditable feeling on the part of a considerable proportion of the landowners, and even the clergy, that the children of the poor ought not to be 'lifted above their station,' by being taught anything more than just enough learning to enable them to read their Bibles, and to go decently through the Church service, was undoubtedly the secret source of much of the favour with which the illiberal and destructive proposals of Mr. Lowe were received by so considerable a portion of the public and the press. That Dr. Thomson is well aware of the force of at least the former of these unhappy motives is evident from some of his observations. He has very forcibly painted the character of the ignorant local tyrant, who, uneducated and degraded himself, views with bitter jealousy any proposal to extend the benefits of education to those whom he regards as his inferiors. It is impossible, indeed, to overrate the evils which result from the educational inferiority of the middle classes.

The evil, in this respect, is admitted. The teaching in the majority of middle-class schools is mere quackery. All is by rote or by rule of thumb. Exploded text-books still keep their place in these schools. A good hand, a carefully written account book, the sums having been done by much help, or copied by permission, as often as done by the boy himself, perhaps a little mapping, and, in farming districts, for the most advanced scholars, sufficient arithmetic and mensuration to measure a field and calculate its area; there is the sum total of a middle-class education. Of course some geography is learnt by rote; Lennie's definitions and Rules of Grammar, although sometimes positively unintelligible or absurd, are committed, in a blundering way, to memory: but as to any real acquisition of geographical or grammatical knowledge, the pupil might as well or better have kept to Pinnock; and for such an 'education' as this, without principle, or stimulus, or discipline, which teaches neither science nor common things, shopkeepers and farmers pay sums amounting, when the half-yearly bills are justly added up, to from £35 to £55 a year.

Dr. Thomson says, as others have said before, that the doubt is whether thoroughly good middle-class schools could be made to pay. To us this seems to be a very extraordinary doubt. Does any one doubt that, in large towns, a thoroughly good elementary education can be made to pay? Such schools do pay already in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and elsewhere. Or can any one doubt that honest and competent teachers could make a boarding-school pay at £40 a year?

The fact is that the middle classes already pay very high for the education of their children, whether at boarding or day-school, although the education is seldom good, good only in the case of a few schools even in such large towns as those to which we have referred. What is now paid for a faulty and pretentious education would amply remunerate a thorough teacher. The middle classes are willing to pay high for a good education, if they only knew where to get it, and how to ascertain its reality. As it is, they pay very often exorbitant sums, much higher than the larger sum we have named above, as much as £60, £70, or £80 a year, for what after all is a dishonest and unreal education, a mere make-believe, the imposture of a plausible, glib charlatan.

What is wanted is not a system of endowed schools, but some test by which the true teacher may be discriminated from the dishonest pretender. We shall repeat here the words which we used in regard to this subject nearly six years ago. 'We are prepared to require that government should take means to encourage the formation of colleges, under its own inspection, for the training of masters for middle-class schools. Why should quackery in medicine be proscribed, but no means be afforded of discriminating between quackery and science, plausible pretension and true art, in education? Why should there be diplomas in the one case, and not in the other,—government supervision and authority in the one case, and not in the other? Is the prevalence of dishonest, unreal, faulty educational methods and practices a less considerable evil to a state, than of imperfect and false principles and methods of medical treatment? Or is it really more easy, more within the competence of every pretender, to become a safe and wise educator than an able physician? Or are the bodies of men more valuable than their souls?'

We do not observe that Dr. Thomson endorses with his approbation this idea of giving diplomas to middle-class schools. His idea seems rather to be of large colleges under some general direction of men who have received a University training, such as the middle-class schools or colleges under the direction of Mr. Woodward, or those which have been founded in Devonshire under the patronage of Lord Fortescue, or those lately opened by the Bishop of Oxford. In our judgment these will only partly meet the case; and we are glad to find that Lord Brougham continues, year by year, to advocate the principle of diplomas. The Universities might, in concurrence with Examiners or Inspectors appointed by the Committee of Privy Council, confer such diplomas. Any existing body, such as the Council of Preceptors, or a denominational board, might

have authority to do the same, provided that the government, by its educational department, had ascertained and was enabled to guarantee the adequacy of the tests to which candidates were submitted, both as respects knowledge and training. Training Colleges might be established,—schools for masters and mistresses,—by those who had themselves already obtained a high reputation as accomplished and scientific teachers, just as now first-class schools,—finishing schools, as they are often called,—are successfully established by teachers of a like reputation. These colleges, under such principals, and when officered by an efficient staff, might, after inspection, be incorporated by a government charter, or in some way authorised to confer diplomas. Undoubtedly in some such ways as we have now indicated, Colleges may be established which shall have the guarantee of government inspection and endorsement, which shall be entitled to confer diplomas on teachers, and which, from their variety as well as their attested excellence, may meet the educational requirements of the day.

The chief good result of the University Middle-Class Examinations has been to lay bare the wretched defects of Middle-Class Education. It is now certain that if analogous tests had been applied with equal stringency to the great public schools, most of them would have exposed no less gross, perhaps even grosser, deficiencies. But 'two blacks do not make a white.' The shortcomings of the great public schools cannot whitewash the middle-class educational impostures. The characteristic fault of the former was negligence; of the latter, educational pretence and charlatanry. But educational imposition in the middle classes is perhaps more ruinous to national prosperity than even educational deficiency in the higher classes. In the latter classes a certain minority have after all obtained the best possible education, by means of the combination of opportunities and advantages which offer themselves to the diligent and clever youth, (though it may be only to him,) at the public schools, and afterwards at the Universities. Moreover, for these classes there was at least a standard to aim at, a true, large, and high standard, and a just goal to attain. The highly educated and the nobly endowed redeemed the upper classes from degradation and contempt, and insured a succession of ornaments and powers in that upper class, notwithstanding the failure of so large a majority of the negligent or neglected. But in the case of the middle class there was no standard, no gauge, no goal or ideal, until something like a gauge and standard was afforded by the University Examinations. Indeed, it is well known to those who have studied the subject that the prevalence of commercial competition, together with the sudden

influx into the middle classes of a large and continually augmented proportion of the working classes, had so far degraded and depraved the standard of education in the middle classes as to bring it very far in scope and tone below the standard in the same classes of fifty years ago. A narrow and ignorant utilitarianism, on the part of uneducated parents, who had yet by crowds ascended to the middle class, so far as wealth may serve to give such a rank, brought education down from a discipline and a generous culture to a mere instrument for imparting, in the most compendious and least improving manner, the *quantum suff.* of money-procuring knowledge.

All this was understood before by those who, whilst of and among the middle classes, had themselves, by any happy circumstances, been blessed with a thorough and liberal education. But it was little understood by others until the great and humbling exposure which followed the introduction of the University Middle-Class Examinations. Then Manchester learned, to her surprise, that she stood almost in the lowest place among the towns of Britain, so far as anything properly to be called education is concerned. It now remains to discover the remedy. Sir Stafford Northcote seems to deprecate almost anything in the nature of government interference in the matter, and talks vaguely and somewhat alarmingly about the evils of centralisation, and what not. He is alarmed at a phantom of the imagination. Centralisation is essential wherever there is high organization. What is to be dreaded is only a centralisation which dictates and supersedes. Where centralisation does but stimulate action all around the circumference, and all over the breadth of the organism; and where it is itself controlled by the public opinion which itself calls into play; centralisation is a necessary condition of the highest organization and the most potent vitality. For the reasons we have assigned, we trust that the way will soon be opened for conferring truly valuable diplomas of competency on educated and approved teachers and trainers. Such diplomas will be a guide to parents and guardians, at present at the mercy of a plausible tongue, and of necessity unable themselves to discriminate between the competent teacher and the pretender, either by personal examination or by any test of results. The teachers with diplomas will immediately obtain, as a general rule, the preference over teachers destitute of such a guarantee; and then middle-class schools conducted by such teachers will amply remunerate their conductors. To such diplomas let a good system of inspection and examination be joined, and the education of the middle-classes will be provided for.

Into the Archbishop's discussion respecting female education we have not space to enter. We agree, however, with him and with others, that no examination of middle-class girls' schools can be appended to the present University examinations of boys' schools. Such an idea has been advocated by Lord Brougham and others. But as the Archbishop, following herein in the wake of that able educationist, the Rev. J. P. Norris, justly said, the Junior Fellows of the Universities will hardly constitute a competent board to draw up questions for the examination of middle-class schools. A competent board, however, might, as suggested by Mr. Norris, be constituted, consisting of ladies associated with gentlemen; and an examination conducted privately and individually, after the plan of the Examination for the Society of Arts, might be of the highest advantage. But to this proposal there is this manifest objection, that there is no authority competent to appoint such a board. Here, again, what is wanted is a union of voluntary enterprise and organization with government concurrence and sanction. Such a union might not only secure such a board; but, as in the case of boys' middle-class schools, might open the way to the constitution of bodies capable of conferring diplomas on competent teachers, and also of furnishing Inspectors and Examiners of high authority. Such diplomas, combined with a system of appropriate examination, in the arrangement of which trained teachers should themselves have a larger share than at present, would perhaps fully meet the case both of boys' and of girls' middle-class schools. Meantime it is a lamentable fact that, speaking generally, the education of middle-class girls is yet more defective than of boys—foolish, flimsy, unreal—that little or nothing is taught of natural science, and that in arithmetic in particular it is disgracefully at fault. Mr. Norris's words on this point, in a paper which he read before the Educational Section, contain matter for the gravest reflection.

'Mr. Norris, late Government Inspector of Schools, presented a paper "On the Education of middle-class Girls." He referred to the comparative backwardness of girls' boarding-school education, and contrasted the highly skilful animated methods of instruction in our training colleges for schoolmistresses with the dry, uninteresting taskwork of the boarding-school or governess's schoolroom. How few of our girls' boarding-school teachers or governesses had received any professional training for their work! And if they had, how few parents would value them one whit the more. With the parents lay the real difficulty. How were we to persuade the parents to value mere accomplishment less, and real mental culture more? It was to be done in three ways: by the press and public discussion, by a wisely considered scheme of periodical examination

of girls, and by the surely progressive influence of good example. Those who spoke or wrote on the question of girls' education should do so simply, modestly, and practically, avoiding all generalities about the intellectual powers or social status of women, all admixture of what might be called ulterior matter, and fastening rather on some particular blot, as, for instance, their notoriously defective instruction in arithmetic, and showing their teachers practically how to mend the fault. Meantime, attention might be drawn to the repeated statements of the most eminent scientific men, that much of the ill health of women was due to the want of a more invigorating discipline of the mind in early life; that their absurd credulity about table-turning, spirit-rapping, and the like, argued a lamentably defective education; and also to the undeniable fact that tens of thousands of women were now seeking to earn their livelihood at a most unfair disadvantage, owing to the inaccuracy and incompleteness of their education. Lastly, the homely proverb, "that a man is what a woman makes him," should lead us to be more careful to educate the mothers of the next generation. The moral and spiritual progress of the nation had ever been the healthiest in those ages when mothers, wives, and sisters had been the intellectual companions of their sons, their husbands, and their brothers.'

We must now glance for a moment at the subject of the New Code. As to the operation of this piece of legislation Dr. Thomson contents himself with saying that it has not proved to be as injurious as was feared. Lord Brougham and Sir John Pakington, on the other hand, claim for it the credit of having operated very beneficially. Canon Trevor, however, regards its operation as having been very prejudicial; and is supported in this view by other clergymen. In the Church Congress this matter was discussed at length. There, as was to be expected, the Revised Code was generally condemned, its only supporter being that liberal and energetic, but inaccurate and superficial clergyman, Canon Girdlestone. Laymen and clergy united in that Congress to deplore the operation of the Code. And since the Congress was held, the announcement made by the Committee of the excellent Church of England Training College at Highbury, that they will be compelled, after Christmas, to close that institution, goes far to justify the apprehensions in regard to the Code which have been so generally expressed.

Doubtless the fears of some during the discussion of this subject were exaggerated. Our opinions in regard to it, however, remain just what they were. But a few things must be borne in mind in order rightly to appreciate this question; especially by those who are disposed to think that the Code has not done the harm which was anticipated. 1. The Code

is most materially different from that which was originally propounded. The agitation compelled the government to make very important and substantial concessions. Whatever may be the evil effects produced by the Revised Code in its present form, these effects would have been very much worse, if it had passed in its original form. In particular, it is certain that one half of the Training Colleges must in that case have been immediately closed, and most of the remainder fatally crippled. 2. The instructions from the Privy Council, under which the Inspectors are directed to work the Revised Code, are conceived altogether in the spirit of the old Code, and are entirely opposed to the mere utilitarian estimate of certain low and technical results which governed the conception of the Revised Code and its exposition by its parliamentary sponsor, Mr. Lowe. 3. The Inspectors, generally speaking, have been very indulgent in the application of the Code; some of them avowing that the benefit of all doubts should be given to the schools. This is partly out of consideration for the recency of the change, and partly from a conviction that the Revised Code, administered rigidly, would be altogether unfair in its pressure and injurious in its tendency.

Let it further be noted that whatever is really good and right in the Revised Code, was easily capable of being grafted on the Old Code, and that educationists generally were prepared for and even desired certain modifications, tending both towards increased economy and increased efficiency of working and certainty of results. In particular, they were favourable, and so declared themselves from the first, not only to the principle of individual examination, but of a subsidiary capitation grant, such as was indeed proposed by Sir James K. Shuttleworth himself many years ago, and which might, to use our own words written three years ago, 'with no serious inequality and no real injury to any school, afford a specific Inducement to teachers to obtain, as far as possible, in every class, such distinctly appreciable results, as might fairly make a show in an inspector's examination.'

For these reasons, then, we have nothing to retract, nothing, so far as we see at present, even to modify, in the opinions which we formed and recorded, as respects the Revised Code. We are thankful that the Revised Code was again revised, and materially modified, though the modifications were extorted from a most obstinate and ungracious minister, whom, by the by, his action as to this Code has virtually cashiered, at least for the present. We agree, nevertheless, with the Rev. Canon Guthrie, who presided at the discussion on this subject at the Church Congress, that the Revised Code is 'nothing less than

a retrograde step,' from which very injurious, if not 'disastrous, results may be expected.' Still we cannot but regret that the opposition to this Code is commonly led by clergymen and laymen of extreme views and intolerant character, such as Archdeacon Denison and Mr. Hubbard; as we also regret that clergymen of liberal principles and politics seem sometimes to feel bound, from their opposition to the others, and from their political attachment to the government from which the New Code emanated, to support that really illiberal measure. As for the views respecting what is called the 'conscience clause,' in the deeds of state-supported National Schools, which are held by clerics and Church bigots of the 'high' school, we regard them as essentially arrogant and tyrannical, as intolerable in a free country as they are intolerant. Such views are consistently held by men like Mr. Churchwarden Hoare, who boasted, at the Bristol Congress, of his 'ten men in limbo' for not paying their Church Rates, but are as much out of harmony with modern ideas and the character of 'this enlightened age,' as was the apparition of Brother Ignatius at the same Congress. Neither is it in the least correct, let us be permitted to say to Lord Teignmouth, that Dissenters and Wesleyans have practically abandoned their objection to the requirement that their children should learn the Church Catechism. Those of them who have any information or exercise any judgment on the subject are not likely to abandon it. The statements and professions contained in that Catechism are some of them utterly untrue, as applied to their children, while others are antagonistic to their most cherished principles of spiritual doctrine. But any objections which the parents might take to their children learning the Catechism of the Church of England are so resented by the clergyman, and are met by an opposition and a sort of persecution so troublesome and vexatious, that, for the sake of a quiet life, the parents usually either remove their children from the school, or discontentedly submit, with a sense of wrong done to conscience and to liberty, which is ill compensated for to the Church of England by securing the point that the children of Dissenters in their schools shall learn the 'Church Catechism.'

Our space is almost spent. We cannot do more than touch, in the lightest manner, upon questions on which we had thought to speak at some length. There is the great question of Temperance, which is very imperfectly understood when drunkenness is regarded exclusively either as cause or effect. We regard drunkenness as naturally engendered by certain sanitary and social conditions of life; and, in these cases, supposing proper educational influences to concur,

and homelike habits to be instilled into the children, drunkenness may be regarded, to quote Professor Kingsley's words, as a 'very curable evil,' one which, in a generation or two, might disappear as completely as it has, speaking generally, disappeared from the superior classes of society. But there is drunkenness, arising from mere luxury and sensual riot, on the part of those whose material prosperity is greater than they know how to use and improve, as educated and Christian men would use and improve it; those who have come to the enjoyment of high wages without the intelligence or moral discipline which is necessary for their right employment. These men are the slaves of their passions, the continual, habitual, besotted victims of temptations which, unfortunately, open forth their attractions to them in all directions and at every step. Sanitary improvement, the improvement of cottages, the provision of gardens, will do much towards removing drunkenness of the former sort. But drunkenness of the latter description will not yield to any such means and measures. On the contrary, it renders nugatory to a considerable extent, whatever may be attempted in the way of sanitary reform, or the improvement of working men's homes. The drunkard starves his wife and children that he may filthily indulge his wretched lust of drink, as only a brutalised man, of all creation, would or could indulge any bodily appetite. He compels them to herd in low, small, destitute hovels, while he wallows at the pot-house. He turns his prosperity into a curse. The higher his wages, the greater his drunken barbarism, and the more wofully wretched the state of his wife and family. Now this is *the* evil of our great manufacturing towns and provinces; this is the drunkenness which has increased in many parts of late years, with the increase of the nation's wealth and commerce; this is the drunkenness which the United Kingdom Alliance appears to have chiefly in view, and with a view to which they have organized their League, and proposed their Permissive Bill. We cannot now discuss that Bill. Let us, however, say that it would have a much better chance of gaining complete popular support if it were not advocated, almost exclusively, on the extreme principles of total abstinence. It will never be adopted by the country, never be accepted by the Parliament, if it is regarded as a measure intended to enforce total abstinence, or even to favour it. If the country could be convinced that, while it was not intended to interfere with the temperate use of fermented liquors, it was likely to do more than anything else to suppress that curse of drunkenness which turns the highest prosperity of many manufacturing districts into their bitterest calamity, which poisons the springs which

should flow with comfort and blessing, immolates wives and families, and burns up whole populations in the flames of the body-and-soul-devouring drink-madness, it would not only be submitted to, but accepted. But the whole tone of the agitation by which this measure is promoted, implies that any use of fermented liquors is unlawful; and many men, it is to be feared, support this agitation, hardly so much from a benevolent and disinterested desire for the well-being of society, and the reclamation of miserable drunkards and their hapless victims, as from a spirit of 'teetotal' propagandism, just as religious bigots would, if possible, force upon others their special creed. We earnestly hope that the promoters of this measure will avoid this error. Such men as Mr. Lawson and Mr. Pope do avoid it; but the general strain of even the greatest meetings in its favour, and the universal and unmitigated character of all the minor meetings, is that of unconditional and intolerant teetotalism, which regards this measure as the great means of hastening the consummation towards which it looks, and regards the Maine Law, in its utmost rigidity, and in imperial universality, as the goal to be aimed at. If this error be not guarded against, it will be fatal to the measure, in any form. For ourselves, while unfriendly to any amount of legal compulsion, if it were possible to avoid it, we have no hesitation in saying, that the Permissive Bill includes, in our judgment, a just principle, which, if wisely advocated, will prevail in spite of the opposition of a large proportion of the newspaper press; that the cry of intolerable tyranny raised against the proposed measure comes with a very ill grace from Sir George Grey, so long as he finds no fault with the conduct of such landlords as the late Prince Consort, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Palmerston, and very many more, who by their own sole will, as landowners, have excluded public-houses from their estates; and that, whatever objections may be raised against the Permissive Bill, they are light indeed compared to those which lie against the present Licensing Laws. The Permissive Bill could only be brought into operation in single boroughs or parishes, one by one; and only when two-thirds of the ratepayers have voted for it. It is asked for by very many of the drunkards themselves, who would be thankful for the removal of the temptations by which their insanity is kindled and sustained. In the manufacturing towns, where alone any successful attempt could be made to apply it, it would not affect the provident and thrifty working man. His wages are such as to enable him to procure beer in barrels or in bottles, as the middle classes do. It would not interfere with the business of the brewer, except by lessening the amount

of drunkenness. It need not nor must it be allowed to close hotels, or places of entertainment for *bond fide* travellers, but only to stop the retail trade and drinking at the bar. And, although few, even of its advocates, expect that it will pass in its present form,—if it did, it would be infinitely better than to allow, unchecked, the present multiplication of mere beer-shops and gin-palaces, the very trade of which depends on the promotion of a vice proscribed by law, and leading directly to the commission of every crime. Under these circumstances we do not wonder that such philanthropists as Lord Brougham, Mr. Recorder Hill, Lord Calthorpe, and the Rev. W. Arthur, and such working parish clergy as the Rev. Hugh Stowell, James Bardsley, and others, should have given their adhesion to the principle of the permissive Bill; nor that able writers in such journals as *Fraser's Magazine* and the *Daily News* are beginning to canvass its merits with some favour and much respect.

But let the friends of the measure well understand that, even if they could secure its passing just as they have it now drawn, there are many towns and parishes in England where it could not, under present sanitary and social conditions, possibly be applied. The state of London, and of the great mass of London labourers, as regards their homes and lodgings, defies the application of any such measure, just as it defies the application of Mr. Somes's Sunday Closing Bill. Not less impossible would it be to apply this Bill to the great majority of the villages of England, at least until the landlords shall have provided decent and Christian housing for the labourers. We doubt even whether it could be applied to Manchester. But to many of the smaller towns of Staffordshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and to a few of the villages of England and Scotland, it might be applied with the greatest advantage. The wonderful benefits which have followed the enforcement by landlords of the principle of this Bill, in a number of instances, in the 'three kingdoms,' is demonstrative proof of the unspeakable benefits that would follow its adoption wherever it can be applied. We should then have multiplied model towns and model villages, bright spots on the face of Britain's soil, specimens of the blessings of temperance, standards which would incite other places to imitation, and which would do something towards leavening the kingdom with a virtuous and intelligent population of working men.

This subject brings us into close contact with the theme of Sanitary Reform, so ably and eloquently treated at the Congress by the accomplished septuagenarian physician of Worcester, Sir Charles Hastings. But we cannot spare one line even to a subject of so much interest and importance. We can

but join in denouncing the system which has hitherto obtained of poisoning rivulets, rivers, and towns, wasting the wealth of the soil, and filling the country with miasm and malaria. Nor can we yield to the temptation to quote and to comment upon Mr. Chadwick's excellent discourse on the lessons taught by the Cotton Dearth. Nor may we even review the progress and the happy results of the extensive adoption of the Co-operative Principle. It is now a good many years since we expressed our faith in the beneficial potency of this principle, at a time when it was still regarded commonly with feelings partly of jealous dislike, and partly of critical distrust. But the great power and special benefits of Co-operation are abundantly demonstrated. The arguments to prove it could never become a success may yet be read ; but it has succeeded, grandly succeeded. '*Solvitur ambulando.*' We still, however, regard the peculiar benefit of Co-operation to be its educative influence on the working population, and its virtue as affording a link of transition, and also a medium of sympathy, between the class of the employed and that of employers, between labour and capital.

We have but imperfectly surveyed the ground which we marked out for this article. We have left unnoticed several subjects of interest at the Social Congress, on which we wished to have offered some remarks, especially the business of the Reformatory Section, and have left unreproved some intolerant exhibitions and some indications of rooted although restrained bigotry which we had noted at the Church Congress. But we have something more than covered the space allotted to us, and may find another opportunity of dealing with the matters to which we have referred, or with the like matters. On the whole, the benefits of these Congresses are undeniably great. They popularise what had before been known only to students or men of science. They influence in the best way public opinion ; the teachers being not demagogues or sciolists, but statesmen, publicists, and men of science. They promote most materially the progress of public enlightenment, of wise legislation, and of just and beneficent reform.

ART. II.—*The History of the Cotton Famine, from the Fall of Sumter to the Passing of the Public Works Act.* By R. ARTHUR ARNOLD. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1864.

THE Cotton Famine is an event that has burnt itself into the history of Lancashire. The County Palatine is the only place in the world where 369,452 persons could be found working upon one article, and dependent for seven-eighths of the raw material upon one foreign state. This number of hands would represent nearly a million of mouths whose daily bread was contingent upon the politic relationships of the American Republic. When civil war broke out between North and South, and when the cotton ports, from Charleston to New Orleans, were closed by the navy of the North, the immediate effect upon Lancashire could not be otherwise than disastrous.

We propose to show how Lancashire came to be a cotton county, and what was the condition of the cotton trade at the time at which Fort Sumter fell. We shall trace the footsteps of the famine through some of the principal cotton towns, and shall endeavour to explain how it affected manufacturers and mill-hands, together with the manner in which the crisis was met by the inhabitants of the district, and by those beyond it who ministered to its need. We shall further state what was done by Parliament in extending the action of the Poor Laws, and shall sketch the features of the Public Works Act; noting, in addition, the extent to which its provisions have been accepted.

Three circumstances have conspired to make Lancashire a hive of cotton industry: the soil is cold, the rain-fall is heavy, the coal is at hand.

The only hope for the soil of Lancashire lies in land-drainage: but the difficulties in the way of draining the land are manifold, and peculiar to the county. The tenants of the soil are generally tenants at will. Leases are rare,—for this reason: the face of the cotton district changes so rapidly and townships spring up so suddenly, that landlords naturally prefer to keep the soil in their own power; and so be free to turn it to the best account. They are not disposed to lease their land for a long term of years at a guinea an acre, when, for aught they know, the estate might become the site of mills and cottages; and, as building ground, their broad acres would yield a rent twenty-fold what they fetch as meadow-land. By letting to yearly tenants, the proprietor is prepared to take advantage of circumstances; but, on the other hand, a tenant

who has only a twelvemonth's hold upon the soil is not likely to undertake the cost of draining. Then, in consequence of the neighbourhood of the cotton factories, labour is in great demand; and even the unskilled labour required for agricultural purposes would command a rate of wages that would materially add to the expense of draining a farm. And where the corn-field rests upon a coal-field, the drainage, when completed, is liable to be so disturbed as to be rendered comparatively ineffective. As the seams of coal are worked out and the props are removed, the super-soil, of course, falls in; and if the seam should chance to have been thick and near the surface, the drain-levels are levels no longer. Sections of the line of pipes fall with the soil, creating a basin in the middle of a field; and this not only destroys the drainage, but renders it difficult to drain the depressed portion in future. We know a farm on which a gang of labourers was employed, during the last winter, for thirteen weeks in repairing the damage done to drains by the sinking of the soil. As the result of all this, the land is left for the most part in a state of nature. The surface-soil is cold and sodden; the climate offers a low temperature; the atmosphere is moist: and, therefore, harvest is late, and corn is grown sparingly and at great risk. It is clear that agriculture is not at home in Lancashire. She is a sojourner, ill at ease in the presence of her rivals, the mine and the mill: her domains are lessened year by year through the encroachments of stone and mortar; her credit is low, and her resources limited; and, on the whole, agriculture there is far from being in easy circumstances.

The temperature of Lancashire is exceedingly moist. As a rule, the higher a district, the heavier is its rain-fall. London is 50 feet above the level of the sea, and the average fall of rain in the metropolis is 25 inches. Manchester stands 70 feet higher than London; and has a rain-fall of 37 inches in twelve months. Bolton is 200 feet above the level of Manchester, and is drenched with a rain-fall of 49½ inches, or nearly one inch weekly, winter and summer. This is one of the penalties of standing high in the world, especially in the neighbourhood of the North Atlantic.

'This large supply of water power was among the first causes of the pre-eminence of this district in the cotton manufacture. Its surface, very varied in altitude, is grooved by the hand of Nature in deep channels which collect the rain water, and gather it into manageable streams. With what patient devotion these streams have given themselves to the prosperity of Lancashire! Merrily they rippled over their pebbly beds when the mill-wheel was theirs,

and theirs only. They threw themselves into reservoirs, and have continued to supply the district with pure water—so soft that, as compared with that of London, it is estimated to require one-half less soap, and one third less tea, to produce equal results in the washing-tub, or in the more social teapot. These streams were not offended when Brindley said they were good for nothing but to feed canals. They suffered themselves to be led over hills and across valleys at the will of the engineer; and now, when they have fallen to baser uses, and are made to feed the boiler of their successful rival, and to act as the main sewers of the district, they still do their work to the best of their ability. But their day of greatness has passed away. In manufacturing progress, as in human civilization, there are three epochs; the barbarous, the picturesque, and the prosaic. In the history of the cotton manufacture, the hand-loom represents the first, the water-mill the second, and the steam-engine the third.

But the advantage of a heavy rain-fall would not have counted for much if coal had been as dear in Lancashire as it is in Kent. The steam-engine requires hot water, not cold; and the streams and rivers of the cotton district owe much of their value to the coal with which the water is boiled. With the single exception of Preston, all the large cotton towns stand upon coal. Beginning at Colne, the northern boundary of the coal-field runs by Blackburn and Chorley to Ormskirk; thence it runs southward by Knowsley, striking the Manchester and Liverpool railway, and then it keeps the line of the railway eastward to Manchester. Leaving out of account its projection into Cheshire, the coal-field skirts Lancashire also on its eastern border, running by Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale, and northward to Colne.

'On the southern and western sides of this coal, there extends a bed of new red sandstone, which originally overlay the Lancastrian coal-field, and was removed from it by denudation as the coal measures rose to their present elevation. The strata of the sandstone, evidently originally laid in horizontal planes by water, dip away from the uplifted coal-measures. In the original stratification, the coal which occupies the middle of the county rested upon millstone grit, and the sandstone upon the coal. It was a fortunate move for Lancashire when they were lifted for her enrichment and service.'

As if conscious that it would be wanted, the coal cast off the sandstone which had pressed upon it for ages, and so became accessible; while the red sandstone, dipping southward and westward, forms the foundation of many pleasant towns or suburbs of towns. Beginning at Alderley Edge, it

skirts Manchester on the side of Rusholme and Cheetham, then takes the line of the Mersey to Liverpool, and, again striking inland, extends northward to Preston and Garstang. Westward of this line, between the red sandstone and the coast, is a very fertile belt of country.

'Geology is the parent of geography;' and geography is the parent of local industry. But for the upheaval of the coal, Lancashire could not have been what it is. The hills attract the rain; the impermeable strata refuse to absorb the moisture; the grooved channels convey the water into reservoirs; and the coal is at hand to convert cold water into steam power. At first, agriculture entered into competition with manufacture under serious disadvantages: Nature, however, intended Lancashire, not for smiling farms, but for smoking factories: and in proportion as manufactures have prospered, the disabilities of the agriculturist have been increased, and now cotton attracts the capital and enterprise of the county. 'A corn-field may be a fair sight, but a coal-field pays better; and factories and cottages are more profitable than either.'

As a manufacturing county, Lancashire can boast a respectable antiquity.

'Long before the keel of the "Mayflower" grounded on the New England shore, long before the streams and the coal-fields of Lancashire did suit and service to King Cotton, the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom were busy in the hovels of Bolton and Manchester. When Elizabeth began her splendid reign, Lancashire was *the* manufacturing county; and whilst the Spanish Duke of Alva was ravaging the Low Countries, he drove to the shores of England many skilful artisans from the thriving towns of Belgium; and when the thrifty weavers of Ghent sought a new location, they found themselves at home in Bolton-le-Moors.'

In 1801, the population of the county of Lancaster was 673,486; in 1861, it had grown to 2,429,440. The two principal towns now outnumber by more than two hundred thousand the population of the whole county sixty years ago. In one generation Lancashire has doubled its population; and in ten years it has added to its sons and daughters considerably more persons than are found in the county of Cornwall. A portion of this increase is due to immigration from other English counties, from Wales and from Ireland; but the rapid growth of the population of the cotton county is chiefly due to the natural law of increase under favourable circumstances. Of the aggregate number of births in England and Wales in 1861, the proportion due to Lancashire was 83,074; the actual number registered was 93,309. If the general population had

increased in the same ratio as that of the cotton district, the number of births in the county would have been 775,650, whereas the actual number was 695,624—fewer by upwards of eighty thousand than the Lancashire average would yield. The population of Blackburn is just equal to that of Huntingdonshire; but there are three hundred more births yearly in the manufacturing town than in the agricultural county. The keen demand for labour in Lancashire has proved a material encouragement to marriage. Young persons earn high wages, and marry early. When trade is good, a youth of nineteen earns eighteen shillings a week, and a girl can make thirteen shillings, frequently more; with their savings furniture is bought, and on the basis of their united earnings couples commence house-keeping long before they are of age. The census returns of 1861 show that in the two towns of Bolton and Burnley, with an aggregate population of not quite a hundred thousand, there were living 96 husbands and 319 wives who had been married at the age of fifteen or under.*

In 1860, there were in Great Britain 2,650 cotton factories, worked by 440,000 persons, whose wages amounted to £11,500,000 a year. The machinery which these quick eyes and active fingers superintended was driven by a power equal to that of 300,000 horses. Among other offices performed by this giant force was the twirling of 30,387,467 spindles; while each spindle would require for its food nine and a half ounces of cotton wool weekly. Aided by 350,000 power looms, these spindles supplied the household requirements of Great Britain at a cost of £24,000,000; and besides this, there were exported during that year 2,776,218,427 yards of cotton cloth, and 197,343,655 pounds of cotton twist and yarn, the declared value being £52,012,380. The productions of the cotton trade for 1860 exceeded in value by nearly £6,000,000 sterling the gross revenue of the United Kingdom for the same period. In round numbers, the cotton consumed in 1860 equalled the quantity sent from America, whilst the supplies from other countries represent in weight the raw material exported during the year. Of every five pounds of cotton received in 1860, four pounds came from the United States; and of every twelve pounds of cotton spun and woven in Great Britain, nine pounds were spun and woven within the county of Lancaster. 'Is it

* 'The usual matrimonial age is from nineteen to twenty-two in the male, and from seventeen to twenty in the female sex. Boy-husband and girl-wife, themselves oftentimes not fully grown, can earn at least thirty shillings a week; but they become the parents of weakly children, specially requiring what they rarely get—a mother's care.'

strange that a county which in extent is but the thirty-third part of England, but which contained one tenth of the riches and one eighth of the population of the country—is it strange that such a province, the chosen seat of such a trade, should be somewhat overbearing, and come to be regarded with envy and dislike by many of its neighbours? There is no marvel in this.'

On the day of the battle of Bull Run, there was more cotton, raw and spun, in England than there ever had been before. On the 1st of January, 1861, there was a stock in hand of 250,286,605 pounds of raw cotton to begin the year with. In the Southern States, the prospect of war with the North spurred on the cotton-growers to ship their produce in hot haste before their ports should be closed; and by the end of May we had received much more American cotton than during the whole of 1857. The likelihood of war in the west moved the men of the east to send us cotton to keep our mills going; and by the end of June India had sent 314,500 bales, being 65,500 bales more than during the corresponding months of 1860.

Two months after the fall of Fort Sumter, the markets of the world were gorged with cotton in all its forms. India and China had been over-fed with manufactured goods; and the warehouses of Bombay groaned beneath the weight of 'shirt-ings' that found no wearers. Yet, notwithstanding a glutted market both at home and abroad, production continued at about the same rate as in 1860, and by the end of September 779,279,000 pounds of yarn and cloth had been manufactured. Of this, rather more than two thirds was exported; and the remainder, which was reserved for home consumption, was upwards of 100,000,000 pounds in excess of the average demand for the same period. During the first nine months of 1861 this large addition was made to the stock of manufactured goods at home, though in January this was heavy beyond all precedent.

The cotton famine did not come upon Lancashire suddenly. Fort Sumter fell on the 13th of April; yet in June there was less speculation in cotton on 'Change in Liverpool than there had been in January. 'Middling Orleans was quiet;' and 'the exchange of iron compliments between General Beauregard and Major Anderson' brought up cotton from 7½*d.* to 7¾*d.*, and then to 8*d.*, at which point it stood at the end of June. Three more months pass away. North and South have advanced from 'courteous hostilities' to savage war; the mills keep going; the markets are gorged with goods that will take two years to convert into cash; and at the end of September the weight of raw cotton and of manufactured goods in the hands

of the British cotton trade did not fall far short of 1,000,000,000 pounds.

It was in October that the price of cotton began to be seriously affected by the American war; and by the end of the month, 'Middling Orleans'—the gauge of the cotton market—was selling freely at a shilling, and many mills were beginning to run short time. The cause of the mills running short time was not the blockade of the Southern ports, nor the scarcity or price of cotton, but the overstocked condition of the cotton market. There was cotton to be had. At the end of the year, three months after some of the mills began to run short time, the stock of raw cotton in this country was larger than it ever had been on any previous December 31st, and amounted to 279,207,000 pounds, or nearly 30,000,000 more than at the end of 1860, the year of plenty. The price of cotton at this time would not have frightened spinners if there had been a market for yarns and cloth. But it is one thing to work for orders, or even to feed a hungry market, and quite another to work for stock, and to continue spinning and weaving cotton worth a shilling at a time when the warehouses of producers and dealers were full of fabrics and yarns manufactured from cotton that cost eightpence. At the end of 1861, although the rate of production had been checked during the last quarter of the year, there still remained on hand not less than 300,000,000 pounds' weight of manufactured goods; enough to supply every family in the United Kingdom for a year and eight months. Under these circumstances, and with cotton advanced fifty per cent., no marvel that mill-owners began to run short time.

But if 'Middling Orleans' had remained at eightpence, short time must have been the rule in many of the cotton towns during the autumn and winter of 1861. If South Carolina had never seceded, there would have been hard times for the Lancashire operatives in the two years following 1860. Leaving America out of sight, 'many of the great spokesmen of the cotton trade had predicted this necessity.' It could not be otherwise. Production had been pushed beyond requirement. Lancashire would persist in spinning and wearing clothing much faster than the world could wear it out. As a rule, calicoes and the like are not bought till they are needed; and the excess of supply over demand went on accumulating, until, in July, 1861, manufactured goods in stock were valued at £20,000,000 sterling. The only remedy for such an artificial state of things is to impose a check upon production; and to the operative this means 'short time.'

Three classes of men were variously affected by the advance

in the price of cotton consequent upon the American war: the large mill-owners, the small manufacturers, and the operatives.

When Fort Sumter fell, there were 2,270 factories in the cotton district. In 890 of these spinning only was done; in 593 weaving only; in 635 both spinning and weaving; while 152 were devoted to miscellaneous craft. In the 2,270 factories 369,452 persons were employed, giving an average of 162 hands to each; but about 750 were small establishments with a working power not exceeding twenty horses each, so that, though one third in number of the whole, these small mills did not employ more than a sixteenth of the total power of the district. The position of the small manufacturers in connexion with the cotton famine has been one of great danger and anxiety. With their limited capital locked up in bricks and mortar and machinery, they are not prepared to take advantage of changing times and rising markets. While cotton stands at sevenpence, and yarn meets with a ready sale, they can live and thrive; but for three years past it has gone hardly with them. When 'Middling Orleans' rose fourpence a pound in four months, they had not a heavy stock of cotton; and in October, 1861, they had not yarn on hand, worth thirteence a pound, which they could afford to keep until October, 1862, and sell at one shilling and elevenpence, or at two shillings and ninepence in October, 1863. As might be expected from the overfed condition of the market, the price of manufactured goods did not rise with the price of the raw material. From July, 1861, to July, 1862, cotton had risen in value one hundred and fifty per cent., whilst the market price of calicoes had not advanced more than fifty per cent. It is clear that to men who keep no stock, but work from hand to mouth, this state of things is ruinous.

The large manufacturers numbered about 1,500, and employed about 340,000 hands; and to these the American war opened up a widely different prospect. 'They had recklessly pushed production beyond requirement; they had made their spindles revolve faster and their shuttles move more quickly than ever they had done before. They had been encouraged by the excitement which burned at the prospect of such increasing markets; they had aroused a competition which recognised no duty paramount to that of obtaining the largest share of profits. They had done this in fear and trembling; and at the moment when they might have expected judgment and execution—in the shape of a large depreciation in the value of their stocks—the war in America assumed an aspect of determined continuance, and the blockade of the Southern ports was declared

effective.' Scarceness of cotton, causing a rapid advance in the price, brought unexpected relief to the large manufacturers in the autumn of 1861. They could not have gone on another year producing beyond requirement, and adding to an unmarketable stock already enormous. Apart from the American war, they must have paused. The only open question was, Under what circumstances?

If there had been no war, if the Southern States had continued to send cotton as usual,—with mills running short time,—the Liverpool market would have been glutted with the raw material, and 'Middling Orleans' would have fallen to sixpence, and perhaps lower. In such a case small manufacturers who hold no stock would have had the advantage. By spinning cotton that cost less than sixpence, they could produce yarn at a figure that would bring down the market price, to the great discomfort of large mill-owners who held heavy stocks made from cotton costing more than sevenpence. If it is borne in mind that one farthing a pound upon the cotton manufactured in Great Britain in 1860 represents the sum of £1,128,750, it is easy to appreciate the difference it would have made to men holding large stocks either of cloth, yarn, or raw material, if 'Middling Orleans,' worth 7½*d.* on the last day of 1860, had been quoted at 5½*d.* on the last day of 1861. But the battle of Bull Run, which was the first proof that the Americans were earnest in their quarrel, reversed the calculations of the cotton trade. Those who had cotton in any form, and could afford to hold, were fortunate beyond anticipation. Instead of running short time and working down their stocks at reduced rates, in the presence of cotton selling at sixpence, they worked short time and cleared off their stocks at greatly advanced rates, sustained by cotton at two shillings and threepence. The case may be put thus: the blockade of the Southern ports, which men now began to see might last through another and another season, encouraged speculation, which sent up the price of cotton, which was made the occasion of running short time, which checked production, which relieved over-fed markets, which ultimately enabled manufacturers and merchants to work out at a handsome profit.

At the end of 1861, there was in stock about 300,000,000 pounds' weight of manufactured goods, representing the excess of production over consumption which had been going on notably for two years. This does not include accumulations of yarns and cloths in the markets of India and China. In addition to this, the stock of raw cotton amounted to 279,207,000 pounds. 'There is good authority for believing that these stocks were con-

sumed at the rate of two thirds in 1862, and one third in 1863.' Much of the cotton had been imported before the end of June, when 'Middling Orleans' was selling at eightpence, and the manufactured goods were for the most part made from cotton that cost not more than eightpence. But not to count the difference between the cost price of these stocks of raw and manufactured cotton and their market value in October, 1861; take them at what they were then worth, and at what they were worth in October, 1862, and October, 1863, and there is good margin for profit.

	1861.		1862.		1863.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Raw cotton	11		2	3	2	5
Mule yarn	1	1	1	11	2	9
Cotton cloth	11	0	20	0	22	0

The material was in the hands of the cotton-trade at home in 1861; it had been disposed of in 1863; and these are the prices. If, in connexion with this advance per pound in value, we remember that the weight upon which this profit was made amounted to five hundred and eighty million pounds, it is clear that about £35,000,000 was made as profit upon stocks held in October, 1861. Mr. Arnold, speaking of this period, writes:—

'Where this profit rests cannot precisely be known; in what proportion it has been divided between those who are really exporters, those who are professed speculators, and those who are manufacturers, cannot be told. Spinners have oftentimes been speculators, and speculators have been frequent exporters. All that can be said is, that such an amount of profit has palpably accrued to the cotton trade, during the last two years. Thirty-five millions of money! Even supposing that all the production of the past two years has been carried on without profit,—which it would be hardly less than ridiculous to suppose,—there is, at least, something here to console the trade for the diminished production which has been the cause of this accidental prosperity.'

But to the operatives the autumn of 1861 brought gloomy prospects. By the end of the year, the consumption of cotton had fallen off more than one third. Not that one third of the 'hands' were out of work. Mills were closed first in the towns in which heavy goods are manufactured, and where, of course, the weight of cotton consumed bears the largest proportion to the number of persons employed: of such towns Blackburn is the representative. In Bolton, on the other hand, where high numbers are spun, and fine goods made, and where the same weight of raw material gives employment to three

times the number of hands, very few were thrown out of work. At the close of 1861, out of every thirteen operatives, nine were working full time, three short time, and one was unemployed. During the cotton famine few towns suffered so little as Bolton; and perhaps this is one reason why Mr. Arnold does not once mention Bolton in connexion with the famine. Judging from his 'History,' Bolton might not be a cotton town, though the workers in cotton and their families there number fifty thousand.

Few years ever opened more gloomily on England than the year 1862. The good Prince Consort was dead; the 'Trent' outrage was unatoned for; mills were closing, and work-people starving; and it was clear to every one that something extraordinary must be done to meet the destitution that was coming 'as an armed man.'

Wigan was the first town to move in the direction of giving; and through the year she maintained a pre-eminence in self-help, of which her people may well be proud. A public meeting was held in the town hall on the 3rd of January, and £1,000 was raised on the spot. A Committee was appointed which, in fifteen days, had divided the town into districts, each with its separate sub-committee, and had collected in local subscriptions £2,000. In Blackburn the distress grew with the year, and every week added 150 to the number of the destitute, until the Guardians were relieving 5,074 persons, whilst 2,076 of the unemployed were assisted by the newly-formed relief Committee. Preston was overtaken by the common calamity at an early period. Heavy goods are manufactured there; a mill employing a thousand hands would consume three times as much cotton as a similar mill in Bolton; and an advance in the price of the raw material is, of course, quickly felt in the metropolis of the northern cotton district. In the third week of January, the Guardians were relieving three times as many in the borough of Preston as in the corresponding week of 1861. The distress became general. Oldham, and Haslingden, Rochdale, Bury, and Ashton, had troops of unemployed operatives; and, by the first week in February, the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society had distributed food and clothing to nearly 6,000 persons.

This sudden accession of wide-spread destitution put to the test the principles of the Poor Law, and tried severely the judgment and temper of Boards of Guardians. The difficulties of the situation were greatly increased by the suspicion and dislike with which the Guardians were viewed by the dependent poor. On this point Mr. Arnold says:—

‘Rightly regarded, there is no higher parochial duty than theirs; none requiring more especially that authority which gentle manners and good education confer upon their possessors. The Guardians, however, in many cases, exercise authority without commanding respect. The probable reason for this is, their practice is contrary to their theory. Practically, their chief duty is to keep down the rates of the locality they represent; theoretically, their chief duty is to relieve the poor. The local administration of the Poor Laws is regarded as an unpopular and disagreeable duty, in which a public officer must choose either to be the Guardian of the rate-payers, or to be looked upon as an erratic philanthropist. By the poor, these Boards of Guardians are considered to be established for the repression, instead of the relief, of indigence.’

It was some little time before the Boards of Guardians awoke to a just apprehension of the magnitude of the crisis; and the first real difficulty which they encountered was the so-called ‘labour test.’ The principle of the Poor Law is that to able-bodied men relief shall be given half in money and half in kind, and that they shall work under the direction of the Board of Guardians. The reason of this requirement lies in the fact that to maintain in idleness men who are able to work is the surest way to demoralise them. It uproots the spirit of independence, and makes one man a willing pensioner upon the bounty of his neighbour; whilst to ordain that men whose ordinary employment is cut off, shall in some other way labour, so as to earn in part the relief they need, is to disinfect pauperism, and guard against its worst consequences. It was fair and wise that the cardinal principle of the Poor Law, so far as able-bodied men were concerned, should be applied to workers in cotton. They did not deserve to be demoralised. There was nothing in the circumstances under which they came to need parochial assistance to warrant parochial authorities in depriving them of the one moral safeguard secured to them by law. Certainly it was not through any fault of the operatives themselves that they were cast upon the kindly consideration of the Guardians.

But, notwithstanding the righteousness of the principle, and the general willingness of the people to work, the difficulty of administering the law was very great: and this difficulty was aggravated by various circumstances. Early in the year, the distress broke in upon the county suddenly. For some months it had been threatening, and the number out of work had been slowly increasing: but when the case got beyond the reach of ordinary treatment, the growth of pauperism was alarmingly rapid. The Guardians had taken no steps to discount the

approaching distress : and when it came, they underrated the extent of it. It was no wonder, therefore, that they found it impossible to provide employment for the tens of thousands of men and lads thrown upon their hands. As there had been no forethought, so now there was a lack of inventive faculty ; and, for a time, the only work found for the operatives was the breaking of stones, or the picking of oakum. To a man accustomed to life in a factory, such employment is peculiarly unsuitable and unwelcome. ' His hands are singularly soft, which is desirable in order to secure the requisite delicacy of touch, and is maintained by working indoors in a high temperature, and by continual contact with oil and cotton wool : the stone hammer blistered his hands immediately, and the oakum galled his fingers.' The operatives complained ; and their complaints were embittered by the knowledge that their fortitude and heroism had been so loudly extolled. After being canonized as martyrs to a national policy, it seemed a degradation to go and break stones.

' The operatives hated the name of the labour test : not that they were indolent and averse to work, but they had been so bepraised by those who feared that the general stoppage of the mills would be the signal for pro-Southern riots, intended to force the government to a violation of their righteous policy of non-intervention, that they regarded themselves as the honorary pensioners of the nation, to whom relief was not dishonourable, even though it was not paid for by work. To be subsisting upon the poor rates did not seem to them to involve pauperism ; but this condition, so especially degrading in a locality where the great demand for labour had made pauperism so rare, was realized to their minds immediately they had the stone hammer in their hands or the oakum in their fingers. Had they not received so much uneasy flattery, they might have had less objection to the requirement of labour in return for relief. In short, the operatives found themselves praised abroad, and pauperized at home ; they asked for bread, and complained that they should first be given a stone to break.'

In the month of February, the number receiving parochial relief in Ashton was 2,379 in excess of the corresponding week of 1861 ; and at the same time, both in the Ashton and other Unions, a determined stand was made against the ' labour test,' falsely so called. The Guardians were at their wits' end, and knew not how to administer the law. From the beginning of the distress, however, the Poor Law Board frankly assumed that the condition of the cotton county was altogether exceptional, and that, in dealing with pauperism of such dimensions, a discretionary power must be given to those upon whom the

local administration of the law devolved; and when the Guardians of the Oldham and other Unions gave a wide scope to their discretion, the Poor Law Board reserved its indignation for more grievous offences. The difficulties of the situation were thoroughly appreciated by the Board; a wide latitude was allowed to bewildered Guardians, and venial irregularities were winked at: but upon one point the Board was firm,—the requirement of labour in return for relief. The kind of labour was an open question; and time was given to the Guardians for looking round and finding suitable employment: but the thing itself was insisted upon throughout. Had the principle been given up, and relief afforded to able-bodied men without demanding labour in return, Lancashire would have become the chosen habitation of all the lusty vagrants in the kingdom.

‘Let us suppose for a moment what would have been the position of these Boards of Guardians in the absence of such a central authority as the Poor Law Board. They could hardly have withstood for a moment the demands of the hungry crowds, comprising many who believed themselves to be political martyrs. As it was, the Guardians gained strength by leaning upon the government when they wished to enforce the law; and again, they gained strength by decrying the government when they took a popular course in seeming opposition to its mandates:—a policy, perhaps, more convenient than justifiable. Fortunately, however, for the district, the Poor Law Board preserved inviolate the principle which subsequently received the willing allegiance of all; and but for which it may well be thought that the history of this crisis would not form so bright and honourable a record.’

By the month of May, the distress had overgrown all the means of meeting it which the parochial boards possessed. The law had done what it could; and now the angel of charity came to the rescue. It may be well to see Lancashire as it was at this moment, when, for the first time, the cotton district became the recipient of a nation’s bounty. They were no ordinary hard times with which the people were contending; it was no passing difficulty, but there was distress deep, and wide, and continued.

‘Still, the conventional idea of a famine must be laid aside by those who would understand the position of the operatives in Lancashire during these times. The term itself conjures up such sad pictures as those with which the potato famine of Ireland once made every one familiar. The scene is set with groups of fathers, mothers, and children, ragged, gaunt, and fever-stricken, foodless and fireless, starving to death. But no such sorrow, no

such shame as this, lies at the door of the wealthiest of English counties. Suffering there was, but not such as this. Many were the sacrifices made in the homes of the poor. Little hoards were drained to meet the exigencies of the time: and the pawnbrokers' stores were glutted with the heirlooms of many an honest family. As the summer came on, extra clothing was sold to buy food; and in order to economize rent, fuel, and furniture, three or four families would crowd into one house. But there was no helpless starvation; and the numbers of the homeless were not so great as may be found upon any winter's night in London: and as to food, every one was fed, although many had not enough.'

This distress, however, was felt all the more keenly because the operatives had been used to a high scale of creature comfort. No class of British workmen is so well fed, so warmly housed, and so expensively clothed as are the workers in cotton. When in full employment, most of the married men have an income exceeding that of many clergymen. Animal food of the best quality and without stint smokes upon the table of the factory folk; and there is no reasonable luxury which those in full work cannot command. Had they been accustomed to the fare of Irish labourers, they would not have felt the distress so deeply: but where men have long been used to the comforts which a family income of two guineas a week can bring, they naturally associate the parochial allowance of half a guinea with the idea of starvation. Great as the sufferings of the Lancashire operatives were, they cannot be likened to the abject misery of the Irish cottagers during the potato famine; whilst, on the other hand, the workers in cotton were predisposed to appreciate comparative destitution at its full value, because of their lengthened experience of a high state of comfort and general good living.

Within a month, dating from the middle of April to the middle of May, the Mansion House Committee, of London, was established; the Central Relief Committee, of Manchester, was organized; and Mr. Farnall was appointed as a 'Special Commissioner of the Government' to inquire into and to advise concerning all that affected the condition of the unemployed operatives. To trace the working of these three agencies will be to exhibit the progress of the destitution in the district, and to set forth the principal efforts which were made to alleviate the sufferings which it occasioned.

Mr. Farnall was the right man in the right place. An experience of twenty-seven years as an *ex officio* Guardian, and as Poor Law Inspector, had made him familiar with the ordinary working of the law; and thus his mind was well stored

with facts which supplied the basis of his arguments. He seemed naturally to look at the bright side of everything; he found that even the unpopular Poor Law had a sunny side; and, by his own cheerful tones, he encouraged the Guardians to expect the speedy dawn of better times. The difficulties of his position were manifold, but this circumstance only served to bring out his rare tact and courtesy; and it is no matter of surprise that one so genial and so gifted should gain the good word both of the poor and their Guardians.

As Mr. Farnall's primary duty was 'to interpret and define the true spirit and breadth of the Poor Law,' he at once placed himself in communication with the men who were charged with the administration of the law. Beginning at Preston, he visited officially several of the principal cotton towns, and conferred with the Guardians as to the best method of dealing with the distress which had, by this time, overspread the district. In expounding the law, and showing its adaptation to meet and master a crisis, he displayed great ability. As the Commissioner proceeded, misapprehensions were corrected and prejudice vanished; and legislation was proved to be as elastic as the emergency was trying. It was urged, indeed, by some that the Poor Law, as interpreted by Mr. Farnall, was doubtless a kind and courteous thing, but it was not law. As to the principle of the Poor Law, Mr. Farnall said:—

'Any applicant, unpossessed of real or personal property, and not in receipt of or at work for wages, is a fit subject for relief, although he may have a house furnished with the requirements of life. The Poor Law does not concern itself with furniture. It is true that in the greater part of England he can only obtain relief, unless under certain exceptions, in the workhouse; but this regulation does not apply to those districts where the working class is liable to be suddenly thrown out of employment by the fluctuations of trade. In the manufacturing districts, the law permits relief, with no limitation as to the amount, to be given at the homes of the able-bodied poor, provided they are in need, and are willing to work, as an acknowledgment and in consideration of the relief afforded.'

'Mr. Farnall's speech at Preston, noteworthy as it was thought to be at the time on account of its humanity, was in truth not less so on account of its strict legality.' As to the administration of the Poor Law, he stated that, during an official experience of nearly thirty years, he had never known a Board of Guardians require a poor man to sell his furniture before granting relief.

To do itself justice, the Poor Law needed not only an able expositor, but also judicious administrators—men of large

views and not destitute of ingenuity. The want was there ; the money was there ; the difficulty lay in providing the work which the destitute were to do in return for money. The Guardians suddenly found themselves transformed into employers of labour, with this singular privilege, that the wages were provided for them ; and all that they had to do was, so to spend the rate-payers' money as to comply with the letter of the law, and, at the same time, meet the views of the operatives as to the kind of labour rendered. Simple though it may seem, this problem would have sufficed to exercise the wits and tax the inventive faculty of those who were most fluent in denouncing the dulness of the Boards of Guardians.

For several years, the rate-payers of the cotton district had scarcely felt the burden of poor's rates. In the Oldham Union the customary rate of pauperism had been one and a half per cent. of the population ; out of every thousand persons, only fifteen were paupers ; and up to June, 1862, this proportion did not exceed twenty-eight in the thousand. In the middle of the year of famine, the number receiving parochial relief in this union was lower than the average throughout England in times of general prosperity. During 1861, the expenditure in the township of Oldham 'in and about the relief of the poor' was covered by a rate of 1s. 2½d. in the pound. This is a specimen of the poor's rates in the cotton towns ; the wealth of the district, as indicated by its rateable value, had increased in ten years thirty-seven per cent. : putting together these two facts, it will be seen that the rate-payers of Lancashire were in a position to do justice to the exigencies of the cotton crisis.

Mr. Farnall was instructed by the Poor Law Board 'to examine into the manner in which the poor were relieved, and to promote liberal and judicious action ;' and, accordingly, when the Guardians were fixing the scale of relief to be given to the unemployed operatives, he urged them not to take into account anything that the poor might receive through the medium of charitable committees. He wished it to be known that those who were subscribing to funds for the relief of the operatives, were doing so in reality ; the relief of the rate-payers must not be contemplated. The nation was relieving Lancashire with both hands ; and, for a time at least, it was necessary that the right hand should not know what the left hand was doing. The guarantee gained for the benevolent, namely, that their gifts should not relieve the rate-payer of his duty, but comfort the operative in his distress, contributed most opportunely to keep up the flow of princely charity which had now set in.

The originator of the Mansion House Committee,—a Committee which sent into the district more than half a million of money for the relief of the unemployed,—was Mr. William Cotton. With an offer of a subscription and of personal services together, he introduced the subject to the notice of Lord Mayor Cubitt. This generous proposal grew into a Committee, which collected and disbursed large sums for the relief of Lancashire operatives before the Manchester Central Relief Committee had any being. Charity did not begin at home. There were what seemed good reasons why Manchester itself should make haste slowly; and, of course, the smaller cotton towns were respectfully waiting upon the movements of their metropolis.

‘In the first place, there was the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society already in existence,—an organization which possessed every qualification for the work of relieving distress that experience and reputation could confer. In the next place, the distress in Manchester itself was not very severe, and many thought that the crisis might be passed over without calling for any special measures of relief. Manchester, with her varied industry and large charitable resources, was very indisposed to believe that famine was at her gates.’

But the distress of other towns in the district became heavier; every week swelled the numbers of destitute poor; and a Central Relief Committee, which should receive and disburse funds, and harmonize the action and strengthen the hands of the Local Relief Committees, became a necessity. It was seen that the District Provident Society was not adapted to serve as a central organization for the county; and, after various preliminary arrangements and some reconstruction, the Manchester Central Relief Committee was formally established, and before the end of June it had commenced its great work.

The famine was now fairly begun. The unemployed operatives had exhausted their store of savings, and had sold or pawned whatever furniture or clothing they could part with. The parochial authorities had levied rates which, in their judgment, would meet all demands until the end of the year. The government had sent down the Commissioner to confer with Boards of Guardians and Relief Committees, with the view of promoting liberal and harmonious action in dealing with the operatives. London and Manchester had established Central Committees of Relief, which were to work in connexion with the Local Relief Committees organized in every town and village. The famine itself, and the agencies set on foot to

meet it, were fully at work, face to face; the contest was likely to be long and desperate; for the most hopeful could not persuade themselves that for the next six months any improvement in the state of trade was possible. 'Lancashire had girded herself bravely for a great struggle; and order and authority were respected as they never had been before by idle hands and empty stomachs.'

Whilst the operatives were quietly suffering, the mill-owners were perplexed by the uncertainty which overshadowed the cotton market. In May, New Orleans had fallen into the hands of the Federals, and this event promised a supply of cotton. It was soon found, however, that the possession of this famous port did not carry with it the command of those stores of cotton which had before found their way thence to Liverpool. The Southerners chose rather to burn their bales of cotton than allow the Federal authorities the chance of touching them; the prospect of a supply from that quarter, therefore, was cut off, and the market soon recovered its firmness. The price of the raw material gained upon that of manufactured goods until 'Middling Orleans' was within a halfpenny a pound of the market price of mule yarn spun from the same cotton. In this state of things, the encouragement to convert cotton into yarn was faint indeed; and manufacturers took this course, or that, as their interests, their command of capital, or their belief in the duration of the war might suggest. On the one hand, it is no trifle to close a mill. 'The machinery has to be constantly kept in motion and carefully attended to, and even then it deteriorates in value ten per cent. by twelve months of idleness.' Take into account the loss by deterioration of machinery, with the interest of money locked up in bricks and mortar; add to this £500 a year as necessary wages for a dozen men to keep the machinery in motion whilst the mill is standing; it will be seen that to close a factory is a costly step. The dispersion of skilled hands is another consideration. To a mill-owner it may be less unprofitable in the end to work for a time at a serious loss and keep his operatives together than, after closing, to commence with comparatively unskilled hands, which would involve waste of the raw material, inferior production, and perhaps damage to the machinery. On the other hand, the difference between working up cotton at a loss and selling it at a profit is so striking from a commercial point of view, that some spinners, whilst their operatives were receiving parochial relief, re-sold their cotton rather than accept the risk of manufacturing it into yarn and cloth. 'But this is noticeable

rather as proving the convulsions of the trade, than as forming a basis for any accusation against these single-minded traders.'

There were manufacturers whose goods were in constant demand. The market for their productions was amongst the Yorkshire weavers, and the lace and stocking manufacturers of Nottingham and Leicester. These spinners were not much affected by the fluctuations and anomalies of the cotton market; and, during the first two or three years of the American war, some of them did not know what it was to run short time, or to work without a fair profit. But, in 1862, those who had a market to spin for were the exceptions; the general market was still glutted; and, as a rule, those who kept their mills going had to work for stock. It was under these conditions that manufacturers were said to *lose*, by continuing to spin and weave, enormous sums from £500 to £1,000 per week. This meant, not that such amounts were lost, but that they would have been if the goods, as fast as they were manufactured, had been forced upon the market and sold for whatever they would fetch. Upon this extravagant supposition, calculations of loss by continued production were based. It was well known that before long consumption must tread upon the heels of supply, and that profit would then be made on the manufacture of cotton costing eighteenpence a pound. If the war should last long enough, and if they could afford to hold their goods until the demand for yarns and cloths should bring up their productions to a paying price, then it would be better for manufacturers to work for stock than to close their mills. 'Yet it may be said that the uncertainty which, in June, 1862, overhung affairs in America made working for stock seem then to be a very hazardous proceeding, and one which no manufacturer would be disposed to undertake unless actuated by the most humane feelings; but it is not safe to calculate upon what is called humanity as the motive power of any large class of men.'

By the end of June, the stock of cotton in Liverpool had run very low. There was only one bale in stock against six in 1861, and seven in 1860. In September there remained in Liverpool of American cotton just as much as would have fed the mills three days. This ran up the price of the raw material to such a figure as made production still more hazardous, and at the same time forced into unwilling notice a class of cotton which has since become a household word in Lancashire,—'Surat.' Everything conspired to deepen the universal prejudice against India cotton. In the minds both of mill-owners and operatives it was associated with hard times. When cotton could be had from the west, spinners never looked east-

ward ; it was only when the American supply failed that manufacturers condescended to notice 'Surat.' At the crisis we speak of they looked askance at it, because the introduction of East India cotton into their mills would render costly alterations in the machinery necessary. The operative disliked the touch of 'Surat ;' the texture is harsh, the staple short, and the fibre brittle. In the process of spinning, the threads frequently break, and therefore the spindles are often idle,—moving, but doing nothing ; and as the spinner is paid, not by the day, but by the weight of yarn he spins, the constant breakage lessens his earnings.

Then, the cotton which was thrust upon the market about May, 1862, and called 'Surat,' only helped to intensify the common prejudice against that class of the raw material. Much of what was sold as Indian cotton was simply the refuse and sweepings of past years which had not been thought worth sending to market. When American cotton was selling at sevenpence, this could not have been given away ; but with scarcity of good cotton, and a rapid rise in the price, even this rubbish found purchasers. Not only was the staple itself very ordinary, but very much was put into the bales beside cotton ; leaves, seeds, seed-pods, and even pebbles. In one bale was found a stone of not less than ten pounds' weight, for which the buyer had paid the price of cotton. The high figure which the raw material fetched 'made the profits of fraud by adulteration too great for the weak consciences of those by whom the cotton was packed.' The low repute of Surat cotton at that time may be inferred from the fact that a firm of Lancashire brewers accounted themselves so grossly libelled by being called 'Surat brewers,' that, in order to vindicate their reputation, they had recourse to an action at law.

These facts show that both amongst masters and men there was a stern reluctance to recognise 'Surat' as a substitute for 'Middling Orleans.' To the manufacturer there was double waste in working up the raw material,—adding considerably to the first cost,—to say nothing of risk to the machinery ; to the operative there was the annoyance of frequent breaking of the thread, and small earnings. 'There were men who toiled all the week in the endeavour to spin this cotton into yarn ; and in these long, weary, fifty-five hours barely earned more than enough to satisfy the demand for the weekly rental of their cottage.' But 'Surat' is not now what it then was. The cotton itself is better ; there is more care exercised in harvesting and cleaning, and more conscience in packing. The machinery has been adapted to the peculiarity of the East

India staple, especially in the carding and spinning departments; and by dint of practice the operative has learned to master the remaining difficulties. Naturally keen, his wits are further sharpened by the knowledge that, as he is paid by weight, the amount of his earnings depends upon the skill he can command in dealing with refractory material. In the autumn of 1863, when real 'Surat' had been in use about a year, an operative, who had formerly earned four shillings a day in spinning 'Middling Orleans,' could earn three shillings upon Indian cotton. As invention and skill are brought to bear upon 'Surat,' the earnings of the men continue to improve; 'and there is good reason to suppose that, by the time the whole factory population is again engaged, no very material reduction of wages will be found to have taken place.'

It is a grave question how far India will be able to keep her place in the British cotton market when the American war shall have come to an end, and American cotton shall again find its way to Liverpool. Everything depends upon the price at which 'Middling Orleans' will then be quoted. If, in any event, it could be made clear that America will supply cotton in like quantity and at the same price as in 1860, this would go far to settle the question. Under these conditions, India could not compete with the Southern States. What gives America her great advantage is the weight per acre that her soil yields as compared with that of India: in the former case it is three hundred pounds, and in the latter seventy, though with better cultivation the yield of the valley of the Godavery will be largely augmented. 'But it may well be doubted if America will ever again be so large and cheap a producer as she has been.' The States of the South have taken a step which it is not likely they will ever retrace. From being mere producers of raw material, they have become manufacturers. The blockade of their ports has thrown them upon their own resources. For clothing for ten millions of people, as well as for most of the necessities of war, they have been driven to depend upon themselves. The South is no longer a purely agricultural region. Unwittingly, the North has coerced it into comparative independence; and it would be strange if, after proving the profitableness of manufacturing their own goods, the people of the South should relapse into growers, and depend for clothing and the like upon foreign nations. Whether the Union be reconstructed, or whether two Republics be reared upon the ruin of the United States, it is not probable that the commercial relations between Liverpool and New Orleans will ever again be what they have been. It is certain that, should

the South establish its political independence, the Government of Richmond will impose an export duty upon cotton in order to create a revenue; in such case, with a reduced supply from America, and that burdened with an export duty, there seems no good reason why India should not compete with the trans-Atlantic States. Whatever seeming uncertainty may brood over the American side of this question, it is clear that the production of cotton in India will proceed under conditions which are becoming more favourable every year. Irrigation will increase the yield, and also improve the quality; demand has already accomplished very much, and some of the cotton grown in the Dharwar district is estimated to be quite equal to 'Middling American.' The introduction of the saw-gin will insure a cleaner article, and vigilant superintendence of the packing department will prove a safeguard against adulteration. Canals and railways will reduce the cost of shipment to a fraction of what it has been when carried from the plantation to the wharf on the backs of bullocks. These improvements will place in the hand of the merchant shipping Indian cotton for Liverpool a much better article than formerly at a lower figure; and remembering that, under all the disadvantages common half a century ago, the supply of cotton from India rose from 17,000 bales in 1814 to 200,000 a year in the three following years, there seems ground to hope that India will permanently command the British market, and do her part in feeding the cotton mills of Lancashire.

In June, 1862, Colonel Wilson Patten convoked a meeting at Bridgewater House of the chief owners of property in Lancashire. The Earl of Derby presided, and the assembly was worthy of the chairman,—a brilliant company of statesmen, scholars, and gentlemen. They met, and talked, and parted; the only thing they did was to adjourn the meeting to the 19th of July. It was then thought that the time had come to do something. The foundation of 'The Cotton Districts Relief Fund' was laid in subscriptions amounting to £11,000. Colonel Wilson Patten became Treasurer to the new Fund, and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth accepted the office of Secretary to the Committee of Management. In this way there came to be two distinct Committees of gentlemen connected with Lancashire, for the relief of Lancashire operatives. The Manchester Central Relief Committee represented the commercial element of the county; it was composed of the mayors and ex-mayors of the principal towns of the cotton district, and the principal merchants and mill-owners of the neighbourhood. The Cotton Districts Relief Fund Committee represented the aristocratic

element, had its head quarters at Lord Ellesmere's, and consisted of the large land-owners of Lancashire. The manufacturers had recently built up princely fortunes. By means of heavy profits, very light poor-rates, and profitable cottage property in which their 'hands' lived, money had been made with dangerous speed. These were the men who now felt the heavy poor-rates, and lost cottage rentals. The land-owners had realized slow yet solid gains by the growth of the cotton-trade. Their property had increased in value until their rent-roll reached the amount of the entire revenue of many a German principality. The income of these proprietors was not affected by the dearth of cotton, and the new scale of poor-rates did not touch the aristocratic landlord. As it would have been inexpedient that two Committees, having the same object, should collect and disburse moneys independent of each other, so it was natural that the good sense of both should suggest co-operation. By the 8th of August, the Bridgewater House Committee had received £40,000, including a donation of £2,000 from the 'Duchess of Lancaster,' and the Manchester Committee had received about £20,000. On that day a conference took place between certain representatives of the two Committees, and it was agreed that the Central Relief Committee should expend the Cotton Districts Relief Fund. The London Committee engaged to furnish to the Manchester Committee £4,000 a month, subject to a guarantee that in the distribution certain conditions should be observed,—'the chief of which was that relief should not be given from this Fund to any who were receiving assistance from the Guardians.' It was no part of the plan of the Bridgewater House Committee that the Fund collected by them should relieve the rate-payers of their just obligations, and they had also a special regard to those unemployed operatives who were too proud to apply for parochial relief. On the one hand, they wished to keep down the number of paupers by assisting liberally the upper class of the distressed poor; and on the other, they wished to quicken in Boards of Guardians the sense of responsibility by leaving those who were already paupers entirely in their hands. After some discussion, the proposed conditions were accepted, and Manchester disbursed what London gathered.

Liverpool also had created a Relief Fund which had reached a high figure; and about this time a proposal was made to the Central Relief Committee, offering to it the privilege of distributing the moneys raised in Liverpool, on condition that the Manchester Committee was re-modelled, and Mr. Farnall's name included among its members. On the 22nd of August, the

Central Relief Committee met and constituted a 'Central Executive Committee,' which consisted of 'men of the highest rank, of the greatest wealth,—great land-owners, great capitalists, great employers of labour. It would not have been possible to have collected a fairer representation of the whole district ; and it is much to the credit of the original Manchester Committee that, by the election of this Committee, it should have thus unanimously agreed to vote away its own executive functions. But it is certain the General Committee never performed a more salutary duty, or one which exercised a more beneficial influence, than in this most justifiable suicide.' The three Relief Funds, collected at Manchester, at Bridgewater House, and at Liverpool, were thus placed at the disposal of the Central Executive Committee, of which Mr. Farnall was an honoured and useful member.

The Mansion House Committee preferred separate existence and independent action. Overtures were made with a view to the placing of the Mansion House Fund at the disposal of the Committee in Manchester ; but the Lord Mayor and his friends declined the proposal, and continued to make grants direct to the Local Relief Committees in the cotton towns. On the whole, this course was most fruitful of help to Lancashire ; and there was not the same reason for amalgamation as in the cases of Bridgewater House and Liverpool. These Committees were as truly composed of gentlemen connected with the cotton county as was the Manchester Central Relief Committee, and the merging of these three in the Central Executive Committee was wise and natural. But the Mansion House Fund was more cosmopolitan in its origin. Money reached the Lord Mayor that would not have found its way to any other person. The Central Executive furnished to the Mansion House Committee for its guidance ample information as to the relative necessities of the various distressed townships, and London sent to Manchester weekly a list of the grants made to Local Relief Committees. Under these conditions, the Mansion House Fund was well and wisely dispensed, and materially supplemented the relief afforded by the Central Executive Committee. 'When its first Chairman, Mr. Cubitt, passed to an honoured grave, the muffled bells of many a Lancastrian church, and the silent prayers of many a thankful heart, bore witness to the gratitude which the labours of the Mansion House Committee had eminently excited and deserved.'

In the meantime, and as the distress became more general, the *Guardians* did not betray any tendency towards extravagance. The rate of relief varied. In Rochdale it was

eighteenpence a head, and in Blackburn a little over a shilling; the average of twenty-four Unions, relieving 129,536 persons, was not quite fifteenpence, or about twopence per day. The Central Executive Committee strove to induce the Guardians to deal more generously with the unemployed operatives; for if they had begun to grant relief to such as were not receiving parochial assistance at a higher rate than the Guardians were giving, the many would have applied to the Committee, the few to the Board. The result would have been, that in those towns where the parochial rate of relief was lowest, the saving to the rate-payers would have been greatest; and the liberality of the Committee would have served as a premium to stinginess. On the other hand, if the Committee had been forward to supplement the relief given by the Guardians whilst the parochial allowance stood at twopence a day, the same diversion of charitable funds would have taken place; the rate-payer, and not the destitute operative, would have reaped the advantage. The Committee, therefore, first of all sought to stimulate the Guardians to adopt a higher scale of relief. But it was hard work. The Guardians were willing to wait upon circumstances; willing that the rate-payers should be gently dealt with; willing, if any other Board would feed and clothe their poor, to stand by and see it done and bestow their approving smile; willing, in short, to do any thing rather than the one thing imposed upon them by their very office as Guardians of the poor.

Considering the great wealth of the district, the low normal rate of pauperism, and also that it was by means of the operatives now needing relief that the wealth had been accumulated, there was nothing unreasonable in the request of the Committee, that the relief afforded by the Guardians should be uniformly raised to two shillings a head. This point was pressed courteously yet firmly. In a second circular letter addressed to the Board of Guardians, the Committee said,—

‘We have every reason to know that, up to the present time, the pressing wants of the mill-hands have been met, to a very great extent, by the mill-hands themselves. Their savings, their furniture, their clothes, their investments, have all been converted into ready money to buy bread. But it is now well known that their private resources are almost wholly exhausted; and, as you must yourselves be aware of this significant fact, you may be at this moment determining to adopt forthwith a more adequate scale of parochial relief; but we must very explicitly request every Guardian of the poor to remember that the Central Committee will not feel

justified in so appropriating their grants as to make them compensate for any deficiency occasioned by a low standard of parochial relief.'

Notwithstanding these appeals, the rate of relief rose very slowly. Every week that the Guardians could gain by delay was a saving to the rate-payers of £5,000; and, as they felt more for these than for the operatives, they clung to the lower rate of relief as long as possible, and postponed the adoption of the more fitting scale recommended by the Central Executive Committee. Even so late in the year as November, the rate of relief in one Union was 1*s.* 0½*d.*, whilst the highest scale of parochial relief in the twenty-seven Unions of the cotton district was 1*s.* 10½*d.*

Shortly after the publication of the circular just quoted, the Central Executive Committee lost its chairman, Lord Ellesmere, by death. In addition to the interest which this lamented nobleman had in the cotton county as a large landowner, he was eminently fitted for the position he occupied by great amiability of temper and courtesy of demeanour. The Earl of Derby succeeded to the vacant chair; and devoted himself to the arduous duties of his office with a zeal which not only proved of the highest advantage to the Committee, but also won for his lordship a very warm place in the regard of his countrymen. To the respect which his high position and brilliant talents had already secured for him, was now added the affectionate homage which disinterested benevolence only can command. The acceptance of this post by Lord Derby was regarded by the government with unqualified satisfaction. It could not fail to strengthen the administration of the Poor Law Board, when the chief of the opposition not only identified himself with the action of that Board, but took the most prominent place in that Central Executive Committee, of which the special Commissioner of the government was an active member. As 'distress is of no creed,' so charity is of no party; and Lord Derby supported Mr. Villiers in ministering to the destitute poor of Lancashire.

On the 7th of August the 'Union Relief Aid Act' became law. The prospect for the autumn and winter had been dark indeed, and it seemed certain that legislation of some kind would be necessary to enable the Guardians in certain Unions to meet the crisis. A national grant found no favour except with such as were willing that the incidental profits arising out of the cotton famine should be received by the cotton trade, and that the incidental expenditure—the relief of unemployed operatives—should be borne by the nation at large. Apart

from the manifest unfairness of such an arrangement, the working of a national grant in the case of the Irish famine would have prejudiced any like proposal in the present exigency. Taken altogether, Lancashire was well able to help herself. With wealth represented by a rateable value of more than £8,000,000, there was no need that the cotton county should go a begging. There was the ability in Lancashire to deal with its own poor; all that was required was that this acknowledged ability should be developed on some legalized principle of mutual self-help. There was power to bear the pressure of all necessary poor-rates if only the strain could be so equalized as to bear evenly upon the whole county. This is the principle of the rate-in-aid measure proposed by Mr. Villiers.

Every parish bears its own burden until the expenditure for the relief of the poor reaches a sum equal to the proceeds of a three-shilling rate. At the close of the first quarter of an expenditure exceeding this amount, the excess is charged by the Board of Guardians upon the other parishes in the Union, in proportion to the rateable value of the property in each parish. Of course, it is provided that in no case shall any parish be charged with this excess to such an amount that its contribution under this head, added to its own expenditure, shall make together a sum larger than a three-shilling rate will cover. The Bill guarantees that the expenditure of each parish, whether for its own poor or in aid of another parish, shall never in any one quarter exceed a sum which the proceeds of a ninepenny rate for the quarter would yield; but, up to this point, any parish in the county is liable to be rated for the relief of the poor. If in any Union every parish is rated up to three shillings in the pound, and still there is an excess of expenditure unprovided for, the Guardians have leave to apply to the Poor Law Board for power to borrow such sum, and to charge the common fund of the Union with its repayment in seven years. So long as the expenditure throughout any Union exceeds a three-shilling rate, but is covered by a rate of five shillings in the pound, the deficiency is met by borrowing; but when the expenditure reaches a figure that a five-shilling rate will not touch, the Guardians of such Union may apply to the Poor Law Board, which makes an order upon the other Unions of the county for this excess of expenditure in favour of the over-burdened Union. From this general order every parish in which the expenditure for the relief of the poor is equal to a three-shilling rate is exempt. These are the provisions of the Union Relief Aid Act. Up to a rate of three

shillings, a parish feeds its own poor; beyond that, the Union helps the parish; up to a rate of five shillings, a Union bears its own burden; beyond that, the county helps the Union. The Act came into operation at Michaelmas, 1862, and continued in force until Lady Day, 1864.

In the autumn of 1862, the Central and Local Relief Committees were in active operation. The Manchester Committee had £150,000 in hand; the Mansion House Committee held £50,000; and the monthly remittance from Bridgewater House was increased to £8,000. Moreover, Local Relief Committees had been formed with an aggregate capital of £98,000. In the month of October, out of 358,751 operatives there were 56,638 in full work, 119,712 working short time, and 182,401 out of work; and for some time the destitution continued to advance at the rate of 3,000 persons a day. But the liberality of the nation kept pace with the distress of Lancashire, so that Bridgewater House now sent £12,000, and the Executive Committee was in a condition to promise £25,000 a month, for the next five months. The world came to the rescue. From Buenos Ayres and from Bangalore, from Egypt and from Melbourne, from Dublin, Belfast, and Edinburgh, contributions flowed in to the Relief Fund. Subscriptions were announced. Lincoln's Inn gave £50 a week; the army and navy took a worthy part in the battle with starvation; and the Wesleyan Methodists sent £5,000, increased by subsequent instalments to £20,000. Lord Lindsay, for himself and his father, promised £100 a week for five months, and £500 at once for the purchase of clothes and bedding. Lord Ducie provided offices and warehouse room for the Executive Committee. A London firm of egg merchants showed their interest in Lancashire, by contributing 1000 wooden cases, suited for packing clothing in; and two gentlemen gave 8,000 tons of coal. The *Daily Telegraph* originated a fund for the relief of unemployed operatives; donations, large and small, were received, acknowledged daily, and transmitted to Manchester; and the fund thus gathered reached in a few months the grand total of £6,302. In July, 1862, the editor of the *British Workman* announced his readiness to receive from his readers contributions in aid of the distressed factory hands. The hint was taken; British workmen gave proof of their sympathy with their fellows in Lancashire; during eleven months the 'readers of the *British Workman* and the *Children's Friend*' continued to send subscriptions; and these littles amounted to £3,564. 10s. 1d. This sum was remitted to the Executive Committee in Manchester without any deduction; the entire expenses of clerks,

postages, collecting papers, and advertising, being defrayed by the philanthropic editor of the *British Workman*.

On the 2nd of December the great County Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Manchester.

'It was a brave gathering. From so much that is estimable, it is not easy to select that which is most worthy of admiration, or to decide whether it be the young lord-lieutenant generously acknowledging his responsibilities, as did Lord Sefton; or Lord Derby, with ancestral chivalry and with his own matchless eloquence, defending his county against the charge of backwardness in duty; or the Mayor of Manchester, himself a Radical of Radicals, thanking the Tory earl for his hearty compliments to the working-classes; or the strong local feeling of Lord Egerton of Tatton, due to an impulse honourable to himself, and one of the invaluable characteristics of Englishmen. All these and many more personal incidents claim admiration; but the great fact of this meeting was, that it resulted in a subscription list of £130,000, of which sum £70,000 was subscribed in the Town Hall. Yet, large as this amount was, and unparalleled as the result of a single effort even in the rich annals of British alms-giving, it did not represent more than one-third of the sum already subscribed in and around the county of Lancaster.

In the same week destitution reached its highest figure. Mr. Farnall's returns showed that 271,983 persons were receiving parochial relief; of these 259,726 were out-door paupers, receiving weekly £18,728, or not quite 1s. 5½d. a head,—so little had the Guardians profited by the lessons in liberality given by the Executive Committee. Besides supplementing parochial relief in many thousands of cases, the Relief Committees entirely maintained 236,310 persons at a weekly cost, for food and clothing, of £46,356. But this outlay, parochial and charitable, of £65,084 weekly, for the support of unemployed operatives, was only about seven shillings and sixpence in the pound of their wages when at work; so that, although their maintenance was a heavy burden upon others, the factory folk, who had eighteen pence to spend where formerly they had four shillings, must have suffered greatly.

During the month of December, the Central Committee had a score of packers employed from morning till night receiving, sorting, and distributing the cast-off clothing sent from all parts of the country. 'There is sentiment in old clothes. One little cap, for example, contained a volume. Upon the lining was stitched a note, to this effect: "My darling child wore this; he is gone to heaven; may the little head that shall wear my sweet child's cap be blessed!"' For weeks in succession, nearly two hundred bales of clothing and blankets

were sent out daily from Manchester to the Local Relief Committees; and in December it was hard to say which was the more necessary, bread or blankets. It is quite true that some of the second-hand clothing given to the unemployed found its way to the pawnbrokers; but this is matter neither for censure nor marvel. A satin gown or a dress coat would not be of such present service in an operative's family as the half sovereign that might be borrowed upon a valuable article of clothing. As throwing light upon the labours of the Local Committees during the depth of winter, we quote the weekly bill of fare for the Preston poor: 26,759 sixpenny loaves, weighing 47 tons 15 cwt.; 29,703 quarts of soup; 11,012 quarts of potato hash; also 500 tons of coal, and £1,000 worth of bedding. In addition to this, the 'sick kitchen' served out 862 pounds of cooked meat; 832 quarts of beef-tea; and 35 quarts of gruel. There were also 'mothers' kitchens,' in which mothers, with their newly-born infants, received the nourishment they required.

Upon the reputation of Blackburn, in connexion with the Cotton Famine, there fall lights and shadows. The people excelled rather in applying funds raised by others than in creating funds by local subscriptions. It would be difficult to name a town where the mechanism of relief worked so efficiently; and on the part of the clergy, the ladies, and tradesmen, there was a commendable degree of private benevolence: what was lacking was, the large subscription from the wealthy mill-owner. Up to October, 1862, the operatives had pawned goods to the value of £30,000; they had withdrawn from the Savings Banks £15,000; the local subscriptions amounted to £3,597; toward this sum the manufacturers of Blackburn had subscribed £700! These figures point their own moral. For every shilling contributed by the mill-owners, the mill-hands had spent of their own savings upwards of a guinea, and had pledged two guineas' worth of furniture and clothing. There were honourable exceptions to this meanness. One firm, having closed their mill, made gratuitous payments to their 'hands' of from £50 to £60 weekly, and this they continued to do for some months. Mr. Hornby, one of the Members for the borough, allowed his men to live rent-free, gave them a good dinner every day, and a small sum of money weekly. But, taken as a body of men, the proprietors of the seventy-four mills in Blackburn were slow of heart to recognise their responsibility. By the end of the year, when destitution had reached the climax, the local subscriptions there had risen to £16,789; but, at the same date, Wigan, with not more than half the wealth of Blackburn, and

about half the number of operatives out of work, had subscribed £18,000. Wigan took up the matter early and earnestly; and, at the crisis of the famine, the local subscription list stood at a higher figure than in any other cotton town. It is to the credit of the Blackburn people, however, that they distributed with such patient zeal the funds supplied for the relief of the unemployed. The mayor cared for the suffering poor like a father; 'south, east, and west, his voice was heard supporting the claims of Blackburn to be the most distressed of cotton towns.' By this activity, and by the publicity given to the proceedings of the Relief Committee, Blackburn gained a reputation as a show-place for 'Lancashire distress,' where the charitable and the curious from all parts could mark most precisely the action of the Cotton Famine, and see in perfection the most approved methods of dealing with it.

'The local almoner of some "Christians" at Wimbledon was intrusted with funds for the relief of "distressed Christians" at Blackburn. How these persons would be coloured, or what would be the length of their hair or their faces, does not appear to have been in the instructions; but as they must have possessed many peculiarities, and as their would-be benefactors had mislaid the first principles of His teaching, whose followers they professed to be, it is not surprising that their agent should lament the addition of but one or two to the list of recipients, giving as the reason, "I never visited a town where I have met so few who know and love the Lord Jesus Christ as in Blackburn." That an object of charity should be wanting in a town where some 36,000 persons were maintaining a feeble partnership between body and soul through charitable agency transcends belief; but it is simply shocking that the many should be overlooked in the name of Him who warned His followers not to wait till they saw Him hungered and naked, but to be mindful of their nearer duty to the least of these His brethren.'

Glossop is, so to speak, built upon bales of cotton. It is almost as dependent upon the cotton trade as though the town was one great factory. When that trade is good, it is well with Glossop. The ordinary rate of pauperism is lower than in any other Union in the kingdom, being one per cent; but in October, 1862, there were forty per cent of the population subsisting upon charity. The Relief Committee and the Board of Guardians were equal to the exigency, and adopted a liberal scale of relief. Lord Howard did much for Glossop; 'not by throwing down a large sum of money, and leaving this mass of pauperism to be dealt with by others, but by personal intercourse with the suffering population, by unfailing readiness to

supply whatever was wanted, and most of all by his unceasing endeavours to provide work for the operatives, at which they could earn wages and enjoy an honest sense of independence.'

Rochdale has two strings to her bow. She has extensive woollen as well as cotton manufactories; yet, notwithstanding this circumstance in her favour, there was much distress in this town also. In October the Guardians were relieving 9,813 persons, and the Local Committee was assisting about 10,000 others, who received no help from the parish. 'There is a great deal of public spirit in Rochdale, and a more effective local authority than perhaps in any other borough of equal importance in the district; and in the administration of relief there was more evidence of system, and a more thorough mastery of the distress, than was general.' It would seem, however, that this excellence was only comparative. The rate of relief given by the Guardians did not satisfy their clients; it was too low; and at one of the meetings of the Board an old woman gave her judgment in this homely language:—

'Sisters and brothers, I thought I would say a few words, as in reality we are clamming and very near starved to death. There's five of us in a family, and we are only getting one-and-sixpence a head, and we have to buy coal, pay the rent, and pay for our bagging, and I don't think it is right to think a body can do it. I think those great men for whom we've worked ought now to try to keep their work-people from starving, as they'll want us again. As to the gentlemen in the country giving, they'll weary of giving if they don't see our masters giving summat.'

Whilst the distress was common, there was much variety in the method of meeting it. In Stockport there were 24,000 persons needing relief. The Guardians took 6,000, and the Committee 18,000; each acting without supplementary aid from the other. The scale of relief was liberal, averaging 2s. 4d. a head; in addition to this, there was a good deal of congregational benevolence and private charity; so that, on the whole, the unemployed of Stockport were better off than in most cotton towns. 'To them the famine brought nearly the earnings of half time on the wings of charity.' The trade of Bolton is various, and even the cotton manufacturers did not feel the famine as it was felt in Blackburn and Preston. During the whole of 1862, out of every 28 operatives, 17 were working full time, 6 on short time, and only 5 were out of work. This is the average for twelve months. This, however, left upwards of four thousand operatives, representing ten thousand persons,

dependent upon the Guardians and the Relief Committee. It was known that the Corporation intended, in the course of two or three years, to construct a new reservoir with a view to an increased water supply for the borough; and the Committee proposed, if that work were undertaken at once, to pay half the wages of all the cotton operatives who might be employed thereon. The Corporation acceded to these terms; the men worked, not for relief, but for wages, and the labour was let to them at ordinary contractors' rates. When the Public Works Act was passed, £10,000 was obtained on loan for the completion of the reservoir; and, under a new arrangement, the operatives continued to ply the pick and spade. Up to this time the total expenditure upon the reservoir has been £10,575; and of this, not less than £7,000 has been paid in wages to factory hands, whose earnings, after a few weeks of training, have generally averaged sixteen shillings a week.

In Manchester and Salford the proportion of operatives to the population is less than half that of Bolton, and the proportion in Bolton is very low compared with Glossop and some other cotton towns. 'Year by year, Manchester becomes less manufacturing and more metropolitan. Warehouses are driving the mills into the out-townships, where land is less costly, where local rates are less oppressive, and where the factories can be surrounded by the cottages of the cotton-workers.' The distress was long in making itself felt in Manchester; but when the crisis came, the Board of Guardians proved worthy of its position, and equal to the occasion.

With the Manchester Board of Guardians originated the idea of sewing-schools for unemployed factory girls, and also the suggestion that, as to men and boys, five hours a day spent in school duties should be accepted as 'labour' in return for relief. Labour it undoubtedly was in the case of many a grey-haired scholar, as, sitting at his desk, he tried to master the Rule of Three and discover a new meaning in Reduction. Speaking generally, the new 'labour test' was popular; and, despite its mysteries, arithmetic was the favourite study. During the autumn, these adult schools were widely established; and the feeling of the pupils was fitly expressed by an outspoken spinner, who said to Mr. Redgrave, 'They could not give us work, and so God put it into their hearts to give us the next best thing.' The sewing-schools for females were a great success. Girls were paid sixpence or eightpence a day for sewing,—or rather for learning to sew; for in some cases it was found that out of every five girls four had no knowledge of

this domestic art. They had not made the acquaintance of cotton in connexion with a needle. Some of the girls did not know the use of a thimble, and hit upon the plan of pushing the needle through their work by pressing it upon the table. A mother might be seen making a frock for her sixth child, who had never handled a needle until she came to the sewing class.

During the year 1862, Lancashire herself contributed toward relief funds £487,764; and the expenditure of twenty-seven Unions in relief of the poor for the year ending April, 1863, was £813,444, as against £305,296 for the year 1860-61, giving as the extraordinary outlay on account of the Cotton Famine £508,148. This shows that, apart from much unrecorded charity, the cost to the county during twelve months was £995,912. In other words, the extraordinary parochial relief represented a rate of 1s. 8d. in the pound on the rateable value of the property in the twenty-seven Unions, and the voluntary relief a further rate of 1s. 7d.

The Central Committee received donations in kind valued at upwards of £111,000, and consisting, amongst other things, of 225 deer, 209 sacks of potatoes, 2½ pipes and 63 dozens of wine, 28 chests of tea, 410 barrels of fish, 11,519 tons of coals, and 8,826 bales of clothing and blankets,—and lastly, the cargo of the 'George Griswold,' flour and biscuits, beef and bacon, worth £23,000. 'Unnumbered contributions in aid of the distressed accompanied the "relief ship." Laden with generous gifts, she was herself the kindly offering of the distinguished firm whose name she bore. The services of Captain Lunt, her commander, were gratuitous. At the mouth of the Mersey she was welcomed by tugs contending for the honour of towing her into dock. Dues of all sorts were remitted; and her freight was discharged and conveyed to the stores of the Central Relief Committee free of cost.' It was a fitting and a generous thing: America sends a ship-load of provisions for the hungry operatives of Lancashire; and the execution was as graceful as the conception was large-hearted. When next America speaks angrily, let this which she did be told in bar of hasty judgment against her.

The national balance-sheet for the year ending March 31st, 1863, was looked for with an interest which bordered upon anxiety. Two facts alone were sufficient to justify misgiving: in the wages of the workers in cotton there was a decrease of at least £7,000,000; and on the part of the cotton lords there was capital to the amount of at least £40,000,000 locked up and yielding no return. These figures leave ample margin for

the wages earned, and the capital in mills and machinery that was productive during the year. But, notwithstanding half a million of people had been reduced to dependence, and the country, instead of being enriched by their labour, had taxed itself for their maintenance, the receipts exceeded the estimate by £563,561, and the expenditure fell short of the estimate by the sum of £737,992, giving to Mr. Gladstone, at the end of the year of the Cotton Famine, a surplus of £1,301,553. But this surplus did not fully represent the national profits during the twelve months; for in March, 1863, England not only owed nearly a million sterling less than in 1862, but her balance at the bankers was nearly two millions more. Despite the forced suspension of a trade whose exports in 1860 amounted to £1,000,000 a week, Great Britain found herself, at the end of a year of unexampled distress, nearly three millions richer than at the beginning.

During the first six months of 1863, there was a gradual improvement throughout the cotton district. The number receiving relief decreased from 506,061 to 264,014. Nearly half had found employment. Cotton was coming in from various quarters, and the imports from America considerably exceeded those of 1862. More than this, the market was bare of manufactured goods. The spinner and weaver had not now to compete with the holders of goods bought when cotton was not half the present price. It had been so, but this state of things had come to an end, and demand and supply were beginning to work together. With no goods in stock, buyers must come to the manufacturers; and in working for orders, the price of yarns and calicoes, as compared with that of cotton, soon adjusts itself so as to leave a fair margin of profit for the spinner and the weaver. But the high price of cotton was found to limit the demand for manufactured goods; and the 'Cotton Supply Association' made great efforts to stimulate the growth, and so bring down the price of the raw material. It had already distributed 683,984 pounds of cotton-seed, 642 cotton gins, 62 ploughs, besides various other agricultural implements; and joint stock companies for growing cotton had been formed in Asia Minor, in Queensland, in Jamaica, in Natal, in West Africa, and in India. The result of these experiments has proved that, in order to the production of cotton at a reasonable price, we must look to those countries which combine two conditions—suitable land and cheap labour. Leaving, for the present, America out of the question, Egypt and India stand pre-eminent as the cotton-growing countries of the future.

But the winter of 1863-4 was at hand, and must be met. There would be work, and even on 'Surat' the operatives might earn fair wages. Many mill-owners, however, did not choose to re-open with raw cotton at two shillings a pound. The weight of cotton in process of manufacture—not reckoning the stock either in bales or yarns—would be worth in mills of average size £5,000. When the mill is going, this quantity of material is permanently locked up in the machinery; and to set a mill a-going is to invest in cotton to this amount at two shillings a pound, with the certainty that, soon or later, it will not be worth more than half that sum. In re-opening a mill where so much must be sunk in filling the machinery, before any goods are produced, the price of the raw material is a grave consideration. If manufacturers could make sure of sufficient time in which to work at a profit before cotton fell, it would be wise to replenish their mills even at that high figure; but if, shortly after they began to work, cotton should come down to half the price, the depreciation of the material in process of manufacture would more than swallow up the gains. This was the question with many in the autumn of 1863. If they could have foreseen that cotton would maintain its high price for so many months, manufacturers would have been more free to set their spindles and looms a-going. As it was, the prospect of the operatives during the coming winter was anything but bright. At the best, every third 'hand' would be out of work.

As a means of alleviating the distress in the cotton districts, emigration had not been overlooked; but such a measure did not find favour with the manufacturers, or indeed with any who looked at the proposal in all its cost and consequences. There were 400,000 persons connected with the cotton trade dependent upon the Board of Guardians or the Relief Committee. In order to appreciably lessen this number, not fewer than 50,000 must have been removed by emigration: this would only be one in eight. But the funds necessary for conveying these, say, to Australia, must have been provided by the public; and the cost would not be less than three quarters of a million sterling. After the nation had contributed so generously for the maintenance of these operatives, it would not have been easy to raise such a sum as a special emigration fund: and to have appropriated to this object the moneys then in the possession of the Committee would have been to frustrate the purpose and cross the wish of the subscribers. In February, 1863, there was in the hands of the various Committees an aggregate sum equal to about thirty-five shillings a head for each dependent operative; and it was more just and fair to distribute this week by week amongst all,

than to expend it at once in paying every eighth man to leave the country, and abandon the other seven, leaving them to the tender mercies of the parish.

Besides, it may well be doubted whether the spinner would make his way as a colonist. One who has spent half a lifetime in a factory is not the man to rough it in a new country. 'Soft-fingered and light-handed,' tendered by living in warm rooms, accustomed to every comfort that money can buy, he would break down under the hard out-of-door work and the manifold privations which wait upon the early days of colonial life. Without capital, the only resource of the deported weaver would be hand labour; and his manual skill, which in Lancashire commands high prices, would be unmarketable in Australia. Better far for the operative to tide over as best he could the hard times, and keep within sight of the cotton-mills, ready on the return of sunshine to resume the handicraft in which he has been trained.

It was not to be expected that the mill-owners would encourage the emigration of their 'hands.' By a division of the margin of wages and profits in 1860, Mr. Heywood, the secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, estimated that on the average £81 would be lost to the trade by every working 'hand' that left the country. In his judgment, 'to encourage the emigration of our operatives is to the last degree suicidal, and especially so of the class of spinners. The emigration of one spinner involves the stoppage of ten additional hands; and it is far more difficult to train a hand to the work of spinning than to any other manipulation in a cotton-mill.' Of course, the manufacturer did all in his power to discourage the deportation of his operatives; it was reasonable that he should; and, for once, his interests were at one with those of the country and of the cotton workers. Their skill was a portion of England's wealth; and, had no other course been open, it would have been cheaper to feed and clothe these skilled and highly trained work-people for three years than to stand by and see them take their labour elsewhere. The nation had an interest in retaining the services of the workers in cotton; and much more was the mill-owner concerned to keep his hands in the neighbourhood. He might not always be eager to spring to the relief of the unemployed; but, if it came to that, he would have gone to great lengths in subscription lists and poor-rates rather than have his hands dispersed beyond the sound of his factory bell. 'Like Pharaoh, he would have borne much rather than let the people go.'

As the spring advanced, the need of employment at which

the operatives might work, not for relief but for wages, pressed upon the minds of all thoughtful men. School work had superseded stone-breaking, and was welcomed as a great improvement upon the original 'labour test.' On the whole, the day school continued to be appreciated; and in April there were at school 22,454 men and lads, besides 33,836 women and girls in the sewing classes, and 52,392 children whose weekly school-pence were furnished by the Relief Committees. The attendance at school, however, was in return for relief; and the operatives at length grew weary of this, and it was a good sign that they did. Moreover, there were 25,000 able-bodied men and boys for whom no work of any kind was found, in school or out of it; and this army was supported by the public, yet did nothing in return for what they received: and few are the persons who could live such a life and not become demoralized. The thing most wanted was, work for wages; and as it was not likely that, for some time to come, there would be work in the cotton-mills for all, work must be found elsewhere.

Mr. Farnall was the first to see his way out of the difficulty. He suggested to Mr. Villiers that in the cotton district the operatives might be advantageously employed on works of public utility and sanitary improvement. This suggestion proved the seed of the Public Works Act; in the mind of the President of the Poor Law Board it fructified into that useful measure which became law on the 21st of July, 1863. Under this Act any corporation or other local authority can borrow of the Government, at three and a half per cent., a sum not exceeding the rateable value of property in the township for which the loan is sought; the money to be repaid in equal annual instalments not exceeding thirty, and to be expended in works of public utility and sanitary improvement. Mr. Robert Rawlinson, civil engineer, was appointed by the Government to inquire what works of this class were most urgently necessary to be undertaken in the cotton district, what would be the probable cost, and what the proportion of unskilled labour that might be employed.

This inquiry was not premature. It would be difficult to name a district where sanitary arrangements are so defective; and this is the result, not so much of neglect on the part of the local authorities, as of a rapid extension of cottage property that knows no parallel. In the district of Accrington, the number of houses increased in ten years from 1,957 to 3,265; where there had been three, there were five. Constant work at good wages attracted operatives to the neighbourhood of cotton-mills; this created a demand for cottage property;

substantial dwellings were run up hastily, and they were taken at once, and inhabited without much regard to sanitary surroundings. A landlord found it more profitable to invest his capital in twenty more cottages than to spend his money in making wholesome the approaches and appendages to the fifty already erected; the complaint of an occupier does not go for much so long as there are more tenants than houses; and, when money is being made rapidly in a town, the local authorities are often lenient toward nuisances. In the years of plenty immediately preceding the cotton famine, this condition of things was aggravated; and a lack of house and street drainage raised the death rate of the cotton district to nearly one half per cent. higher than the average of England. Amongst the cotton towns, Bolton takes a medium place as to the rate of mortality: out of her 70,000 people 1,890 die yearly, whereas the average number for England as a whole would be 1,554 deaths to an equal population. Apply this to the county—and it does apply—and there is brought out the startling fact that the excess of mortality in Lancashire is 11,700 yearly. A number of persons equal to the population of Newark is dying every twelve months more than ought to die—more than do die in the same aggregate population in England generally. A large proportion of this excessive mortality is due to defective sanitary arrangement; and if, by means of the various improvements now being carried on under the Public Works Act, the death-rate of the cotton district can be reduced to a natural figure—to the level of such towns as Halifax and Huddersfield—there will be a saving to Lancashire of more than 11,000 lives yearly, and this will more than compensate the nation for the suffering and loss arising out of the cotton famine.

The amount set apart by Government for the purposes of this Act is £1,850,000; loans to the amount of £1,796,642 have been sanctioned by the Poor Law Board; and of these, instalments amounting to £742,260 have been advanced. There are five towns that have borrowed upwards of £100,000, viz., Manchester, £237,860; Bolton, £177,934; Blackburn, £144,125; Ashton, £125,032; Oldham, £102,900. The public works, upon which the money is being expended, are street and road improvements which will cost £835,757; waterworks, £418,729; sewerage, £350,916; market-places, £59,000; public parks, £44,000; cemeteries, £43,000; and the remainder is allotted to public baths and gas-works; street bridges and paving the beds of rivers, converting the sluggish stream into a rapid current, as in the Croal, which now *runs* through Bolton, and is as much improved in purity as in speed.

During the last week in October, 1864, there were 6,424 men employed on the public works ; and of these, 4,002 were returned as factory operatives. But in Blackburn and some other towns there are many men, formerly workers in cotton, who, by long practice in various outdoor employments, have become skilled labourers, and are returned as such. In addition to the factory hands at work on the spot, it is estimated, that in quarrying and conveying the 400,000 tons of stone required in paving streets, at least 2,000 operatives find employment. About 6,500 mill hands are now earning their bread under the Public Works Act ; and these operatives represent a population of 26,000 persons maintained in honest independence as the result of this wise and timely measure. In his weekly report of November 5th, Mr. Farnall states that in the 27 Unions of the cotton district there were 4,409 operatives, able-bodied men, eligible for employment on public works, but not so employed. This fact gives the measure in which the Public Works Act has met the case of Lancashire by providing remunerative employment for able-bodied cotton operatives ; it shows that 6,500 men out of 10,909, or three out of five, are now earning their bread and supporting their families by labouring on works of public utility and sanitary improvement ; and this at a time when the number of the unemployed is largely increased by the recent fluctuations in the cotton market. There is much variety in the weekly wages earned by the operatives : 982 receive less than ten shillings, 1760 from ten to fifteen, and 1366 earn from fifteen to twenty-five shillings a week.

The operatives of Lancashire are more remarkable for fortitude than for forethought. As a rule, they have no idea of saving. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially amongst the overlookers and the higher class of cotton workers. The savings of the factory hands were not represented by the amount of money which they possessed, laid up in Savings' Banks, when the famine came : we must take into account the capital invested in cottages, and in co-operative stores and mills. Taken by itself, the property owned by operatives is very considerable ; it is inconsiderable only when looked at in connexion with the fact that in good times these operatives earn nearly a million sterling monthly. Up to the end of June, 1863, the subscriptions from all quarters, local, national, colonial, and foreign, for the relief of the workers in cotton, amounted to £1,974,203 ; yet this sum, large as it is, only represents the wages paid to factory hands in November and December, 1860. When at work, they earned in two

months as much as the whole world raised in thirteen months for their relief when out of work. If for six years previously the operatives had saved out of their earnings sixpence in the pound, they would have had, when the famine came, a larger sum to fall back upon than has been subscribed for their maintenance during the last three years. The fact that so soon after the mills began to close the great majority of mill hands became dependent upon charity is proof that they had no resources of their own.

We do not mean that cotton operatives are wasteful, although, when the wife and mother is at the mill all day long, there must be, in various forms, inevitable waste at home; but we do mean that they spend their wages freely and without any thought of the future. They part with their money in princely style; and, when trade is good, the grocer and butcher, the clothier and draper, have no better customers than the mill hands. The operatives have unbounded faith in the future; despite their own changeful experience, their creed runs, 'To-morrow shall be as this day;' and they seem to think that to provide against bad times would bring about the calamity. We know of a family,—father, two sons, and two daughters,—whose earnings amounted to six guineas a week: the mill closed; they had spent the money week by week, as fast as it was earned; and that father was one of the first to apply to the Local Relief Committee. We know a manufacturer who, in the autumn of 1861, called his 'hands' together, told them how threatening was the prospect, warned them that he might find it necessary to close the mill, and urged them to prepare for the worst by saving whilst they might. That nothing should be wanting on his part, he arranged that the cashier, in paying their wages, should take charge of any sum they might leave in his hands, and allow interest upon the savings. Nothing was done. Again the operatives were assembled, and again advised to prepare for short time or worse. A beginning was then made; and by Christmas nearly £50 was deposited with the cashier, which, as there were over 500 'hands,' was not quite two shillings each on the average. In the following week, more than half was withdrawn for the purchase of little luxuries in connexion with the New Year's holiday. This is an illustration of the weak point in the character of the operatives as a class. These men, working full time and at high wages, and in the face of mills closing and several thousands in the same town already out of work or on short time, not only spent all their earnings, but drew upon the savings of the previous two months.

We take leave to hope that the privations endured by the operatives in the course of the last three years will induce habits of thrift, and lead to the practice of sound economy. 'Much food is in the tillage of the poor;' and in ordinary times the majority of cotton workers might live in comfort, and yet lay aside a shilling in the pound of their earnings. In the cotton district there are uncommon facilities for the profitable investment of savings; and in bad times it would conduce to self-respect if, when thrown out of work, an operative could maintain his own family, instead of becoming at once dependent upon parochial or charitable assistance. As it is, he is not at one with himself. He makes no provision for a reverse of circumstances; and yet, when the crisis comes, he is stubbornly independent, and puts off as long as possible the dark day when relief must be asked. He lays himself open to all the disadvantages of a condition of dependence; and yet, when his weekly income is cut off, he almost scorns to ask a favour, and virtuously exhausts his own small resources before applying for help. It is probable that during the cotton famine the most severe privations have been undergone, not by those to whom relief was longest in coming, but by those who, when relief was near, were too proud to ask for it. This is praiseworthy; and to his honour be it said, the mill hand is no mendicant: but it would be more consistent if, when trade is good, they insured the means of indulging, in evil times, that spirit of independence upon which the operatives justly pride themselves.

On the whole, Mr. Arnold has done his work well. His volume bears manifold marks of haste, and a careful revision would render it much more worthy of the title it bears. He is a little hard upon the manufacturers. He does not sufficiently take into the account all that was done privately by mill-owners. In the case of many of the cotton lords his indignant condemnation is appropriate enough; his censures, however, are too sweeping, and to the manufacturers, as a class, Mr. Arnold is, not consciously unjust, but unwittingly severe. The operatives receive their full meed of praise. Nothing is said that is not true; but much that is true is not said. In speaking of the masters, Mr. Arnold does 'nothing extenuate,' neither in describing the men does he 'ought set down in malice.' Apart from a slight pardonable bias in favour of the sufferers, this is a trustworthy history of the Cotton Famine up to the point to which it professes to go—'the passing of the Public Works Act,' July, 1863. In dealing with the question as from that time to the present, we have, of course, drawn exclusively from other sources of information.

The Cotton Famine itself will soon pass entirely into the region of history; the good that is growing out of it will endure. The improved sanitary condition of the cotton towns will be an invaluable boon for long years to come. In the quiet patience and intelligent fortitude with which the unemployed operatives bore their sorrows, we gather a precious illustration of an ancient Divine saying: 'Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation.' The stand which England made in what she held to be the cause of right, and the suffering she challenged and bore as the consequence, cannot be without its influence upon other governments and peoples. The 'nation of shopkeepers' has made it manifest throughout the world, that there is something which she prizes even higher than trade; that she is alive to the fact that there are riches more excellent than profitable commerce; and that, in her judgment, mankind are bound by a rule of social and civil life, which, if estimated aright, they will reckon more golden than gold.

- ART. III.—1. *Mutiny Act and Articles of War.* 1864.
 2. *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army.* 1859.
 3. *Report from the Select Committee on Military Organization.* 1860.
 4. *Strength, Composition, and Organization of the Army of Great Britain.* Compiled by CAPTAIN MARTIN PETRIE, 14th Regiment, Topographical Staff. Printed by Order of the Secretary of State for War. 1864-5.
 5. *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms.* By BREVET COLONEL J. H. LEFROY, R.A., Inspector General of Army Schools. 1859.
 6. *First Report of the Council of Military Education on Army Schools.* 1862.
 7. *Regulations for the Management of Army Schools.* 1863.
 8. *Medical Regulations of the Army.* 1859.
 9. *Statistical, Sanitary, and Medical Reports of the Army Medical Department for the Year 1860.*
 10. *General Report of the Commission appointed for improving the Sanitary Condition of Barracks and Hospitals.* 1861.
 11. *A Bill for the Prevention of Contagious Diseases at certain Naval and Military Stations* (as amended by the Select Committee). 1864.

12. *Report on the Discipline and Management of Military Prisons.* By GEORGE V. R. DUNBAR, Esq. 1862.

FROM the books named at the head of this article, especially if studied under the light afforded by some practical acquaintance with military affairs, complete information may be derived concerning the present condition and discipline of the army. But as such documents are not in general circulation, and, if better known, would not have many willing readers, the reviewer must cull from them as much as is necessary for his purpose, which is to divest the subject of its technicality, and to convey correct information on some important matters in relation to the constitution, the discipline, and the moral state of the British army, regarded as a distinct society.

It is enough barely to observe that our army is not an institution of recent establishment, or, at any time, of rapid growth. As it now exists it is a standing force, not to be raised, or even too largely recruited, on an exigency, such a force as never could be created by conscription or impressment; but enlisted man by man, without enticement under false promises or deceptive inducements, regularly and fairly paid, and held together by just and careful discipline, a discipline prescribed by law and legally enforced. This army exhibits the perpetuation, under Parliamentary sanction, of what was at first but an expedient; an expedient, however, found by our forefathers to be both necessary and equitable, since no volunteer force could ever be relied upon for permanent unpaid service. Princes at first called on their lieges to defend them without payment; but when troops so called together had rendered a customary service of forty days, they could seldom afford to serve any longer without pay. The unwilling soldiers were therefore to be paid, or they would soon disband themselves, and there was no alternative but to purchase a continuation of their service, or to hire foreign mercenaries to guard the coasts or to carry on war. Sometimes, indeed, if there were fear of an invasion, multitudes would come forward at the alarm; but when the cry of invasion died away, the zeal of these unsteadfast volunteers died away, together with their terrors, leaving the land in as great, or even greater, danger than before. Taught, therefore, by experience, those on whom devolved the necessity of securing public defence, found themselves compelled to keep up an array of well drilled soldiers, ready to march, at any time, against tumultuary crowds of ill-kept, hungry enemies.

So did Charles VIII. of France, towards the close of the

fifteenth century, instructed by the like experience, train his battalions, and pay them well, to march into Italy and overwhelm the wealthy, yet disunited, municipalities of that country, and then led them back victorious to be the first standing army in Europe. In course of time standing armies were established in all the European states: and after the Revolution of 1688 it became one of the distinctive glories of English constitutional government, that the sovereign, or his advisers, could not raise an army, much less pay it, without Act of Parliament; and if in any one session the House of Commons were to withhold its vote, every regiment would of itself be dissolved.

Clearly as this is affirmed by Parliament in the Mutiny Act, passed anew every year, and jealously as the rights of the people are guarded against any possible stretch of the royal prerogative in making war, this part of our constitutional policy, in its bearings on the raising and government of the army, seems to be but imperfectly understood. Apart from the higher military circles it is not probable that many persons exactly apprehend wherein lies the balance of civil and military administration, as it is now adjusted to the requirements of the British constitution.

In the year 1855, after the disastrous events which attended the war with Russia, it became necessary to make important changes in the organization and management of the army. But the principles on which any reformation should be conducted were not sufficiently understood either in or out of Parliament, and it was needful to enlighten such as might attempt to be active in the business. To this end a select committee was appointed to inquire into the system of military organization and government. The committee sat at various times from March, 1859, to July, 1860, and brought up a report which ought to be studied by all who would acquire a knowledge of the subject.

During the pacific period between 1814 and 1854, England had gained the doubtful reputation of not being a military nation; how justly the events of the Crimean campaign too amply proved. The government of the colonies and of the army was united or confounded in one person, and in the office of the secretary of state for the colonies a functionary sat bearing the title of secretary *at war*. The commissariat, on the right direction or mismanagement of which would depend the life or death of an army in the field, was under the control of the Treasury, where it might be accurately calculated what so much provisions would cost, rather than how the health and life of the troops might be preserved. No doubt calculation

was made, but vainly made, and both money and lives were cruelly wasted with a profligacy uncontrollable and almost past belief. Hence it came to pass that, on the return of peace, after the war had come to a sudden, not to say premature, termination, instead of rejoicing with that full consciousness of triumph, which the valour of our soldiery would have justified, a feeling of disappointment pervaded the population of this country. The necessity of a thorough reform was universally acknowledged, and the Queen was advised to appoint an additional minister to preside over a new department of government, and be styled 'secretary of state for war.' The appointment was made, and to this fourth secretary of state was confided the care of the army, now including the ordnance,—artillery and engineers,—formerly under the control of a master general, as well as the commissariat, so that British troops might not again be left to perish from exposure and starvation, while clerks in offices were disputing who should send supplies to the seat of war, or who should carry them.

Lord Panmure was the first secretary of state for war. His patent, dated May 18th, 1855, gave him the administration and government of the army and land forces of every kind, denomination, and description whatsoever, with ordnance, ammunition, arms, armouries, and other stores and provisions and habiliments of war within the United Kingdom. But the military command and discipline, as well as the appointments and promotions to the same, were intrusted to an officer commanding-in-chief, that officer being the late Lord Hardinge, now succeeded by the Duke of Cambridge.

In practice, however, the powers of the Queen's minister have been, and still are, far more ample than the first patent set forth, and those of the military chief more circumscribed. It is no longer possible for this officer to exercise his functions with the almost unlimited power enjoyed by the Duke of Wellington, who was indeed commander-in-chief. 'His royal highness the Duke of Cambridge,' says the report, 'is not commander-in-chief; he is the general (now field marshal) commanding the forces;' he is not appointed by patent; he holds his present position under a letter from the secretary of state for war, who, on the 18th of July, 1856, notified to him her majesty's pleasure 'that his royal highness, being appointed to serve as a general, do obey such orders as he shall receive from her majesty, the commander-in-chief, or any other his royal highness's superior officer,' &c. The first principle, then, of the government of the army is that the real commanding officer is the responsible minister of the crown, guided by the

voice of Parliament. This is the supreme authority which is over the officer who commands the forces; and the supremacy is felt whenever any question of public policy arises which may happen to be viewed differently by the civil and the military chiefs. In that case the civil authority is, and must be, paramount. In the ordinary routine of duty, however, the noble earl who is now in office, and the royal duke who is in command, defer to each other as far as each can defer in consistence with his own judgment of what is proper to be done, making it their common care to satisfy the constitutional demands of Parliament, and, at the same time, to maintain intact the safety, power, and honour of that army without whose defence honourable members could hardly sit securely in their palace of Westminster, or pacific citizens sleep in peace upon their beds. Understanding and respecting each other's position, it does not appear that any disagreement had disturbed their concert, when Mr. Sidney Herbert and the duke gave evidence before the committee on organization and government,—an accord the more remarkable when the vigorous decision of character which distinguished Mr. Herbert is taken into account, yet by no means surprising to those who knew the large-heartedness and urbanity of that admirable man. And now, with a mutual courtesy which might almost veil any disparity of power, the two chief officers act with the same reciprocal concurrence.

As to the principal commands, however, and the promotions, as the Duke of Cambridge admitted when examined by the committee, although the power was reserved to him, he does not exercise it; but, considering that the public must pay for these things, the consent of the secretary of state for war is invariably obtained before high commands and promotions are bestowed, though the giver of these rewards must be regarded as the best judge of professional merit in the receivers. Thus is a principle established which, so long as it is faithfully carried out into practice, ought to satisfy the most jealous economist in the House of Commons; at the same time no one imagines that every detail will be brought into perfect agreement with this ideal of consummate equity. It may be too hard for mere humanity to be so insensible to all personal, family, or party influences as never to yield to any of them; and, on the other hand, it is but fair to consider that a recently constructed War Office and an almost reconstructed army could not very rapidly be brought into a perfect state, nor the *vestigia antiquæ fraudis* be all swept away at once even by the boldest stroke of reformation. To advance with steadiness and patience

towards the goal of perfection, even though that should never be attained, is all that men who know the world can venture to expect. Economy, too, is of all things the most difficult when a great empire has to be kept in a state of safety and upheld in honour; for to be less than feared is to be on the brink of ruin. Other nations are on the full stretch of competition in advancing the art of war; and we have not a moment allowed for hesitation or debate as to our own duty in that respect. Experiments have to be made incessantly, and these experiments are costly. Failures must mingle with successes. New and unforeseen exigencies of service must arise in remote parts of Her Majesty's dominions, and must be promptly met as they arise; and, considering the fluctuations of affairs within the empire and in the world beyond, we must be ready to send effective help to any point at any time. Enough, then, for tax-payers to know that a jealous opposition ever watches, and that, at the least sign, or even the slightest suspicion of extravagance or corruption, a vigilant press wakes up, and refuses to keep silence. Without Parliament, as we have already observed, the army could not get a day's pay; and no ministry that should endeavour to govern the army on any principle at variance with the rights of its humblest members, or with the liberties of the people, could abide the constitutional opposition which would overwhelm them in a day. The Imperial Parliament not only guards the rights of Englishmen at home, but extends its oversight to the remotest parts of the Queen's dominions. We note, therefore, in passing, that the army not only consists of the British regular forces, with which alone we are now concerned, but also of the foreign and colonial troops. These latter are not under the field marshal commanding-in-chief; the secretaries of state for India and the Colonies necessarily take part in the administration of government in the civil departments of the army abroad, and the officers commanding in chief over these troops have much greater power intrusted to them than to their brethren in that portion of the army which is distinguished as British. Colonial and Indian territories raise in the present year—as stated by Captain Petrie, who writes under the authority of the secretary of state for war—nearly seventeen millions sterling, whereas the imperial revenue furnishes little more than thirteen millions and a half. The civil and military government abroad is united in the same persons, a union which in this country is impossible. The Colonial and Indian legislatures raise and vote supplies for the maintenance, wholly or in part, of the colonial and Indian

forces.* Hence follow many diversities in the details and principles of military administration, on which account we must beg our readers to bear in mind that we have cautiously avoided confounding these two sections of the army while writing the present article. Neither have we any thing to say of the militia and volunteers,† which would raise our total war establishment to 769,680 strong.

The British regular army is raised from every class of the general population, and is officered by gentlemen, of whom some represent the highest orders in the realm. Royal and noble blood, family traditions, liberal—if not finished—education, and, of late, carefully conducted professional studies, and the spur of competitive examination, combine early to form the character of the officer and gentleman. Thenceforth, in the course of service, a paramount sense of honour, and the discipline of an exact obedience, together with that matured refinement of sentiment and manners which can only be attained by intercourse with the best society, gives to the body of senior officers a character almost entirely their own. A member of this society lives in habitual submission to a law which has no written code, but is none the less binding on that account, and is thus, as a gentleman, most fully qualified to fulfil the requirements of those written regulations which, as an officer, he is sworn to keep. With Roman severity, he exacts obedience from brother, or son, or dearest friend, and, with a profound sense of duty, bows in absolute and unhesitating obedience to his own superior officer; yet, while all the restraints of professional obligation have been borne gracefully

* The 'strength of army' and the military expenditure are stated as follows for 1864-5 :—

British regular forces	213,866
Foreign and coloured troops	148,306
Constabulary of Ireland	12,569

Total peace establishment 374,741

	£.
Defrayed by imperial revenue of United Kingdom	13,519,666
By revenues of India and the Colonies	16,947,986
For Irish constabulary	614,000

Total £31,081,652

† Troops of reserve in the United Kingdom	304,159
„ British possessions abroad	90,780

Total 394,939

through every detail of military life, he can throw them aside without the least abandonment of dignity, and, with equal ease, mingle in the society of superiors or inferiors in rank, until the appointed moment or the prescribed signal calls him back again to the position wherein dutious regard to the commission he holds, and to the oath of obedience he has taken, precludes all acceptance of persons. Such discipline is invaluable. It imparts to officers in high command that air of dignity, less seen than felt, which compels respect, and, at the same time, the gentle kindness, the prompt consideration of the interests and feelings of other men, which imparts beauty to their character, and a charm to their society, scarcely to be withstood by the most rugged natures. These are the men who, having first learned self-government, are set to govern, and whose influence rests upon the plebeians of rank and file.

These plebeians, whom we so designate without intending any disrespect to the class, are the men to be governed; and a motley crowd they were, as they came in from the outside world, to be drilled into order. They are gathered, as we have said, out of the general population of the united kingdom, with a few, but very few indeed, from colonies and foreign countries. Dropping figures to the foot of the page,* we may say that something more than two-thirds of the army is drawn at present from Great Britain, and that for many years to come we shall have to give our own youth to fight the battles of England, and to garrison her dependencies. Canada, however, the oldest of our colonies, raised 'the Hundredth' regiment a few years ago, and the colonial militias are now so numerous as to promise considerable contingencies in the event of war.

It matters little whence the soldiers come; our only concern is to know of what sort they are who do come. Except in time of war, when the pressure of a large demand makes it almost impossible to choose, and when, therefore, such men only can be rejected as are evidently unfit to endure the hardships of the service, recruiting should be conducted carefully, and, but

* According to the statistical, sanitary, and medical reports for the year 1860, the 20,725 accepted recruits of that year gave their native countries as follows:—

England	11,688
Wales	247
Scotland	2,084
Ireland	6,632
British colonies and foreign countries.....	124

Comparing these figures with the numbers of the respective populations, we find a remarkably large proportion of Irishmen,—that is to say, to 14,093 from Great Britain and the colonies, there are 6,632 from Ireland, or, taking this number as a unit, the whole mass of recruits is represented as but 2·125 to 1 Irish.

for abuses easy to be avoided, it might always be carried on respectably; but in the recruiting department there is much need of reformation. Too much use is made of the public-house and beer-shop. Respectable young men of the industrial classes, who are of all others the best fitted to be good soldiers, shrink from associating themselves with those of the lowest class who hang about the recruiting parties at the doors of rendezvous, and can scarcely be persuaded to regard that service as reputable which requires so disreputable a commencement. The law of enlistment is indeed very strict, and the provisions against irregularity of every kind are ample; and we see no reason to believe that men are anywhere entrapped into the army, or that deserters are accustomed to plead this in extenuation of their crime; but no care that can be taken to make recruiting regular will ever persuade the public to overlook the gross impropriety of offering the shilling to a young man in such a place, and when he is under the influence of drink. The habits of recruiting parties and recruits between the times of enlistment, attestation, and transfer to depôt or head-quarters, are discreditable, and do more than anything else to lower the army in the estimation of the public. We hope this evil will ere long be remedied.

According to the document last quoted, 'one half of the recruits are obtained from the class of labourers, husbandmen, and servants, and one fourth of them from mechanical trades.' Manufacturing artisans, shopmen, clerks, and a few stray young lawyers, medical students, and others of 'superior education,' with a very small number of boys, who chiefly come from the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, keep up the strength of the army.* Inspecting officers much prefer the first and most numerous class, the agricultural labourers, whose healthful

* Of every thousand recruited there are in

OCCUPATIONS OF RECRUITS.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Average.
1. Labourers, husbandmen, and servants ...	486	860	653	503
2. Manufacturing artisans, as cloth-workers, weavers, &c.	144	229	83	142
3. Mechanics employed in occupations favourable to physical development.....	251	349	181	250
4. Shopmen and clerks	106	59	57	91
5. Professional occupations, students, &c....	6	2	2	4
6. Boys	7	1	25	10

habits have contributed to bodily strength, but who cannot find subsistence at home ; and the next numerous class of able-bodied mechanics. The moral conduct of these persons will generally be found to bear some proportion to the degree of mental cultivation they have attained, and the consequent ability for acquiring useful knowledge. Great care has therefore been taken to ascertain the state of education in the ranks of the army, and in the year 1860 the Council of Military Education reported that nearly 54 per cent. could read and write, and that more than 7 per cent. had had a superior education, which was certainly less than the table of 'occupations' would have led us to expect, and lamented that more than 38 per cent. were destitute of the most elementary instruction. A subsequent report, however, is more satisfactory, and, compared with a statement by the registrar-general on the same subject, demonstrates that the army is by no means gathered from the lowest classes of the population. For, while 267 of 1,000 persons married in England, including, of course, all of the educated classes, even the highest, were unable to sign their names, no more than 298 of 1,000 recruits, being, as we have seen, nearly all of them taken from the humbler classes, were really unable to write ; but it is well known that many persons in civil life who cannot write presume to inscribe their names, however rudely, by mere mechanical imitation, in marriage registrar books,* thereby gaining credit for a talent they do not possess. The certain conclusion is, that the ranks of the army are not recruited from the dregs of the population, and that the desire of gaining a subsistence, not that of living without honest labour, must be the general motive to enlistment. If it were otherwise, so many as 702 English recruits in a thousand would not stand the test of an examination, however easy, and obtain the credit of being able to read and write.

We do not purpose to describe the various 'arms' which make up this militant community, since every intelligent person is presumed to be sufficiently informed ; and even if he were not, we should rather recommend the curious reader to procure a collection of manuals from an army publisher, and endeavour

* OF EVERY THOUSAND RECRUITS EXAMINED.	Unable to Read or Write.	Able to Read only.	Able to Read and Write.
In English Districts	247	51	703
In Scotch "	163	156	681
In Irish "	321	145	534

to master a mass of technicalities which very few persons, even belonging to the service, completely understand. Each arm, of course, is intended for special use in war; and no army would be considered perfect if cavalry, or engineers, or artillery were wanting, or if the non-combatant commissaries, surgeons, and chaplains were not close at hand. More and more nearly the British army approaches the perfect condition of a society of persons, both combatant and non-combatant, capable of a separate and independent existence, having everything necessary within itself. Within its bosom are to be found men conversant with the use of every kind of weapon, and capable of exercising almost every kind of craft. Our soldiers can any day throw themselves into the most dreary wilderness, and people it. They can pitch their tents and strike them, without help from without. On an emergency they could build their own quarters. They can make roads for their marches, feed their own flocks and herds, and slaughter them when fattened. They tend their own sick, school their own children, and bury their own dead. Churches, hospitals, and schools are established in their midst. Their stationary camps are towns, yet not municipal; and their society, although certainly not consisting of *ascetæ*, are nearly as distinct from the common world as were the ancient *therapeutæ* or Essenes. Hence the lack of sympathy between the masses of any English population, and the battalions of their defenders, and the impossibility, we may add, of the two communities ever commingling. But if the army could all be mustered and collected into one place, and there made to perform the ordinary duties of a camp, regiment would probably know as little of regiment, and corps find itself as alien from corps, as if they were the sections of a town separated by barriers during the prevalence of some great epidemic. In proportion to this interior isolation is the strength of the *esprit de corps* in the several regiments, and therefore the enthusiasm of loyalty in times of trial, while the power of that one central and supreme authority which holds the neighbour families in peaceful contiguity and in unresisting submission, is by their separation the more absolute.

It cannot be imagined that in isolation selfishness is never fostered, or that the juxtaposition of bodies so similar, yet so diverse, so distinguished by degrees of precedence, by comparative nearness or remoteness in regard to the apex of military dignity, and by the unequal meed of honour settled upon the household troops at the one extremity, and the last raised regiment of infantry on the other, does not provoke jealousy or contempt; neither do we shut our eyes to the

notorious fact that soldiers are at once the most querulous and the most submissive of mankind. The whole system seems to be framed for fighting purposes alone; and all the discipline has the appearance of an artfully concerted plan for keeping in peace and order a motley multitude of English and Irish, Scotch and Welsh, with now and then a slight infusion of foreigners, as if to render the mass yet more incohesive still—except in presence of an enemy.

All this, and much more, must be acknowledged. The stubborn Saxon and the fervid Celt daily provoke each other to dissatisfaction under the iron sway of discipline, and every precaution seems to be taken to keep watch against mutiny and desertion. Yet far more desert their homes for the ranks, than ever think of deserting the ranks for their former homes; and the often-pitied soldier, having been bought out by his friends, enlists again, or, if on the expiry of his term of service he have claimed and gotten his discharge, he returns to barracks weary of our civil liberty, meekly bows his head, unbidden, and hastens to bear the yoke again. Artificial, most artificial is the military state; yet there is in it a charm, a fascination, if you please, which attracts the simple, and holds in subjection the most sagacious. Military government is a masterpiece of art; and, when intimately studied, seems to have no other aim than to array, to marshal, to control, to compel to unreasoning obedience, to work the engines of destruction, and to close the heart against every emotion that would counteract the thirst of glory and rage for conquest.

But are there not some traces of a gentler humanity? If the soldier has an arm of iron, must he of necessity have no better than a heart of steel? Do the rulers of these battalions care for nothing more than military strength? There can be no better answer to such inquiries, than a brief statement of what is done for the religion, the education, the health, and the morals of the army.

As to religion, then, in the first place: the Index to the Queen's Regulations, and the Table of Contents of the Articles of War, guide the eye to some copious instructions on the subject of religion. Within our own memory the religion of the army was little more than an ostentatious nullity. The semblance of religion was exhibited in parade, and Divine worship was but a military solemnity, if solemnity be the right word. Chaplains were few and worldly,—just retained as if to save appearances,—or officiating ministers, needy men, hired from place to place, barely like surgeons of militia regiments. Now the number of chaplains is multiplied; and the

expenditure for payment of officiating clergymen, where there are not troops enough to warrant the appointment of chaplains, is not less than £20,299, for this current year. The chaplains, too, are paid handsomely; and have, since the year 1847, if we remember right, held royal commissions as officers, with relative degrees of rank from captain upward, culminating in the person of a 'chaplain-general,' having the dignity of a major-general. They wear a sober uniform, carry black stars and crowns upon their collars, and are well content to claim the honours due to themselves as 'commissioned officers.' These commissioned chaplains—whose salaries, this year amount to £21,413, besides £3,226 for chapel clerks, servants, and contingencies, and considerable sums not here reported—are drawn from the Churches of England, Scotland, and Rome. To these three churches the benefits of real religious liberty were for a long time limited; but recently a fourth class of religious denomination has been added, on the earnest representations of the Wesleyan Army Committee, bearing the general designation of 'Other Protestants.' Thus the spell of state exclusiveness is broken, and we have no small gratification in knowing that every act of the ruling powers of the army is evidence of a sincere desire to assimilate the condition of this branch of Her Majesty's service, as regards religion, to that of the British Empire at large. As yet, but little has been done, in comparison with what remains to be done; and the proportion of officers and men who profess adherence to the form of religion which they or their parents followed before their commission or enlistment is, at present, unreasonably small. But a Report published in the last session of Parliament is worthy of notice, as showing the hopeful but very gradual commencement of a better state.* The spell of a domineering intolerance is broken; and it is now an established principle of military administration that every man has a right to his own religion, and that in abiding by its forms he is not indebted to any superior for permission or indulgence, but exercises, as an Englishman, his inalienable right; and, as a Christian, honestly confesses his duty towards

*	Episcopallans.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Total.
Non-commissioned officers and men in 1863	116,495	23,109	3,549	58,623	201,776
Non-commissioned officers and men in 1864	109,760	20,798	5,290	58,508	194,356
Soldiers in the marine forces in 1863.	12,294	451	2,342	1,547	16,634
Soldiers in the marine forces in 1864.	12,398	416	2,379	1,448	16,641

God. Two or three verbal amendments in the Queen's Regulations and the Articles of War, with the admission of 'Other Protestants' to the same pecuniary provision for supplying their spiritual wants as is made for their Anglican, Presbyterian, and Romanist brethren, and appears in the Parliamentary Returns from year to year, and with the regular appointment of chaplains or officiating clergymen for their benefit, as numbers or circumstances may render necessary, would make the good work complete.

There cannot now be any weighty reason why this measure of justice should be withheld. By a very recent regulation, every recruit, on joining the head-quarters or *dépôt* of his regiment, is required to state his religion, that it may be written in his pocket ledger, and duly attested by his own signature or witnessed mark. His religious profession thus receives the most formal recognition; and it is also certain that chaplains appointed by the Wesleyan Conferences of Great Britain and Ireland are officially recognised in their respective stations, by order of his royal highness the field marshal commanding-in-chief, and that they perform their sacred duties under this authority. In the army, therefore, there is a far freer enjoyment of religious liberty than throughout a great part of the rural districts of the country, where there is often no power at hand to keep in check the petty vexations of intolerance, suffered, in timid silence, by a helpless peasantry. Were the ministrations of religion to our soldiery as powerful as they are free, there would be nothing better to wish.

Only second to religion is education, and the revival of one is the advancement of the other, whether in civil or in military life. By Frederick Duke of York, shortly after his restoration to the command-in-chief of the army in 1811, at a time when the exigencies of the service demanded heavy reinforcements, and when recruits must have been accepted without much regard to character or intellectual qualifications, a movement was made to diminish, if possible, the brutish ignorance of those dregs of society which had been swept up by the recruiting parties. Colonel Lefroy's Report on Army Schools contains a letter from the duke to Lord Palmerston, then secretary at war, recommending the establishment of regimental schools. The letter, dated Horse Guards, August 26th, 1811, takes for granted that the advantages of such a measure are apparent, and therefore no argument in its favour is attempted. Efforts hitherto made for the instruction of young soldiers, (boys receiving pay,) and the children of soldiers, had been

unavoidably confined within narrow bounds, inasmuch as no adequate means were provided for carrying into execution any effectual or general arrangement. All that his royal highness asks from the Treasury is pay for a sergeant schoolmaster to each battalion, and the appropriation of a room in barracks for his use, the proposed instruction being gratuitous. By order of the Prince Regent, Lord Palmerston had the honour to signify to the colonels of regiments the acceptance of the scheme, enlarged upon by a grant to each school at the rate of £10 per annum for stationery, and a Royal Warrant, dated July 24th, 1812, which authorised 'the commissioners for the affairs of barracks to appropriate and fit up barrack rooms for regimental schools, and to issue coals and candles for the same,' a warrant of January preceding to a similar effect having been found incomplete. Thus began a system of education for the rank and file which has been slowly improving, but cannot yet be regarded as complete; and perhaps no system will ever be as complete as if the army were a community settled in its homes.

The Reports before us bear internal evidence of great earnestness in those to whom the guidance of this educational enterprise has been from time to time confided; no defect or difficulty, so far as we can perceive, being knowingly concealed. A primary difficulty is the extreme ignorance of a considerable proportion of the youths who enlist; not that they come from the lowest level of the population, but because of the low state of education in the country, all our boastings of national intelligence notwithstanding. In the year 1858, it was ascertained by the then inspector-general of army-schools that there were more than 39 per cent. who could not write, except that a few of them could barely sign their names. An examination made by order of Mr. Sidney Herbert in June, 1856, showed, out of 10,000 men, 2,675 unable to write, although they could read a little, and 2,080 who could neither read nor write, or over 47½ per cent. 'On comparing the above figures with those derivable from the Returns of the British Foreign Legions raised in 1855, the result is far from exhibiting the state of primary education in this country in a favourable light. Out of 4,312 German recruits who passed through the dépôt at Heligoland, there were only 114 individuals unable to write, or 3 per cent. Out of 3,441 Italian recruits raised at Novara, not more than 700, or about 20 per cent., were in that condition.' And as for France, it appears that while 32.2 of the recruits could not read, it is rare for a soldier to complete his term of service, and to return to his

commune, without having learned to read and write ; indeed, that the instruction provided in the *écoles du premier degré* of the army is not a little relied on as the means of diffusing primary education through the rural districts of France, which, in fact, produce a better average of persons possessing the first elements of education than can be shown in England from the same class.

If we pursue the comparison between French and English army schools yet further, the contrast does not become less unfavourable to the latter. Numerous instances are given of our non-commissioned officers and men, who, after many years of nominal instruction, were not able to spell a sentence correctly from dictation. We refrain from quoting any of these examples, hoping that the labours of the schoolmasters during the last eight years have led to more satisfactory results. Instructed by these facts, his royal highness the commander-in-chief, in a General Order, dated June 19th, 1857, laid it down as a rule that the promotion of soldiers to be non-commissioned officers should be contingent on their having made a tolerable advance in reading, writing, and arithmetic ; and two or three years later a scale of qualification was adopted for promotions by virtue of first, second, and third class certificates.

In 1860 an important step was taken in advance by the appointment of a Council of Education, consisting of officers of high rank, to preside over the whole business of instruction in the army, which is now completely organized, and, if organization could insure efficiency, would be exceedingly efficient. But there are some certain causes of inefficiency in army schools. The first and chief is the illiteracy of the majority of young men who are admitted to the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea to study for admission as army schoolmasters. Of course they are devoid of the mental culture necessary to the formation of their character as teachers ; and it is to be feared that the religious qualifications of some of them are even more slight than the intellectual. Religion, indeed, they are not required to teach, except that they may give a little very superficial instruction in the facts of Scripture history, while the chaplains of the various denominations give their own children and adults specific religious instruction at times prescribed by War Office regulation. It would appear that the majority of these masters lack the finish necessary to educational success, that the minority consisting of a superior class are above the station allotted to them in the army, and that among them all there is a prevailing dissatisfaction with the

service. Their dissatisfaction is not concealed, and, however difficult it may now be to remove the causes of dissatisfaction, without inducing a state of things incompatible with the limited requirements of the class of persons whom the schools are intended to benefit, there can be little doubt that this important object will be eventually attained. Meanwhile, whatever may be the defects in the education or the training of the masters themselves, it may be true, as they allege, that there has been vacillation in the policy of the council, and that they are consequently brought into a false position. Doubtless the department of schoolmasters is at present unpopular, and we fear that, even at this day, the establishment of masters is far from being complete. Perhaps the theory of educational reform has partially failed, just because it has not yet been corrected by the light of practice.

Other measures to promote a kind of moral education of the soldier promise to be very successful. Such a measure was the appointment of regimental savings' banks. Such is the establishment of recreation rooms in regiments. This experiment has been made most satisfactorily at Aldershot, where the non-commissioned officers and men of each regiment in the division have rooms provided for them, in which they may read books out of a library of their own, peruse the daily and other newspapers in their own reading room, amuse themselves with innocent games, and take harmless refreshments at their pleasure.* In short, the recreation rooms are soldiers' clubs, where, under a gentle oversight of authority, with scarcely the consciousness of its presence, they accustom themselves to the decorum of social intercourse, and are happily withdrawn from the degrading profligacy of the beer-house and the saloon.

Lectures have been attempted, and, at one time, with great success; but the patronage of the War Office has not yet been very fruitful in results. The lectures are liberally promoted by grants of magic lanterns, chemical and other apparatus, and books, to help the lecturers, now chiefly or entirely schoolmasters, to *get up* lectures on demand. Athletic sports, too, are encouraged, and, we believe, with good effect; and, better still, industrial exhibitions were introduced at Dublin and at Aldershot, where officers and men, soldiers' wives and children, displayed a creditable amount of ingenuity and skill, and all was done under so judicious and generous a management as to insure universal gratification, and make the industrial exhibition an established institution in the camp and in the garrison.

* Intoxicating drinks cannot be had in these rooms.

Gardens, too, cultivated by voluntary labour, and yielding abundant supply of vegetables for the barrack tables, now afford much real enjoyment to hundreds of men, both in England and in India, who are thankful for the opportunity of escaping from noxious associations, and turning their scanty leisure to good account, while they recall the healthful occupations of their rustic homes.

Such a combination of salutary influences cannot fail to elevate the character of the British soldier, improving his manners and morals, and returning him in due time to civil life, much elevated above his original condition, to be henceforth an ornament and blessing to society.

But it would not be just to stop here in our estimate of salutary influences. Military discipline, if well administered, is itself a powerful agent for the elevation of moral character; at once fostering manliness of spirit, and subduing waywardness of temper by the subordination of every member of the community to one law and to one will; teaching that it is honourable to obey, and wise to bow to superior authority, and that the weight of human responsibility increases in exact proportion to men's advancement in rank and honours. This discipline in some degree tempers and shapes the mind of every individual in the ranks, those only excepted who, having entered the service, revolt from its restraints, and either drag out their time in sullen discontent, or manage to get their discharge, or endeavour to desert.

In all this we recognise the more humane policy of the present time, showing itself in cheering contrast with the fierce and inexorable temper which characterized military government until the peace of 1814, though it languished with the decay of the army itself during the forty years' peace. The terrible consequences of neglect and ignorance in every department which made England mourn during the Crimean war, relieved only by the indomitable valour of the soldier, made re-organization and reform an imperative duty; and it appears to have come to pass, most happily, that this good work, to which we were impelled by the experiences of war, has been prosecuted, with but brief and partial exceptions, amidst the advantages of peace. English society, enlightened with clearer knowledge of every art and science, ennobled with a higher standard of practical religion, and rich in the fruits of industry and enterprise,—a society which in that memorable period of peace travelled onward as if it were through centuries of real progress,—bends its energies on this object. The late Lord Herbert of Lea led the way in all that has been done latterly

to benefit the soldier; and we must now glance at the great work which he lived just long enough to accomplish in the way of sanitary reform.

The attention of Parliament had been called to the state of public health, and commissions of inquiry had gained some insight into the causes of disease and excessive mortality in many parts of the country, when, in the year 1838, reports were presented to the home secretary on the health of the metropolis, large towns, and populous districts; and also to the secretary at war on the health of the army. Three years were spent in the preparation of the latter report, which was contained in four volumes, embracing full details relative to sickness, mortality, and invaliding on all the stations occupied by British troops, except in India and Australia. 'To these reports may be fairly assigned the merit of having first called the attention of the military authorities to the actual condition of the soldier in regard to health, and the various deteriorating agencies by which he was affected; the circumstance that many of these agencies were under control, and could be easily removed or ameliorated; and the sanitary measures by which this very desirable result might be obtained.' Several important changes were soon carried into effect, and preparatory arrangements devised for the entire work. One tangible benefit to the public was the detection of an extensive system of fraud practised on the treasury by persons who, by false certificates, obtained pensions as due to discharged soldiers, the pensioners having long since deceased; and the secretary at war might have been startled at learning how an inveterate indifference to the health of the living soldier had been avenged upon a slumbering public in the name of the dead. In 1848, —so slow was progress in those times,—Sir A. Tulloch and Dr. Balfour were instructed to prepare a second series of reports upon the health of the army during the decade which had elapsed since the preparation of the first, and another useful volume was completed and produced in 1853. The labours which followed this report were interrupted by the war with Russia, when it was discovered how little had been done to remedy the defects so clearly pointed out, and the grief, the indignation, and the shame we felt on the arrival of every successive intelligence from the seat of war are not yet forgotten. Every department was in disorder. The stores, the commissariat, the medical, the purveyors' departments were lost in confusion. Multitudes perished through exposure and want. Treasure, indeed, was not stinted, but the British soldier found himself cast upon popular compassion for late

and imperfect supplies of what ought to have been provided for him beforehand.

Etiam in aconito remedium inest. 'In 1857 a royal commission was appointed, of which the Right Honourable Sidney Herbert was the head, to inquire into the regulations affecting the sanitary condition of the army.' Here lay the mischief, and already the daily press had lightened up the way to its full and effectual disclosure. We shall not apologize for transcribing, from a book not courted by the public eye,* three or four pages of Mr. Herbert's own impressive words. In little more than seven months an immense labour had been accomplished, and a work of reconstruction and advance was then planned which is now steadily in progress, not only in hospitals, but in every part of every station. He thus writes:—

'The report of the royal commission has shown the high rate of mortality from disease existing among the troops at all times, but more especially during war; the defective condition of military hospitals; the absence of any means of organizing general hospitals in time of war; the want of any method by which the improvements recently introduced for the protection of health in civil life can be rendered available in barracks, camps, and hospitals; and the great loss of life arising from these defects during the late war with Russia.

'The existing regulations appeared to us to be by no means sufficient to prevent the recurrence of such losses of life and efficiency in the army. On some most important points they are altogether silent.

'The duties to be performed are not sufficiently defined, nor are the responsibilities clearly placed on those charged with specific duties; and, even should a medical officer discern his duty and perform it, there is no necessary connexion between any recommendations he may make, and their being carried into effect.

'To obviate these evils as far as practicable, the royal commission recommended two fundamental changes in the army medical department; and unless they be carried out, any attempt at improving the existing regulations will be of little avail. One of these changes is the remodelling of the department; the other is the organization of a practical army medical school.

'The office of director-general is at present a purely administrative office, although the procedures of the office must be, to a large extent, based on scientific grounds. There is no one attached to the department specially conversant with army hygiene or sanitary science. There is no office connected with the department in which the army medical statistics can be reduced. And there are no means of rendering available for the public service the large amount

* Letter from Mr. Herbert to Major-General Peel, then secretary of state for war, dated 9th July, 1858, prefixed to the army medical regulations now in force.

of information and experience on army diseases which is constantly being accumulated in the department.

‘No one man in the position of director-general could fulfil all the requirements, administrative and scientific, of such an office, more especially under the altered circumstances in which our Indian empire is placed.

‘It appeared, therefore, necessary to the royal commission that the office should be subdivided into three distinct branches, medical, sanitary, and statistical, each under a separate head, who should work the routine details of his department, and that the chiefs of the three branches should constitute a consultative council to assist the director-general with their advice on subjects coming within their respective branches. To the heads of these branches would be referred questions connected with the medical and sanitary duties and statistics of the army; and each branch would furnish the advice or assistance required by medical officers. The whole proceedings would, nevertheless, go through the director-general, and be under his direction, as the sole responsible administrative head.

‘Impressed with the necessity of these changes, we have defined the constitution of the army medical department, as recommended by the royal commission at the commencement of the regulations, and a detailed scheme for the practical conduct of the business by the director-general and council has already been submitted to the secretary of state.

‘The second fundamental change proposed is, the organization of an army medical school, to teach the specialities of military medicine, surgery, hygiene, and sanitary science, the want of which has been hitherto so much felt in the service.*

‘The proposed organization of this school has also been submitted to the secretary of state; and it is only necessary to state that it is founded on the principle that the government should trust entirely to the civil schools to teach medicine and surgery, and that nothing should be taught in the military hospitals but that which cannot be obtained in the civil, namely, military surgery and medicine, and hygiene. The most important changes which we have proposed in the regulations are based on the assumption that the medical school, which is already in partial existence at Chatham, but which at present teaches what can be better taught in the civil schools, is to be forthwith re-organized on a better basis, so that the army may be provided, with as little delay as possible, with an increasing proportion of medical officers competent to undertake the highly responsible duties which we propose for the first time to impose upon them.

‘Assuming, then, that Her Majesty’s Government will adopt the recommendations of the royal commission in these particulars, we propose to commit to the medical officers of the army not only the treatment of diseases and injuries incidental to the service; but we

* This Medical School is now successfully established and in full operation at Netley, in the magnificent hospital recently erected there.

propose, further, to invest them with the important function of advising commanding officers in all matters affecting the health of troops, whether as regards garrisons, stations, camps, and barracks, or diet, clothing, drills, duties, or exercises.

‘In the army medical school it is proposed to give to our future medical officers an amount of practical instruction on such subjects which cannot be obtained at present in any civil medical school in this country.

‘It is then proposed to test the progress made by the students in such practical knowledge of the whole subject of army hygiene before admission to the service; and, having provided for the practical direction of that knowledge in the proposed reconstitution of the department, we are of opinion that the advice of medical officers on the specialities connected with the prevention of disease, and the preservation of the health of troops, should have the same weight as their advice now has in questions of cure by means of medical or surgical treatment in hospital, subject always to the necessary contingency, especially with armies in the field, that occasions must constantly occur in which military reasons must necessarily outweigh all considerations of health affecting the troops engaged in the operations, and of such contingencies commanding officers alone can be judges.

‘In time of peace these special military reasons very rarely exist, while it is in time of peace—owing, in our days, to its longer duration—that the total amount of loss in the army, from absence of sanitary precautions, is absolutely greater than in war.

‘The losses from disease in time of war are those which attract the largest amount of attention, because they occur within short periods of time; but during peace these losses are not the less incurred, with this difference only, that they are slower in their operation.

‘In time of peace, therefore, the advice of a competent medical officer on all subjects affecting the health of troops could be taken with great advantage to the public service.

‘The experience, moreover, so acquired in dealing with questions of army hygiene, both on the part of commanding and medical officers, would materially aid the former in deciding questions arising during war, in which strategic and sanitary considerations have to be weighed together.

‘We need scarcely say, that we do not propose to make it binding on a commanding officer to adopt the recommendation of his sanitary adviser. The constitution of an army requires that the commanding officer should be supreme, as he is responsible, within his command. It would be contrary to every principle of discipline that any other officer should dictate to him what he ought to do. The commanding officer has a personal responsibility with which no one under him ought to interfere. If the education of military officers comprehended a knowledge of the principles of sanitary science, commanding officers of regiments might safely be left to their own judgment in adopting sanitary precautions for protecting the health of the men.

Such, however, is not the case; and the problem with which we have to deal is, how to supply the commanding officer with competent advice on which to form his judgment, and yet keep his supremacy absolute and intact, leaving to the adviser the responsibility of his advice only, and to the commanding officer the sole authority to decide.

'It has appeared to us that this object could be best accomplished by requiring that the medical officer should state to the commanding officer, in writing, whatever representation he has to make on any matter affecting the health of the troops, and that the commanding officer should take such recommendation into his consideration, and act upon it or not as he thinks fit. But in the latter case the commanding officer should shortly state his reason for non-compliance, in writing, so as to insure that the advice shall not have been inconsiderately rejected, and that the responsibility of the adviser may be covered when the matter comes under review by the superior military authority.

'Besides this procedure applicable to regiments, we propose that, in time of war, the director-general should appoint medical officers with special sanitary acquirements, and that such officers should be attached to the quartermaster-general's department, to act as sanitary advisers of that department; and we propose that these sanitary officers should state their opinions, in writing, to the quartermaster-general, for his consideration, in the same manner as already stated for commanding officers of regiments.

'We propose, further, that there should be on the staff of every general hospital a sanitary officer, to see that all parts of the hospital are in a healthy state, and favourable for the recovery of the sick.

'In garrisons, camps, and stations where bodies of troops are collected together, we propose that the principal medical officer should take a general superintendence of the sanitary condition of the place, and state his recommendations, in writing, to the commanding officer.

'And lastly, in order to give efficiency to the whole sanitary administration of the army, we propose that periodical statistical returns and sanitary reports be sent by medical officers to the director-general; and that inspectors-general and deputy-inspectors-general of hospitals should make sanitary inspections at stated times throughout their districts, and report the results to the director-general.'

The proposals here laid down are embodied in the new code of medical regulations; and, we doubt not, their wisdom will receive the confirmation of experience, provided only that the successors of the worthy men who yet live to superintend the medical department, inherit the enlightened devotedness which laid the foundations of the present system. The palatial edifice reared at Netley, to be at once a hospital for invalids from all parts of the world, and a school for medical students for the whole army, cannot but be a perpetual benefit to the

nation. Not only is there provided at Netley every possible comfort for the sick, but, so far as we can venture to judge, it will contain in admirable working order every appliance for the prosecution of that special study of army hygiene which cannot be so adequately pursued in any other existing institution.

Health and life are terms equivalent in this case, and therefore, in the present article, we dwell with peculiar interest on this branch of reform in the government of the British army. The science of health is henceforth to be studied no less diligently than the science of disease. The sanitary officer will march even in advance of the pioneers, to try the quality of the water, the soil, and the air. He will detect the sources of malarious exhalation, and, if possible, lead away the battalions from the unhealthy camping-ground. He will detect whatever is unwholesome in the food or drink brought in by sutlers, or furnished by contractors. He will, as a prescient meteorologist, help to guard against inclemencies of weather, and accustom the quartermaster and his subordinates to anticipate necessities which, in former times, unsatisfied, have caused the death of thousands. The country, represented worthily by these agencies, will care for its legions before the campaign begins, instead of mourning afterwards because of inglorious failures, and wreck of precious life, by needless exposures, and by heart-sickening neglect.

There are, however, sources of disease which no effort of science can shut up. Drunkenness and unchastity baffle every effort of the physician, and defy the utmost force of discipline. Canteens are opened in camps and garrisons, where ardent spirits may not be sold, at least, so far as we are informed, in England, nor improper persons admitted. There is to be no drinking any day before noon, nor any riotous conduct allowed. The beer may not be drugged. The grosser incentives to vice may not be tolerated. Yet, with all care conceivable, the canteens become scenes of intemperance. Soldiers will not continually stay within barracks, except when confined by way of punishment; but, forsaking such harmless recreations as have been provided for their comfort, and are well appreciated by the better sort, too many of them will still escape from barracks whenever they are released from duty, and, having accumulated from their little pay as much money as possible, will spend it in the indulgence of their appetites. The tattoo beats, and the poor fellows run back to their quarters, or reel thither, and sleep off the present effects of drink,—those excepted who have been overpowered like the Cyclops in his den.

Them the provost and his pickets bring in the victims of drunkenness as they can find them, and a few days' cells, some stoppages of pay, and a record of default set down against them, is a salutary admonition to amendment. Night passes are given sparingly, and the colonel generally does his best to place himself *in loco parentis* to his regiment. But the regiment consists of men, not children, and there is a degree of tension beyond which discipline cannot be safely drawn, while there are opportunities for vicious indulgence which no earthly vigilance can prevent. The prevalence of evil diminishes the sense of evil. Conscience forgets its horror.

We are by no means persuaded that these soldiers have less power of self-command than the same men would have had if they had not enlisted, or that the morality of a barrack is lower than that of a factory; neither should we despair of proving, if fair opportunity were given, that the influences of religion, when brought to bear on the one community, are as powerful for good as when they act upon the other. But if the reports of the medical officer of the Privy Council are compared with those of the director-general of the medical department of the army, it will be found that in all classes of the population forms of disease prevail exactly corresponding to the class. We should therefore have been prepared to find what actually appears in the documents before us, that the army is deplorably infected with the class of diseases called *enthetic*, that is to say, induced by external causes, if we may be allowed a free rendering of the word. During one year, for example, the year 1860, the average strength of troops of all arms serving in the United Kingdom being 97,703, the admissions into hospital for all sorts of ailments was 102,858, and the deaths 972, or not far short of one per cent. There is a tabulated summary of all the reports, showing the diseases classified; and from this table it appears that 36,048, or much more than a third of the admissions, were for *enthetic* diseases, and that for every soldier in the army, on an average, there is lost to the country 8.69 days of service in the year, in consequence of intemperate habits which no discipline can cure. But these diseases sap the strength of the constitution, and lead, it is said, to three fourths of the deaths above stated. The number 972, however, does not nearly indicate the actual ratio of mortality; and considering that the army consists of men in the flower and prime of life, and that as many of the sickly as possible are invalided and discharged as unfit for service, but die soon after their discharge; the fact here disclosed is appalling.

Our readers will remember that, of late, this subject has

been discussed in Parliament, and that an attempt at remedial legislation has been made. 'The Contagious Diseases Bill' of the last session, as amended and passed into law, lies on our desk. Its provisions are clear. Medical officers, magistrates, and policemen are instructed and empowered to take the oversight of the class of women too truly and too gently styled 'unfortunate,' and certain hospitals may be registered for their reception, in hope that the evil may be abated. All the cost to fall upon the country, and be defrayed by the Admiralty and the War Office. But it is doubtful, more, we think, than doubtful, whether professional gentlemen will be found willing to undertake the desired service, or existing hospitals be found available for the purpose of the Act. But whether an expedient which cannot be described, a service which self-respect must forbid a medical man of any social standing to undertake, and a system which has its precedent only in states of society unknown in England, ought to be tolerated, is a question of fearful gravity. It is not merely a military or naval question. It touches the heart of British society; and if it be committed to a precipitate solution, and it be sought to hide public immorality rather than remove it, and even to regulate immoral practices by legal provisions, the consequence will speedily be a revolution in our manners, and perhaps also a desecration of our homes, not soon, if ever, to be remedied. The Act is experimental, at first for three years, counting from July last. As yet public conscience shrinks from the trial; little or nothing has been done, even in the way of preparation; but whatever may become of the projected experiment, nothing can weaken the obligation which rests on Christian people to employ moral means for the removal of moral evils, evils which corrupt the general mass of the population, no less than the army and the navy.

Not by such desperate experiments, but by promoting sound religion, education, and good habits, the causes of disease may be diminished, as also by improving the state of barracks, in addition to the measures above described for giving greater efficiency to the medical department. Accordingly, the Report of the Royal Commission on the sanitary state of the army was no sooner presented, than another commission was appointed for improving barracks and hospitals. That report had shown the annual deaths among all arms of the service on home stations to be 17·5 per thousand in the year, as against 9·2 per thousand, which represents the annual deaths among males of the same ages taken over the town and country population of England and Wales. The commissioners were instructed by Lord Panmure, in October, 1857, to proceed immediately to

examine and inquire into the sanitary condition of all barracks and military hospitals in the United Kingdom, and, comprehending in their inquiry a multitude of particulars, to report fully, state their opinion as to all removable causes of sickness and mortality, devise necessary works and measures for removing defects in existing buildings, and obviating such defects in future erections; and they were authorised to expend a limited amount of money in the immediate execution of such works as they might judge to be necessary for the better ventilation, warming, lighting, draining, and sewerage of barracks found defective in these respects, and for the supply of wholesome water where that was wanting. They proceeded to their work promptly, and sent up a full and elaborate report in April, 1861, showing that the barracks and hospitals of this country were deplorably neglected, and conspicuous in faults of every description. The air of many of these places was no better than pestiferous; and even if the structures had been kept clean and well drained, they were too small for the inmates to get cubic space enough for healthy breathing. We cannot condense into any adequate summary the statements of the report, but must say that it goes far towards accounting for that dreadful mortality of our soldiers which had alarmed the country. Remedial measures were proposed. A succession of interim reports had already kept Parliament informed of the labours of the commissioners, and grants of money, far exceeding what was at first intended, enabled them to render tolerable most of the principal barracks in the country. All new erections should now be made on vastly improved principles of construction, and the immediate result of the first improvements was a considerable diminution of the rate of mortality. In 1860 the deaths had fallen from an average of 17·5 per thousand to 9·95, being only ·75 above that of civilians of corresponding ages; and we have an impression that at present the average is further diminished to a considerable extent. As for the camps, they are remarkably healthy; the deaths in 1860 being only 7·57, while, however, the rate in the depot battalions was so high as 12·37, in consequence of their containing large numbers of old soldiers returned from India and other foreign countries with broken constitutions.

The crowding together of married men with their wives and children in one room, in contempt of common decency, was already notorious, and some slight attempt was made to mitigate the evil; but the rooms allotted to families are miserably small even in barracks built while the commissioners were pursuing their inspections, as if to tell how alien from all the notions of military architects was provision for domestic uses.

Even the commissioners, after painting to the life the scandalous state of things consequent on the want of accommodation for married soldiers, did not rise to an adequate conception of the necessity to be met, or did not venture to suggest a sufficient remedy, when they recommended that 'one room of good size, containing at least 150 to 170 superficial feet, should be provided for each family.' One room of 12 by 13 or 14 feet for man and wife, with two, three, or four children, sometimes having boys or girls up to fifteen or sixteen years of age, all to sleep, cook, and live within that little space! Yet the blame of this niggardliness must be fairly divided, and the country itself should perhaps bear the larger share.

This leads us to a topic of vast interest, namely, marriage in the army. The old theory was, that there were no wives for soldiers of any rank. No provision of any kind was supposed to be made for them, or, if made, it was merely by way of indulgence. Men might have leave to marry, but the only reason for this indulgence was that washerwomen were wanted, and rather in that character than as wives they were suffered to go with the regiment. Six women was the number allotted to be laundresses for a hundred men, of the hundred men, therefore, six were allowed the indulgence of wedded life, and a sad indulgence after all. At present the per-centage stands at eight, so many men in every hundred being allowed to marry and to come upon the strength of the regiment, with quarters and 'indulgences' for wives and children. Of course the indulgences are scanty; but an industrious woman, if in health, and while able to work pretty hard without injury to herself, can earn sufficient to eke out the little pay to something like a competence. Now, if in a principal garrison, she may in case of necessity get access to a female hospital, which receives the greater part of its support from the War Office, benevolent officers contributing the rest, which also is a great advance upon the state of things in former years, when not the least provision, beyond what charity might supply, was granted for the soldier's poor sick wife. Eight per cent., however, is not the full number of wives in a regiment; for staff-sergeants and others are always free to marry, and are well able to maintain wives upon their pay. To this add again all who choose to marry without leave, and whose wives must mainly depend for subsistence upon their own labour; and this number, especially in the guards, cavalry, and ordnance, is very considerable, perhaps larger than that of soldiers married with permission. But the misery and the exposure of many of these poor creatures are past description. The hardship of an enforced celibacy, so often made the subject of severe condemnation, is

by no means so great as is generally imagined ; for not only is it within the power of any soldier to marry if he pleases, albeit at his own cost and sorrow, if he is but a private, but it must also be borne in mind that if these men were in civil life, the majority of them would still be unmarried, on account of youth or poverty, as can be shown by figures. In the year 1860, for example, there were 27,853 recruits, who, all of them, unless any had deserted wives at home, were unmarried when they entered the service. Of these 15,568 were youths of seventeen years or under, and at various ages up to the twenty-first birthday. From twenty-one upwards there were 12,285, at that age fairly entitled, if yet at home, to be candidates for wedded life ; and the case of these might at first sight seem hard : but the inconvenience rapidly diminishes with this class, many of whom can soon get leave to marry ; and then again the period of military service is but ten years for foot and twelve for horse, when the soldier may go free and do as he pleases. But a very considerable proportion do not remain their time. Many get their discharge by purchase, not a few are invalided, and some desert. Meanwhile, recruits too young for marriage fill up the vacant ranks, and increase the proportion of those to whom unmarried life is not a hardship ; while the original members of the corps rapidly get their turn. The regiment, consequently, has a large following of women married, but not ' on the strength ;' yet they are only waiting the time when the husbands will get leave to marry, and produce the old certificates in proof that marriage has already been duly solemnized. Respectable females of this class may sometimes be engaged as officers' servants, or otherwise encouraged, so that much of the declamation spent on the compulsory celibacy of army life may well be spared. The unmarried are, of course, by far the greater number, and the most exposed to demoralizing influences ; but it is not in the army only that this takes place, and therefore we again insist that not Lock hospitals but moral influences must be relied upon for elevating the moral standard as well in the barracks as in the town.

While, however, we feel assured that the restraint on marriage is much too highly stated, we allow that the private soldier has very little scope for the cultivation of domestic habits, or the enjoyment of household comforts, and that no respectable woman, if she knew all, could willingly cast herself into a state of existence so unfavourable to the maintenance of domestic proprieties, and to the decorum of the female character. The privacy of home, the continual motive to frugality and industry, the humanizing influence of established friend-

ships, the spur to diligence and thrift which is ever supplied by the desire of social advancement, the steady attendance at the house of God, and the customary sanctification of the Lord's day, are advantages but scantily realised in barracks. Nay, even the officer and his little family circle have not yet had opportunity allowed them for leading the life of citizens; and if it were not for those high qualities which all who know them must rejoice to honour, they could not possibly resist the disorganizing tendencies of the wandering life they lead while in the service of their country.

Moral influences, indeed, are powerful to a limited extent, but that is all. The heterogenous mass gathered as by chance, gathered only for ten or a dozen years at most, ever crumbling away, and scarcely ever considered by the soldier as his home, is only to be held together and kept in order by the force of discipline. The soldier's first duty is obedience, whatever be his rank; and to secure perfect obedience by the exercise of absolute authority would appear to be the only business of the superior officer, if we were to judge of his business by the bare letter of the law. Yet, as we have already observed, the wise commander softens the severity of his rule by an exercise of paternal moderation, though it is not in his power to relax the rigour of the law. All that he can do is to obviate the necessity of a severe exaction by winning the confidence of those beneath him, and creating motives to obedience more pleasant than the dread of his authority.

The first thing required of a recruit after enlistment and attestation before a magistrate, is to take an oath of allegiance, swearing that he 'will, as in duty bound, honestly and faithfully defend her majesty, her heirs and successors, in person, crown, and dignity, against all enemies, and will observe and obey all orders of her majesty, her heirs and successors, and of the generals and officers set over him.' Thenceforth, being sworn to obey, the least negligence, disobedience, or insubordination takes the character and has the name of *crime*. 'Crimes and Punishments' is the heading of a section of the Articles of War which Draco might have written. The awful pages abound in such sentences as:—

'ANY Officer who shall desert Our Service shall suffer DEATH, or such other Punishment as by a *General Court-martial* shall be awarded;—

'ANY Non-commissioned Officer or Soldier who shall desert Our Service shall suffer DEATH, or such other Punishment as by a *General Court-martial* shall be awarded;—and if tried by a *District* or *Garrison Court-martial*, shall suffer such Punishment as such

Court may award ;—any Non-commissioned Officer or Soldier enlisted or in Pay in any Regiment or Corps who shall, without having first obtained a regular Discharge therefrom, enlist himself in any other Regiment or Corps, may be punished as a Deserter from Our Service.'

Draco, indeed, might have written, but he could not have enforced; nor would the Athenian have provided, in every instance, for a milder sentence, and also for the mitigation, or commutation, or remission, of any sentence whatever, except, perhaps, in time of war, when the army is in the field. Terrible as the *law* may read, its terror much abates on close examination, and nothing can be more just and humane than the instructions elsewhere given for its administration. And for the satisfaction of the general reader we should be careful to make a few explanatory observations. In the first place, then, the general outlines of military law are laid down in the Mutiny Act, which, by re-enactment every year, is kept in substantial agreement with the laws of England. The Articles of War must necessarily be in agreement with this Act, and any article that should happen to be at variance with this law would be absolutely null, and therefore could not be enforced. Besides the Mutiny Act, which is the acknowledged standard of every penal regulation, there are three other Acts of Parliament, (10 & 11 Vict. cap. 37; 18 Vict. cap. 4; 21 & 22 Vict. cap. 55,) which must be consulted with regard to every case that they might possibly concern.

Further, when a court-martial has recorded its sentence, that sentence remains a secret until the whole proceedings have been submitted by a *general* court-martial to the commander-in-chief, or even to the sovereign; if the court represents a military *district* or *garrison*, to the general or superior officer in command; or, if the court be formed out of a *regiment* or *detachment*, whose powers are very limited indeed, even their minor sentences must be confirmed by a superior officer on the spot, not being member of the court. The chapter on courts-martial in the Queen's Regulations is itself a code of prudence and humanity, not to be studied by any responsible party without his receiving, at every paragraph, admonition against precipitancy or vindictiveness, while it requires careful calculation of every circumstance of the health, the services, the age, and the character of the prisoner. Thus are the military authorities as much intrusted with the exercise of mercy as with the administration of justice, while a judge-advocate, or judge-advocate-general, revises every record of proceedings and of sentence, taking care that the soldier, whether of highest or

humblest rank, be treated as a British subject ought to be. Of course, these persons are all liable to betray their fallibility, and even the most careful judges may sometimes show marks of infirmity, and professional prejudices may overcloud their judgment. Even more than in civil courts, the witnesses at military tribunals may fear to speak the truth, and this is found in practice to be the worst of all.

Passing from these tribunals, where martial state is most impressively combined with judicial solemnity, we must glance, for a moment or two, at the barrack-yard and the prison, where the soldier has to undergo the punishments awarded, observing the scale of crime and punishment, and leave our readers to judge for themselves as to the conduct of soldiers in general.

Military prisons, be it noted, were not established until the year 1846. Before that time the soldiers were sent to civil prisons, and, by mingling with the criminal class, properly so called, returned to their regiments much the worse for the deteriorating association. The Report of the Military Prisons, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1863, contains a tabular statement, which we extract,* to show the proportion per cent. of convictions, corporal punishments, and desertions, during thirteen years in succession, besides the year 1845, which was the last of imprisonment of soldiers in common gaols. Corporal punishment, or flogging, was not inflicted on one man in a hundred in the course of twelve months, except in the very exceptional year 1855, when rapid recruiting had suddenly raised the effective strength of the army from 135,884 to 213,166, bringing in an inferior class of men; and in no other

•	Average of Effectives.	Number of Convictions.	Per cent. to Effectives.	Corporal Punishments.	Per cent. to Effectives.	Marked as (Deserters).	Per cent. to Effectives.
1845	125,252	9,954	7.94	652	0.52	786	0.62
1850	125,119	9,640	7.7	247	0.19	605	0.48
1851	113,841	7,954	6.98	175	0.15	414	0.36
1852	117,643	8,312	7.06	282	0.23	427	0.36
1853	117,958	7,933	6.72	391	0.33	452	0.38
1854	135,884	6,651	4.82	435	0.32	396	0.29
1855	213,166	16,184	7.59	2,217	1.04	1,517	0.71
1856	158,476	8,368	5.28	224	0.14	1,283	0.81
1857	163,468	12,205	7.50	545	0.34	1,290	0.76
1858	219,739	18,433	8.4	918	0.42	2,371	1.09
1859	234,186	19,262	8.3	772	0.33	2,642	1.13
1860	228,824	17,318	7.58	651	0.29	1,870	0.82
1861	212,295	18,483	8.7	413	0.15	2,211	1.05
1862	212,718	15,445	7.3	368	0.16	1,492	0.71

year since the establishment of military prisons has the number flogged risen nearly to a half, but has fallen nearly to an eighth per cent. Neither is flogging inflicted with the brutality of former times, when the lashes were laid on the culprit by hundreds, and when death was not unfrequently the consequence; but we find that while more than 50 cannot be inflicted in any case, the average number of stripes suffered by each man punished was only once so high as 42, three times 40, once 39, twice 38, once 35, and twice 31, in the returns of ten years, the last year being 1862. So long as this mode of punishment continues, and there are hardened and reckless offenders to suffer it, it can scarcely be reduced lower; and it is but just to say, that after having had abundant opportunity of observation, we have not found a horror of flogging in the army where it is known, any thing like that which exists outside the army where it is not known.

Public opinion, it will be said, has compelled the army authorities to slacken their severity. So we should have thought. But although public opinion did influence the War-Office, it certainly made little impression on the Horse Guards; for although the secretary of state for war, overruling the objections of the general commanding-in-chief, insisted on the change in the Mutiny Act to which this gentler practice might haply be attributed, we are surprised to find that before that change was made there was no more flogging in the army than there has been since. 'The Queen's Regulations,' for the direction of courts-martial on this subject, ought to be generally known; they are as follows:—

'30. A classification of soldiers is to be established for the purpose of maintaining a distinction between the classes as regards liability to corporal punishment; all men on entering the army are to be placed in the first class, and are not, except for aggravated mutinous conduct, to be liable to corporal punishment; they are to continue in the first class until they incur degradation into the second by the commission of certain crimes hereafter specified; for this purpose the offences committed by soldiers are to be classed under two distinct heads. (*Here follows the classification.*)

'31. No man guilty of offences under the first head is to be subject to corporal punishment, except during time of war, when the army is in the field. Men guilty of offences under the second head, being crimes of a very serious description, are, if in the second class, liable to, but are not necessarily to be condemned to, corporal punishment; if, however, they are in the first class, they are, together with their punishment, which is not to be corporal punishment, to be disgraced and passed into the second class, where they

will thenceforth, on the repetition of crimes under the second head, be liable to corporal punishment.

'32. The officer giving evidence as to the character, &c., of a soldier under trial is to state the class to which he belongs.

'33. Uninterrupted good conduct for one year may restore a soldier from the second to the first class; the degradation of a soldier and his restoration are to be managed according to these rules by the commanding officer of the regiment, and are to be duly notified in regimental orders.

'34. The Mutiny Act restricts the award of corporal punishment by court-martial to fifty lashes.

'35. Sentences of corporal punishment are to be inflicted in the presence of the surgeon, or of the assistant-surgeon, in case of any other indispensable duty preventing the attendance of the surgeon; and are not to be carried into effect on Sundays, except in cases of evident necessity.

'36. The infliction of corporal punishment a second time, under one and the same sentence, is illegal. The culprit is, therefore, to be considered as having expiated his offence when he shall have undergone, *at one time*, as much of the corporal punishment to which he has been sentenced as, in the opinion of the medical officer in attendance, he has been able to bear.'

It is not our object to review the regulations for the management of military prisons, which differ not in any important respect from county prisons, except that they are under the control of the secretary of state for the war department, instead of his colleague for the home department, and that general officers commanding districts or divisions occupy the place of magistrates, and other officers are visitors. The treatment of prisoners we believe to be unexceptionable. Their health is good, and has been much bettered since the introduction of an improved system of prison diet at Aldershot in August, 1858, and its extension to all military prisons at home in September, 1861.

This last is the only army institution which has not undergone fundamental reformation, being itself an improvement on a penal system which may be reasonably adapted to the chastisement of persons guilty of crimes properly so called, but is far too severe for transgressors of discipline whose offences do not render them liable to punishment by the civil power. Having conducted the courteous reader thus far, we must now conclude with the expression of a firm assurance that the British soldier, whenever called into active service, will continue to exhibit those high qualities of valour, moderation, and humanity, by which, even without its present advantages, our army has been so honourably distinguished.

- ART. IV.—1. *The British Annelida*. By THOMAS WILLIAMS, M.D., F.R.S. British Association Report. 1851.
2. *On the Segmental Organ of the Annelids*. By THOMAS WILLIAMS, M.D., F.R.S. Philosophical Transactions, vol. cxlviii., part i.
3. *The Powers of the Creator displayed in the Creation*. By SIR J. G. DALYELL, BART. London: Van Voorst. 1853.
4. *The Rambles of a Naturalist on the Coasts of France, Spain, and Sicily*. By A. DE QUATREFAGES. London: Longmans. 1857.

MUCH has been done of late years to create a taste for the out-door study of natural history, or at any rate for the study of specimens rather than books. Naturalists' societies and field clubs are now organized in most towns, and even in villages; and very creditable collections of birds and insects are by no means rare in the homes of working men. Birds, perhaps, occupy the largest share of attention, indeed almost too large; for with the milder winters of late years there is every probability that our list of birds might be increased from abroad, but for the certainty with which every rare visitor falls a victim to the gun, to enrich either the sportsman's own collection, or that of a friend. Insects have been favourites ever since children chased butterflies, or bees gathered honey; and their brilliant colours and delicate forms are the passport to universal admiration. The aquarium has familiarised us with the forms of a lower class of life, and sea-anemones and other zoophytes are, or rather were a few years ago, very fashionable pets. Fresh-water vivaria are still more common; and no one can watch the habits of sober snails, tadpoles, beetles, and water-spiders, without learning a good deal more than the school-books contain. But while minnows are taught to come at call, and newts with their skinny throats and brilliant eyes squat on their cork islands and receive the homage of the fair, the poor worm, for which they are encouraged to scramble, receives no share of admiration. Indeed, it is difficult to get up any enthusiasm about worms. A universalist friend of ours, who finds a corner in his collection for almost any living thing, and has converted his premises into a kind of Noah's ark, where birds, fishes, insects, and reptiles, clean and unclean, do abide and dwell, persists in looking upon worms as mere provender for the more favoured races.

To excite much interest in them, we must go, not to the

newly turned furrow, or the dewy pasture; but to the low-lying rocks along the sea-shore, or to the boat of the oyster dredger, or to those tangled masses of half-grown mussels covered with silt and mud, which abound at the mouths of rivers, and furnish a safe anchorage for parasitic life in many forms. For the worms are a much more extensive family than is generally supposed. They not only burrow in the earth, but they bore into wood, into rock, into shells, and there are few living creatures which they do not infest. There are the intestinal worms—the most revolting of all, the tribe of leeches, the earth worms, fresh-water worms, and marine worms. There are worms with heads and no eyes, worms with eyes but no heads; worms that rove freely, and worms that are rooted to one spot; worms that swim as well as crawl; worms that are naked, and worms clad in armour of mail, or in dresses of glittering hair; harmless worms, and worms armed with spears, and knives, and hooks, and barbed arrows; worms that have red blood in their veins, others with green blood, and one or two with blood that is colourless. Many of them are masons, some of them are artists and decorators. Some are lazy, others industrious. Some have more feet than a centipede, others have as many hands as Briareus. In one locality or other such as we have described, the eye will light on the creatures we are in search of, many of them gorgeous in colouring, all of them of curious aspect; and in variety of form, and beauty of mechanical contrivance, they are not surpassed by any class of the animal kingdom.

Hear what De Quatrefages in his enthusiasm says:—‘Hitherto I had only known this numerous family of animals (commonly designated sea-worms) through engravings; but, although I had formed a tolerably exact idea of their organization, I had not the slightest conception how many points of interest attached themselves to a study of these forms. When I had once surprised within their obscure retreats the *Polynoë*, with its broad brown scales; the *Phyllodoce*, with its hundred bright green rings; the *Eunice*, with its purple crest; the *Terebella*, surrounded by a cloud of innumerable living cables, which serve it in the place of arms; and when I had seen displayed before my eyes the rich fan of the *Sabella*, and the enamelled collar of the *Serpula*, I no longer smiled, as I had formerly done, at the thought of a naturalist having endowed two of these creatures with the charming names of *Matilda* and *Herminia*. These despised creatures seemed to me now no less worthy of a naturalist’s homage than the most brilliant insect or the fairest flower.’

But although the earth-worm is the most unattractive member

of the family, it is not without redeeming features; and despicable as it may appear in our eyes, it nevertheless leads a most useful life, and is a great benefactor to our race. Naturalists suppose that the entire soil of our fields—every particle of that which goes by the name of mould—has at one time or other passed through the body of the earth-worm, that in fact it consists of an infinite series of worm-casts brought from below. This work proceeds at a rate which, although slow in itself, gives very appreciable results in a series of years. Experiments have shown that the rate of progress is about one inch in three years, and at the end of thirteen years the deposit will have increased to a thickness of four inches. In addition to this formation of mould—the raw material of husbandry—the perpetual tunnelling in all directions must do good service in other ways, assisting the action of heat, frost, air, and rain, and keeping the soil light and dry.

At first sight the earth-worm seems quite unsuited to this class of work. All other borers are furnished with appropriate tools; but here is a soft, fleshy animal, unprovided with any bone, or spine, or shell, or tongue, or corrosive fluid,—apparently the most helpless of created things. And yet its movements into and through the soil are tolerably rapid. Every one must have noticed how short a time is required for it to issue from its hole when alarmed by the spade, and how quickly a new hole is formed, and the creature disappears; and, especially when only half protruded, with what a jerk the body on any alarm is retracted within the dwelling. On close examination numerous feet are seen to run in straight lines down the under side of the worm, and these are the only appendages with which it is furnished. The body itself consists of a number of segments or rings, amounting to 120 or more, all exactly alike, except that towards the two extremities they are placed more closely together, and that they taper somewhat towards both head and tail. The body is covered with a mucous secretion, of which a constant supply is furnished by the proper glands; below this is a thin epidermis, a true skin, which is cast off and renewed from time to time. Below this again is a thick muscular integument, the muscles lying in three distinct series, very easily recognisable under the microscope. The topmost layer is transverse, in reality circular, the fibres running round the body; in the middle layer they take a diagonal course, but in a double series, and cross and re-cross each other at opposite angles, forming a delicate reticulation; underneath these are the powerful longitudinal muscles,—thus providing

for motion in any direction with the utmost nicety, and for the vigorous contraction and elongation which are the familiar characteristics of the class. The mouth is situated on the under side, at the junction of the first and second segments, and is therefore protected, like the mouth of a hog, by a projecting snout. When at rest, the mouth entirely escapes notice. When feeding, the projecting lip is raised, and the lower one somewhat everted, showing quite a capacious opening. In the act of swallowing, there is a very curious succession of muscular waves whose current is inwards, and is doubtless continued down the throat, thus serving the purpose of a tongue. At the same time the flexible upper lip curls down over the mouth, and assists in packing down the earthy mass. This lip when so employed resembles the finger of an elephant's proboscis, and indeed the extremity of that organ gives a very good idea of the oral apparatus of the earth-worm. There are no eyes, no special organs of hearing, or of touch, and no weapons of offence or defence. But, as before stated, there are four double rows of feet running down the under side of the body, four pairs to each segment. Each foot consists of two blades or prongs of very slight curve, united at the base by a muscular band in which they are fixed, the points set towards the tail. They can be protruded or retracted at the will of the animal, and are furnished with a double set of muscles for this purpose. The material is slightly flexible, and is as transparent as glass. Dr. Williams says that they commence at the fourteenth segment; but if there is no mistake here, it must refer to a local species, as we have invariably found them commencing at the second segment. They are at first small, but perfectly formed; and on reaching the seventh or eighth segment they attain an average size.

If a worm be watched while at work, it will be seen that the forward extremity is drawn out to a fine point, which is ineinuated between the particles of earth, and thus gradually effects an entrance for the body. The feet give a firm hold along the under side, and by their means the body is moved forward a little; the head is then thickened by muscular contraction, thus enlarging the opening already made; and, being again elongated, the process is repeated, though more rapidly as more of the body enters the earth, and the number of levers at work is increased. The muscular power exerted during this operation is very considerable. The whole body of the worm labours heavily at the task, and drives forward the wonderful flexible wedge by which the work is done. The abundant mucus which is poured out during the process,

preserves the tender body from injury, lubricates the passage, and is a cement to hold the particles of earth together, and keep the gallery open. So perfectly is this simple mechanism adapted to the creature's wants, that its rate of progress underground, unless the soil should be unusually hard, is believed to be almost as rapid as its progress at the surface.

Internally, the organism is more interesting. Broadly speaking, it is a tube within a tube; but the two are connected together in a way that is difficult to describe. Perhaps a rude illustration may assist us. Suppose a small cylinder to have slipped over it a row of india-rubber bands slightly separated from each other, but standing edgewise, as they appear before being used, and not flat. Over this cylinder with its row of frills must be passed another and larger cylinder exactly fitting upon the bands or frills, and we shall have a rough model of the interior structure of the worm. The outer tube will represent the integument, the inner tube the intestine, and the bands, the edges of which must everywhere adhere to the covering, will represent the septa, or annular divisions, which can be readily traced externally on the worm itself, while the spaces between the bands will be the interseptal spaces. On laying open the body of the worm, and pinning back the integument, the inner cylinder is seen running from end to end, but divided into three distinct portions. There is first the œsophagus or gullet, (occupying about twelve segments,) which when opened is found to be lined with prominent glands furnishing a salivary secretion; at the base of this is an enlargement densely muscular, which is a true gizzard, and occupies about seven additional segments; while at the base of this is the tube (becoming very gradually narrower) which is first the stomach and then the intestine, the one organ passing imperceptibly into the other. From the gizzard backwards the tube is constricted or partially drawn together *at each segment*, so that the stomach would be more correctly described as a *succession of stomachs*, each segmental portion being competent to the act of digestion. Throughout its length this portion of the tube is enfolded by a glandular layer, of a bright yellow colour, which is a rudimentary liver.

The circulatory system in this annelid is very largely developed, and there are few persons who have any idea of the wonderful network of veins extending over every part. There is not a point of the body which some capillary vessel does not traverse; and in some portions, especially the curd-like layer just spoken of, the successive waves of crimson which roll

fitfully along, and seem to cross and recross in every direction in lines of almost inappreciable fineness, make it difficult to believe that the eye is not examining a creature very much higher in the scale of being. Of the plan of the circulation, all that is necessary to say is that there are two principal veins running the whole length of the body, one on the upper and the other on the under side. A series of small transverse vessels branch from the ventral vein, and find their way upward to the dorsal, thus enclosing the body in a succession of rings. So that in every segment two currents are constantly maintained; one longitudinal, by the veins which are common to all alike; and one circular, by veins which belong exclusively to that segment.

The nervous agrees with the circulatory system in sustaining the completeness of each segment. There is one small nerve—mass, or ganglion, which does duty for a brain, and controls the whole body; but each segment has also its own ganglion, and series of branches. A line of fibres runs through and over the series of ganglia, thus connecting them from end to end. But the line of communication is double, one set of fibres connecting the various segments with each other, another set connecting each segment with the brain. Thus, if segment twenty-three falls amiss, the brain receives direct information; but the resulting impulse, whether change of direction or whatever else, is not transmitted along the same line, but passes through all the preceding segments, from two to three, and thence backward to twenty-three. The members do not move independently, but are parts of a linear series, and move consecutively. Each receives its impulse from its predecessor, whom it follows, we might almost say mechanically, as do the several parts of a train. If the engine break away, the train will nevertheless continue in motion as long as the impetus lasts, and will follow the curves of the line, or can be passed on to another line of rails, as before. And if the head of a centipede be cut off, the body will still continue to run, though always in a forward direction, surmounting in the natural way any obstacle that is lower than its own body, though for lack of the guiding power it cannot raise itself over any higher obstacle, but merely presses against the obstruction, the legs still continuing in motion. Even after all movement has ceased, it can be excited again by irritating the nervous cord, which shows how completely the motion is mechanical.

An additional example of the completeness of the segment is the fact that in many annelids each ring is furnished with reproductive organs. In the earth-worm it is true that only in

the first six or eight rings are they fully developed ; but in this worm, in the leech, the fresh-water Nais, and the Sabella, their existence can be clearly demonstrated in every ring. In all cases, whether terrestrial or marine, the worm deposits ova, and does not bring forth its young alive. But, for the details of a most difficult problem so far as it has yet been worked out, the reader is referred to the elaborate paper of Dr. Williams on the segmental organ.

Thus, as regards integument, organs of locomotion, digestive apparatus, blood system, nervous system, and reproductive power, each ring approaches the completeness of a distinct organism. This is carried a step further in the case of a Sicilian worm, in which each ring is furnished with an eye,—an organ perfect in all respects,—and which transmits its impressions not to the brain, but to the ganglion of its own segment. In this case nothing is wanting but a mouth, in order to surpass all the creations of fancy or fable, and constitute each animal not only hundred-headed, but hundred-bodied also,—a living train.

But this completeness and repetition of the several parts indicates a very low type of being, and is characteristic rather of the vegetable than the animal kingdom ;—just as the bough, branch, and twig represent more or less completely the perfect tree, lacking only a root as the means of securing independent nourishment. And as a severed portion of the tree, and notoriously of the plant, will send out roots, and thus become a distinct individual, so most of the tribe of worms have a similar power. Numerous instances are recorded of the fresh-water Nais, when cut in two, reproducing a head, and indeed three or four heads in succession after as many decapitations, which is more than any plant could submit to and survive. But the most extraordinary case is one recorded by Sir J. G. Dalyell of a Sabella, half an inch of the hinder extremity of which being accidentally cut off, the fragment reproduced an entire plume,—gills, tentacles, and mouth,—thus annihilating the hundred segments or more which lay between, and producing from the rag end of the tail organs of the most complicated nature, perfect in all respects, and in bulk far larger than itself. In some vegetables, especially creeping plants, the young shoots throw out roots while still attached to the parent ; and among certain worms a process somewhat similar takes place. A head, which is analogous to the vegetable root, is developed in the middle of the body, and when perfected the hinder portion is cast off as a complete individual. The Nais offers the most common example of this process. One of the hinder segments develops a head

between itself and the preceding ring; frequently another segment higher up has done the same thing, and, it may be, a third. A constriction at the preceding ring in each case becomes more decided; and when the young heads have got brains enough for the business of life, they and their old bodies drop off, one by one, and the parent, freed from her encumbrances, grows a new tail by way of finis.

There is not much to say on the habits of the earth-worm. Like the leech, it is extremely sensitive to changes of temperature, and to the comparative dryness or moisture of the atmosphere. It becomes torpid at a temperature of about 38°, and, during extremes of either heat or cold, will be found three or four feet below the surface. It is far more active than is commonly supposed; working underground by day, and, except in winter, foraging at the surface during the night. The soil in which it lives contains more or less of vegetable matter, and is greedily swallowed, parting with its nutriment as it passes through the digestive organs. But, besides this, it consumes much decayed vegetation, discriminating its food with unerring certainty. Its actions may be observed at night in mild weather by the aid of a lantern, though it is easily alarmed. First of all the long taper head protrudes and extends itself in every direction, reconnoitring the ground by the sense of touch, and presently the rest of the body follows. As the creature progresses, the head moves actively from side to side in the search for food. No notice is taken of a sound leaf; but if one partially dead lies in the way, it is seized by the mouth, and a portion is eaten. Sometimes it is dragged back to the mouth of the burrow, and, if narrow enough and soft enough to pass, is carried down as store for future use. If a plant or shrub stands in the way, the worm climbs the branches, examining each leaf in succession, passing over those that are healthy, but detecting an injured leaf at once, and removing it. Mr. Newman gives a curious and a rather unusual instance of its depredations.

‘During the past spring and early summer, I was greatly annoyed to find the newly-expanded, and, in many instances, the half-expanded, fronds [of my ferns] rotting off about an inch above the ground. On carefully examining the seat of the injury, I found evident marks of the stems having been nibbled or bitten all round at the very part where the decay was taking place. I looked in vain for slugs, woodlice, earwigs, and weevils every morning and night with a candle, well knowing the destructive propensities of such animals; it was evident to me, that whatever the enemy might be, it took notice of my approach, and made a timely retreat. How-

ever, one evening, after having spent at least half-an-hour in the little fern-house, I saw the apex of a newly-expanded frond tremble and jerk most violently : I knew there was no draught, neither did the motion at all resemble the graceful waving which wind produces. I remained very quiet, and presently saw three or four more fronds similarly agitated. With the least possible movement, and without altering the position of my feet at all, I brought the light to bear on the stem of a trembling frond, and there I beheld a large worm alternately seizing and letting go the stem at the very seat of the injury before described. I felt quite certain from the obvious diminution of bulk, that the worm was actually devouring the stem of the fern ; for I watched the process, time after time, and in one instance until the frond actually fell. I am not, however, so convinced that the worms were the primary cause of the injury : from a long series of careful observations, I incline to believe that they only attacked those stems in which decay had already commenced from some undiscovered cause.'—*Zoologist*, vol. vii., 2577.

There can be little doubt that when the worm attacks a plant, decay has commenced in that portion, however sound it may appear to the eye. But ferns are about the last subjects which it might be expected to attack, seeing that the fibre is extremely dry and tough, not yielding readily in any case, and certainly difficult for the fleshy lips of the annelid to sunder.

It is only during the night that this worm can safely venture abroad, for its enemies are legion. The mole pursues it underground, and with a voracity that seems insatiable ; indeed, it has been declared to eat its own weight of worms every twenty-four hours. The hedgehog is only one degree less destructive ; snakes and newts represent the reptiles ; birds of almost every kind devour it, and many of these, rooks for instance, in fabulous quantities ; while it is scrambled and fought for by every fish that swims :—so that, living or dead, no animal fills a more useful place in creation. It is an industrious excavator, pulveriser, and fertiliser of the soil, a scavenger of vegetable refuse, and is the appointed food of countless numbers of the higher animals.

There is a marine annelid familiar to all sea-side fishing parties, as the wet and very unpleasant-looking worm which the boatman is requested to put upon the hook, while the fisherman looks on. This is the industrious worm (*Arenicola piscatorum*) whose casts abound on any sandy shore at low water. It is about eight inches in length, boring rapidly in the sand to a depth of two feet or rather less, and living very uncomfortably head downwards in the hole thus formed. It greedily swallows the sand in which it lives, which is abundantly charged with

organic matter, and is so similar in its habits, and at first sight in form, to its fellow of the garden, that it was formerly named *Lumbricus marinus*. But the beautiful gills—shrub-like tufts ranged along each side, and of a rich carmine tint—quickly strike the eye as a new feature, while the sudden narrowing of the body just behind the last of these appendages is another characteristic. The segments also are fewer and larger, and the muscular bands which unite them are very much broader and more prominent. The flesh is more transparent, and the hinder portion of the body, from the nature of the intestinal contents, has a curious decayed appearance, strongly in contrast with the plump and healthy aspect of the preceding portion. The feet are few in number, but very conspicuous,—bundles of glassy-looking fibres, which glisten as the light falls upon them while they are restlessly protruded or withdrawn. Each foot, instead of being a sharp-pointed simple blade, which would be powerless upon the yielding sand, consists of a bundle of thirty or more bristles, bound together brush fashion, and playing freely within a hollow, fleshy tube. A single bristle, when examined under the microscope, is in shape not unlike a scythe. There is the same tapering, wedge-like blade, and the broad edge is strengthened in the same way by a band or rim, but towards the point the curve is much more gradual, and the direction of the curve is upward instead of downward. Under a high power the blade is seen to be longitudinally striated. The edge is clean for about one third of its length, but below this the fibres change their direction, and separate at the edge, which is ragged from thence to the point. A similar change occurs on the sides as well as the edge, so that the whole surface is roughened, offering the utmost possible resistance to a yielding surface.

But, however apparent may be these external differences, the first puncture of the skin shows a difference far more striking; for the fluid which escapes is not blood, but water. In this worm, as in nearly all the annelida, there are *two* vital fluids: one the blood proper, circulating in closed vessels; the other a chyle-aqueous fluid, not enclosed in vessels, but lying free in the open space surrounding the intestine, the dividing walls or septa being entirely done away, and a free space existing, closed only at the two extremities. This fluid has no regular movement, but is driven to and fro as the worm contracts and elongates. Though apparently simple sea-water, chemical tests prove that it contains both albumen and fibrine, and the microscope reveals abundant corpuscles, which are analogous to the blood discs in the higher animals. It is

undoubtedly supplementary to the true blood, both from these characteristics, and from the proportions found to exist relatively between the two. When this fluid is in abeyance, as in the earthworm, and still more decidedly in the leech, the true blood system is largely developed. On the contrary, when the peritoneal fluid is abundant, the true blood system is very imperfect, and in a few cases can scarcely be said to exist. It is a singular thing, and one of the many paradoxes in the history of these creatures, that what is by analogy the inferior fluid should be richly corpusculated, while the blood-proper appears to be a perfectly simple fluid, and by all recognised tests is not blood at all.

The sand-worm can only be kept alive for a few days after capture, and is by no means interesting in its habits even then. It lies buried in the sand, frequently at work extending its burrow, but evidently uneasy in confinement, and discharging a copious mucus. When unearthed, the body is generally found invested with a delicate sandy tube or rather coat which adheres closely to the skin. When placed for a few hours in pure sea-water, this covering is thrown off; moreover the intestine clears itself of its sandy contents, and the animal, if a young and vigorous specimen, takes a light pink hue, altogether different from its original aspect when taken from the shore. The great vessels may be distinctly seen, as well as the action of the gills, alternately crimson and amber, as the blood is received or discharged. From time to time the extremity of the proboscis is everted; the large papillæ which crowd its surface, evidently salivary glands, being a very singular sight. It is a foul feeder, and therefore a useful scavenger; living on the organic matter with which the sand of the shore is charged, and showing a decided preference for the neighbourhood of drains. It is a most killing bait, and one which no right-minded fish can refuse. Like the earthworm it is beset by enemies on all hands, and is pursued relentlessly wherever found. De Quatrefages gives an amusing account of a scramble he once provoked by means of one of these lug-worms.

‘One day I threw a large *Arenicola* into a pool of several feet in extent. A troop of little shrimps, who were sedately enjoying themselves in the clear element, dispersed in alarm, startled by the noise made by the fall of this strange body, but, recovering themselves in a moment, they rallied, and, whilst the annelid was endeavouring to bury itself in the sand, one of the youngest, and consequently also the most adventurous of the party, seized the creature by the middle of its body. Emboldened by this example, the others

lost no time in imitating it, and the poor Arenicola was pulled about in all directions, until a full-grown shrimp, darting from behind a tuft of corallines, dispersed his feeble comrades and appropriated the booty to himself. I soon saw, however, that he would be compelled to divide the spoils; for at that very instant there poured forth from the moving sand some score of small Turbos and Buccinums, who, conscious that a victim was at hand, wished to participate in the feast. Without any sign of uncertainty or hesitation they moved straight forward towards the Arenicola, whose body was covered in the twinkling of an eye with these voracious molluscs. I thought his fate definitely settled, when a small shore-crab (*Carcinus mœnas*) issued from beneath a stone, put to flight the shrimp, and by dragging off the Arenicola very nearly upset all the Turbos, who forthwith hurried back to their sandy haunts. Then, however, a large edible crab (*Cancer Pagurus*) appeared upon the scene, and the poor little Mœnas was obliged in his turn to beat a retreat in order to escape out of reach of the formidable pincers of his stronger kinsman. But he still kept a watchful eye over the dainty morsel which he had once tasted, and, taking advantage of a moment when the larger crab was withdrawing from the field from some temporary emotion of alarm, he rapidly seized the long disputed Arenicola, and carried it for safety to some distance from the water's edge, where he might devour it at his ease on dry ground.'—*Rambles of a Naturalist*, vol. i., pp. 48, 49.

A third type will probably be less familiar to the reader, though their sandy tubes are among the common objects of the sea-shore, especially among low-lying rocks in sandy bays. These are the dwellings of the tentacled worms, (*Terebelladæ*), for the most part of large size, one that is common in deep water being five or six inches in length, and much thicker than the largest garden-worm. The one most commonly found on the shore is both shorter and more slender, but it is a worm of position in the vermicular world. In this group there is no apparent head, no eyes, no pointed snout,—indeed, the extremity is flat as though the head had been cut off. But there is an ample mouth; and if eyes are all but extinct in a burrowing quadruped like the mole, they may be excused altogether here, especially as there are other organs to supply their place. These are two clusters of long, slender, almost transparent filaments projecting from the head, one cluster on each side. When protruded from the mouth of the tube, they are incessantly in motion, now stretching out to more than the length of the body, now contracting to half their length, coiling and twisting like so many minute snakes. If building materials are within reach, many fragments of shell, or, failing

these, minute pebbles and grains of coarse sand, will be seen travelling from all quarters dragged by these curious cables toward the mouth, there to be moistened by a fluid cement, and disposed in a circle round the body, adding in fact to the tube, so that one function of these active members is made clear. Though these organs, when collected together for withdrawal into the tube, are not much thicker than the body, yet in *Terebella conchilega* they are four or five inches in length, and in *T. nebulosa* are nearly double that length, so that they sweep the area of a circle eight or sixteen inches in diameter, as the case may be,—really a large sphere of operation, and one which of course continually changes as the tube progresses,—for the tube is horizontal except in confinement, when, apparently for the sake of a fuller supply of air, it is often carried up perpendicularly.

When examined more carefully, these transparent filaments, which vibrate like a cloud round the creature's head, are seen to be highly muscular, hollow, and filled with a colourless fluid. This is the peritoneal fluid, and is the agency by which they are moved. For, being so many delicate, elastic tubes, communicating at their base with the peritoneal cavity, it is only necessary to inject them more or less forcibly with the fluid, in order to extend them proportionately in length,—precisely as the feet of the starfishes and sea-urchins are moved,—the force never being greater than the contractile muscles can readily overcome, so that the extended foot or tentacle can be instantly withdrawn. Along the central axis of this organ there runs a blood-vessel, which according to the usual plan is returned upon itself, being artery and vein running side by side. At the root of the tentacle a nerve has been clearly traced, so that here again we have an organ which lacks but little to render it a complete individual. If one be severed from the worm, an instant constriction above the wound retains the two vital fluids, and the tentacle will continue to perform vigorous movements for six or seven days, and quite in the natural manner, showing how near is the approach to individuality. As regards the mode of action, so highly muscular is the outer coat, that along any part of its length, and frequently at two or three points at once, the tentacle can be hollowed longitudinally, the two edges being brought close together if need be, though generally the circle that would thus be formed is left imperfect, so that a section would exactly resemble the section of an atmospheric railway tube,—the space left by the imperfect cylinder being in both cases that in which the load is held. But here the simile ends; for the tiny load is not pro-

pelled along the groove, but the tentacle is shortened, and the fragment of stone or shell is at once brought to the mouth to be coated with cement. When extending its tube, which is generally done each night, the worm, by means of its tentacles, is incessantly casting about for material. This is accumulated rapidly, a large mass being always ready for the mouth to operate upon. The sight is a curious one, and it requires a little attention to resolve the apparent confusion into order and method. It is then seen that a true discrimination is exercised by each separate tentacle in selecting suitable fragments, each one choosing for itself, and not only selecting and rejecting, but making an eager search for suitable material, the entire number being employed each on its own special task without any disorder, or interference one with another. The glutinous secretion which from the activity of the worm is required in such abundance, is furnished by a conspicuous gland lying beneath the throat, and extending for some distance along the ventral surface as a broad crimson band, so distinctly outlined as to have been long mistaken for a trunk vein.

Not only does this exquisite sense of touch exist along the whole length of the filament, (any one portion being equally capable with any other,) but, when necessary, Dr. Williams affirms that the extreme tip can be made to act as a sucker. When so applied, as to a fragment of shell for instance, a portion of the fluid contained in the filament is withdrawn, and instantly the extreme point is drawn inwards, so as to form a cup-like cavity against which the object is securely held by atmospheric pressure. In addition to their other duties these wonderful organs sometimes serve as feet; for, being first stretched out to their full length by a forcible injection of the peritoneal fluid, and then securely moored as just stated, a further portion of the fluid is withdrawn, the muscles immediately contract, and so the body of the worm is dragged forward a step. There is still another service they can render. Just as a snail creeps, with the feet uppermost, just *above* the actual surface of the water, so one observer states that he has seen a *Terebella swim*. The tentacles, half submerged as regards their line of length, the upper half dry from exposure to the air, were alternately extended and contracted, twisting and curling as their manner is, the body hanging down perpendicularly the while, but steadily progressing until the opposite side of the vessel was reached. Certainly it was a small worm, and the vessel was of corresponding size, but the action was characteristic nevertheless.

Nor is it certain that we have yet exhausted the functions of

this organ. There is a very common little worm, (*Spio vulgaris*), which bores its way into shells, protruding from the orifice two slender tentacles, which, if the shell be a univalve tenanted by a hermit crab, as is often the case, will be most active when the crab is in motion, lashing the water incessantly and in all directions. Dr. Stretchill Wright has discovered in the tentacles capsules containing poison-threads, such as are found in such abundance in the sea-anemones, and has clearly defined the weapon which they project. But this case at present stands alone, and indeed the tentacle of *Spio* operates altogether in a different fashion. It does not depend, as in the *Terebella*, on muscular contraction; but the tentacle is coated with an adhesive fluid, and the grains of sand employed in building are passed rapidly along it by a series of dexterous jerks most curious to observe, until it reaches the mouth. When moistened, which is a most careful operation, it is placed by one of the tentacles on the summit of the tube, and the worm then protrudes not only the head, but as much as one fourth or even one third of the body, which it bends to and fro in every direction, plastering, and polishing, and keeping the tube open to its fullest extent. Another grain is then added; and although two or three may be travelling along the tentacle in succession, each one is separately moistened, and fixed carefully in its place. But the secretion, whatever it may be, seems to be limited in quantity; and after working for a few minutes, operations are suspended, the tentacles stand motionless in the water, or else the worm retires to the bottom of the tube for a short interval, when the task is recommenced. Occasionally one tentacle is employed in building, while the other is foraging. The food of the *Spio* consists of infusorial animalcules, and is invisible to the eye; but the frequent repetition of the characteristic jerk shows that food is met with in abundance.

Remembering that the little worm possesses only two of these tentacular organs, remembering also by what feats of skill the stones of the mimic building are passed to their destination, the rate of progress is something marvellous. A colony, five in number, found on a small univalve shell, had been the inmates of a tank for some months, when they were placed quite undesignedly on a sandy bottom. No further notice was taken until a hillock of sand in an unexpected place attracted attention to it. It was found to be the work of these little annelids, who had deserted the shell, and had already formed a series of tubes an inch or more in length, and surrounded on all sides with sand. At first sight they appeared to be simple galleries, but the mode of working was soon apparent. The tube was formed as

already described; and as fast as it projected above the surrounding level, sand from every direction within the utmost reach of the tentacles was brought in and packed close round it, adding greatly to its strength. In this way a flat-topped hillock of sand had grown up in the course of a few days, testifying to the extraordinary industry of these small creatures. In proof that the load is not actually grasped, as in the case of *Terebella*, but is simply adherent to the tentacle, and is passed along its surface, we have seen a large grain slip from the upper to the under side of the organ, and there hang suspended by a short viscous thread, and pass in this position by successive jerks to its destination. Moreover, this secretion is very attractive to the minute creatures on which the animal feeds, a cloud of infusoria being generally seen hovering over the worms when active, which cloud disperses on their withdrawal within their tubes. Dr. Williams truly says: 'It is not easy to express the pleasure which is excited in the mind of the observer of nature while contemplating the habits and manners of the Annelida. Every movement exemplifies the curve of beauty, every tentacle passes ceaselessly and rapidly through a thousand forms of matchless grace. Whether coiling round a visible object, or picking up a microscopic molecule for the construction of the cell, it exhibits a delicacy and precision of aim, which the erudite finger of the most skilful artisan never equalled. The refined perfection of its muscular performances is matched only by its exquisite sensibility. Like the human hand, of which the manifold endowments have exhausted the admiring eloquence of philosophers and theologians, it unites in its little self the most varied capacities. It is at once an eye, an ear, a nose, and a finger; it sees, it hears, it smells, it touches!' And again: 'It is not easy for those who have never enjoyed the spectacle of the "feat of touch" performed by the tentaculated worms, to estimate adequately the extreme acuteness of the sensibility which resides at the extremities of the living and sagacious threads with which the head and sides of the body are garnished. They select, reject, move towards and recede from minute external objects with all the precision of microscopic animals gifted with the surest eagle-sight.'

But to return to the *Terebella*. The organs of respiration, like those of the sand-worm, are very conspicuous, but are somewhat differently placed. They consist of six tufts of naked blood-vessels placed immediately behind the tentacles, three on each side of the head. Each vessel is double as before, being virtually artery and vein running side by side; and they are contractile, as in the former case. But they are more

prolonged and shrub-like, and they move with much energy, twisting and coiling incessantly, so that it is difficult to note their form. This varies greatly in the different species; in fact no two are precisely alike, the appendages being longer or shorter, and more or less subdivided, so that almost every species has a distinctive form.

On examining the feet we find them most wonderfully adapted to the habits of the animal. Dwelling as it does in a fixed tube, two movements only have to be provided for,—backward and forward within the tube. True, the latter is made wide enough for the lithe body of the worm to turn back upon itself, so that, the tentacles being contracted by the withdrawal of the contained fluid, the head is reversed and commences a backward march, the whole body following, and that much more rapidly than would be supposed possible within such a limited space. But it is comparatively a slow movement, and without some other provision the creature could never escape its active enemies. It is wholly unprovided with weapons, and its only chance of safety is in an instant retreat. For these two indispensable movements, the feet are furnished with two kinds of instruments, quite distinct from each other. The first sixteen segments of the body are much the largest, and carry the most powerful feet, but the remaining segments are also furnished with feet, though of small size. The bristles are formed on much the same pattern as those of the sand-worm; but they are stronger, and have a smooth instead of a serrated edge. These serve to push the body forward, but there is another arrangement for the reverse movement. On the under side of the worm, at right angles to its length, are four short rows of hooks on each of the first sixteen segments, two rows on each side. In shape the hooks are something like a farmer's bill-hook, but so minute that to the naked eye a row of them is only just visible as a dotted line. The microscope here reveals a contrivance which is perhaps without a parallel in so humble a creature, and which, in a certain lavish prodigality of means, almost perplexes the beholder. Each of these rows is found to contain seventy or seventy-five hooks of the same transparent material as the bristles of the feet, the number varying considerably in different individuals. On the outer face of each hook there are from two to five saw-like teeth, according to the species, thus increasing the holding power. Two muscular cords are attached, of exceeding fineness, the one to the upper, the other to the lower part of each hook; one fixing the teeth in position, the other unfixing them,—working, as regards the posi-

tion of the points of attachment, and the consequent leverage obtained, much like a common bell-crank, if so coarse an illustration may be used for one of the most exquisite contrivances in the whole round of the animal creation. The number of hooks in each of these rows may be placed at 70, which, with four rows to each of the sixteen segments, will give 4,480 hooks. To these must be added the remaining segments, 30 in number, in *T. conchilega*, each of which carries a single row, gradually diminishing in size; but the prevailing number appears to be 37, which number is even carried by the final segment, though they are very minute. This computation will bring the total up to 5,590. This is the number of hooks brought simultaneously into action; but there are several teeth on the face of each hook, three in the species now described, which gives a total of nearly 17,000 glistening points which can be raised or depressed by a single voluntary movement, and which when holding to the tube maintain their hold with such firmness, that the dwelling must be destroyed piecemeal in order to dislodge the tenant.

The *Terebella* is hardier than many of the tribe, and can be kept in confinement for several months. If it could be fed, the time might be prolonged indefinitely; but the sand of the mimic ocean does not appear to contain the proper nutriment, and animal food, of whatever kind, is rejected. Its industry is wonderful; and when three or four specimens are kept, the upper part of the tank is soon overrun with tubes which record in their structure the various strata over which they pass,—here sand, and there shingle, and here again small shells, or some fanciful material which the owner may have strewed in the way. These dwelling-places are of uncertain length, the builder being somewhat capricious in his tastes. After being regularly extended an inch or more each night, all further progress will be suddenly stopped; and on examination, probably eight or ten inches behind the extremity, a hole will be found broken through the side, and a branch most perfectly united to the original tube, and carried forward. This also in turn is stopped, and the worm will perhaps be found in another quarter altogether, communicating with the old tube by a passage below the surface. When working against a uniform surface, as glass or slate, the worm takes advantage of the circumstance like a skilful engineer, and makes it serve as one side of the tube. Sir J. G. Dalyell has recorded a very curious instance of this kind. He placed one of his specimens in a shallow glass vessel, which was again placed in a taller and wider glass, filled with seawater. He notes the result very characteristically in four par-

ticalars. 1. The tube was cylindrical for a considerable distance, (probably passing over the sandy bottom.) 2. The animal then began to economize its labour, by appropriating the glass as one side of the rising edifice. 3. On being conducted in this form to the highest edge of the inner vessel, the cylindrical form was resumed, because the substituted support by the side of the glass was lost. 4. When the continued extension of the tube at length reached the side of the larger vessel, the animal, to spare its labour, made use of the support as before. The same thing was observed in the colony of *Spio* already noticed; for as soon as they reached the glass side of the tank, it was made to form one side of the tube, most conveniently showing the inmate at work within. This adaptation to circumstances looks like a high order of instinct, such as could hardly be exceeded by bees, or other intelligent insects.

The exudation from the body, which in the earth-worm and the sand-worm served as an imperceptible lining to the dwelling, here seems to be of a more glutinous nature, and becomes a definite, silky lining. And this silky material appears in some cases to play another part. For *Dalyell* describes a small species dwelling in an imperfect tube, which weaves a web for the reception of its ova.

'A peculiar feature in its history is its producing a real cobweb, as distinct as that of the spider, with which it covers itself, and which also frequently, if not always, serves to support its spawn. The texture is very thin, rather irregular, and composed of the finest threads, these almost invisible, from their slenderness and extreme transparence. Neither the mode of formation or extension, nor the expedients for securing their extremities, are obvious. Such a web, from a specimen nine lines long, covered an area of fifteen lines square. This is plainly a work of some exertion, as the threads, sometimes amounting to fifty, are fixed to the side of the vessel, as high above the bottom as equals the length of the weaver, or more; and they also extend below, [? along the bottom,] there to be secured. Thus it is evidently an artificial work, and it receives repeated accessions. The specimen continued its work about three weeks in May, but, although surviving a month longer, it wove no more. Such a web has been formed by four different specimens, and always in May.'—Vol. ii., p. 207.

We come now to the tubed worms proper,—certainly the most beautiful examples of the annelidan family. In the *Terebella* we had a tubed worm, it is true, but its dwelling is often so fragile that it can only be said to protect the tenant by concealment. Moreover, the worm is locomotive to some

extent, always making the tube wide enough for the body to turn in, and continually extending it either at one end or other, just as an engineer pushes his sap, so that the worm may be said to live in a gallery or covered way, rather than in a tube. But the Serpula and Sabella live in permanent tubes, rooted to one spot, and have no power of locomotion except up and down the actual dwelling. In Serpula, and in one species of Sabella, this dwelling is a true calcareous shell, certain glands just below the plume pouring out at rare intervals a fluid secretion, which is rapidly moulded into the required form, and immediately hardens, as in the case of the shell-bearing molluscs.* The lining of the tube is, in this case, a delicate membrane, not unlike the lining membrane of an egg-shell; and this affords a firm hold to the bristles and hooks, which are very similar to those of the Terebella. Most of those who are interested in marine zoology are familiar with the beautiful forms of which we are speaking. Those who are not may imagine, if they will, a stone or old oyster-shell covered over with twisted tubes of all sizes, from the thickness of a goose-quill to that of a pin. Probably each will be closed by a scarlet stopper, as though the tube was sealed. But if so, after a little patient waiting, the stopper will slowly protrude, showing itself a solid cone, attached at its pointed extremity to a slender stalk. Presently it is turned sideways, a mass of scarlet fibres suddenly unfolds, it is difficult to see how, and becomes a plume of miniature feathers,—a lovely object, which any one seeing for the first time, would refer to any section of the animal kingdom rather than the true one. There is no further apparent movement, and as the plume then appears, so it remains, until some slight motion—even a passing shadow—alarms the creature, and, almost quicker than the eye can note

* This anomaly seems to have perplexed the older naturalists, who included worms and molluscs under the same order. In Pennant's classification, Aphrodita and Nereis come in between Doris and Actinia,—a curious juxtaposition,—the subdivision closing with Holothuria, Sepia, Asterias, and Echinus, all, be it remembered, included in the order Vermes. Serpula and Terebella are separated from each other by Tereido, and all three rank with Patella and Dentalium among the univalves. Even Montagu, so late as 1803, followed the same arrangement, though under protest, and pointing out the absurdity of making the covering, rather than the animal, rule the classification, especially when there was no organic connexion between the two. It is curious in this way to meet with the phrase 'the worm inhabits the Sabella,' instead of 'the Sabella inhabits the tube.' Equally curious is it to find several *new species* named and most carefully described, the description in each case closing with the remark '*animal unknown*.' We must not be understood as saying one word in disparagement of these great zoological names. Montagu, especially, by his more copious descriptions and careful drawings, gave a new impulse to the science, of which we now see the great results. But it is well to look back and note the changes that have since been made, even in classification alone.

it, the fairy coronal has vanished. This extreme sensitiveness disappears when the worm has been some time in captivity, and the plume is expanded without fear under the eye of the observer. There is a second and rudimentary stopper which may easily pass unnoticed. It remains undeveloped, unless the other should suffer an accident and be shed, as sometimes happens, in which case it rapidly increases in size, and fills up the vacancy. This fact has often been doubted; but out of a considerable number of specimens kept at various times, we have twice been fortunate enough to note it. In each case the duplicate organ attained its full size in about a month, and the specimens, which were unusually large, survived the accident eleven months and nine months respectively.

The tube of the *Sabella* is not shelly, except in *S. tubularia*, but is soft and elastic, something like wet wash-leather, and the stopper is altogether wanting. There is greater variety than among the *Serpulæ*, especially as regards the colour of the plume, which ranges from dark chocolate, through crimson, rose, and amber, to the purest white, and it is often of noble proportions. A group of *S. volutacornis*, nine in number, obtained from the Isle of Man, contained several tubes thicker than a cedar pencil, the expanded crown being nearly an inch and a half in diameter, and of the most brilliant whiteness. A still finer group of the same species, but darker in colour, was exhibited in 1857 in the tanks of the Zoological Gardens.* As a rule the worm is very much smaller than such a brave display would indicate. The average length of the *Serpula* will be from an inch to an inch and a half; but though short, it is plump and well-conditioned. The *Sabella* is longer; but in both instances the worm and its dwelling-place are curiously disproportionate. The tube measures three or four times the length of the body, or even more. Here is one empty belonging to *Sabella tubularia*, which wants several inches of its lower end, but is nevertheless more than seven inches long, while the worm could not have exceeded two inches. Parasitic upon this tube are some scores of the little *Serpula triquetra* in a living state, and one fine tube of *Serpula contortuplicata*, lying prone for nearly three inches, and standing erect for one inch, and therefore about thrice the length of the occupant, unhappily deceased. Side by side with the calcareous tube is an elastic one double its length, belonging to *Sabella chloræma*, the largest British species. The inmate, having performed voluntary

* We may add, as showing the eagerness with which fine specimens were at that time sought after, that ten guineas were offered for this group, and refused.

decapitation, is engaged in growing a new plume. It is a slender worm about eight inches in length, of nearly 200 segments, and the original plume was an inch and a half in height, and rather more in diameter. Sir J. Dalyell describes one, apparently the same species, the tube of which is sometimes two feet in length, and the animal itself fifteen inches long, of about 350 segments, and carrying a plume more than two and a half inches in height and three and a half in diameter. A similar species is found on the north coast of France, and is described by De Quatrefages as measuring one foot across the plume. This is proportionately larger than that formidable earth-worm found in Ceylon, which is rather under two feet in length, and as thick as an ordinary cane.

The plume is of course the principal feature, and deserves careful examination. It consists in this species of from seventy-six to eighty delicate cartilaginous tubes set in two half circles round the mouth. From the inner side of each of these tubes there projects at right angles a double row of still more delicate filaments, numbering as many as two hundred pairs. It is as though a comb, having a double set of teeth set side by side, should be hollow throughout, in which case the back of the comb would represent the primary, and the teeth the secondary processes; a circle of eighty such combs representing the fan. Each primary tube is traversed by a blood-vessel, which is really two vessels set side by side, as in all the branchial organs throughout the order; and this gives off a branch to each secondary tube (tooth of the comb) in succession,—each secondary vessel being in like manner double. The peritoneal fluid follows the blood proper through all these ramifications, filling up the space between the central blood-vessel and the muscular coating of the tentacle. Thus it will be seen that the plan of structure is the same as in the *Terebella*, and that the difference is only one of proportion. In the one case the branchial apparatus is distinct, while the tentacles are large and comparatively few, and their office is exclusively tactile. Here the tentacles are minute and wonderfully numerous, and they perform the branchial office as well, thus doing double duty. The entire series of processes are clothed with powerful cilia, which bring an incessant current of water to bear on the contained fluids. There are 30,000 or 40,000 filaments (teeth of comb) employed in this office of respiration, so that it will readily be seen over how large a space the blood is distributed, thus bringing the greatest possible extent of surface into contact with the oxygen of the surrounding water. The work

of feeding goes on simultaneously; for the powerful ciliary currents bring not only an abundant supply of oxygen to the gills, but an abundant supply of infusoria to the mouth. A considerable amount of water is necessarily swallowed with the food, but it is turned to good account. The solid particles, having been strained from it, are retained, while the water passes freely downward. The lower part of the intestine *enlarges* with this object, while the anal opening is wide and perfectly free; and further to assist the exit, the lower part of the intestine is lined with cilia, by which the water is forcibly driven down against the bottom of the tube. The stream then passes upward between the body and the tube, making its escape outside the fan, so that no one of the Annelida enjoys more perfect aeration or cleanliness than this, the closest kept prisoner of them all.

On the outer side of each principal tube, or back of the supposed combs, are a very regular series of globose bodies, coloured black by a contained pigment. These bodies, from their similarity to the tentacular eye-specks of the mollusca, (and from the difficulty of crediting them with any other function,) are supposed to be eyes. Certainly the creature can not only see, but is quick-sighted, and the number of these eyes may combine to make them effective, though separately very imperfect. In *Sabella chloræma* there are thirteen on each main tube, which in a large specimen would give nearly a thousand of these rudimentary organs.

Immediately below the plume there runs round the body a membranous band or collar, which on the inferior aspect is prolonged into two fleshy flaps which hang down over the tube during the process of building, and are the instruments with which the work is done. In the centre of the disc lies the mouth, guarded by a pair of short, pointed, fleshy tentacles. There seems to be always a disposition to extend the tube when material is at hand; and the *Sabella* can be readily induced to build, by dropping a little fine mud through the water above the disc. The process can be clearly seen when the tube is standing upright, which is the natural position. The particles, as they fall upon the plume, excite the utmost activity of the various parts,—every fibre being engaged independently upon its task. The result is that the atoms thus diligently collected are worked downward to the supporting stems, *drained*, if we may so say, down the ridges into the furrows, and thence, from all parts of the circle, they converge towards the mouth. Each little mass is moistened by the lips, and then passed to the edge of the tube, where it is fitted into its place, plastered and

polished by the trowel-like organs, the body bending over, and occasionally moving from left to right, and back again, as if to smooth the inside as well as the outside of the tube, in addition to the partial rotation which is made so as to bring each part of the tube in succession within reach of the fingers or trowels. Mr. Gosse has described the process from another point of view ; for he once observed a *Sabella* working in a recumbent position, and the task appeared much more laborious. For, instead of simply *receiving* the particles as in the ordinary way, the filaments took a more active part, and really seized and appropriated the materials lying on the bottom of the vessel. In order to do this, several feathers of the plume were bent completely over, so as to bring their double rows of filaments into contact with the mud. A minute portion was seized in each case, the parallel rows distinctly closing upon it, when it was carried by the force of the ciliary current upwards to the mouth, and treated as just described.

There remains another and far higher type of annelids, presenting, in form and habits, in the additional organs with which they are furnished, in their vigorous movements and quick instincts, proofs of very perfect organization. Hitherto the worms we have noticed can scarcely be said to have a head at all. But in this highest group there is a distinct head, furnished with antennæ or true feelers, and with two or more pairs of eyes. These last are not mere eye-specks, but are perfect organs of vision, forming a correct and achromatic image. Indeed the crystalline lens of an annelid was arranged by De Quatrefages to act as the lens for a sort of microscopic camera. The mouth conceals a proboscis, often of extraordinary length, which, as it rapidly turns inside out, reveals sundry pairs of horny jaws, saw-edged, which are used in the first instance in the seizure of prey, but are further employed in breaking it up ; while a series of very small but sharp horny projections, found at their base, are undoubtedly so employed.

Eunice attains a length of eight or nine inches, and many of the *Nereids* an equal length. To see a mass of them congregated on a bed of mussels moving rapidly, and often with violent contortions, especially when alarmed or irritated, twisting snake-like among the dense undergrowth of corallines, is a striking, if not to all tastes an agreeable, sight. The feet are arranged in a double series, superior and inferior ; the two being sometimes distinct throughout, and sometimes united at the base. The patterns of the bristles composing them are of endless forms, and adapted for every possible variety of surface.

Some are simple, and others jointed; some are stiletto-like shafts, others are notched at the edges; some are lancet-shaped, and others spear-headed. The bundle, when it is flattened out by the compressor, resembles nothing so much as a sheaf of arrows or New Zealand spears. So striking is the resemblance to weapons of warfare, that the French naturalists have supposed them to be so used against their enemies; but the generally received opinion is, that the likeness is accidental, and that they are used simply as organs of progression. Above and below them, and forming part of each foot, are two small tubercles, which are organs of touch, so that each ring is provided with its own antennæ, another step towards the completeness of the segment. The branchial apparatus is also attached to the feet, their small size being compensated by their number, extending in *Eunice*, *Phyllodoce*, and some other genera, over every segment, which is a still more important addition. Indeed, the approach to segmental completeness is so marked in this type, that De Quatrefages, in explaining the anatomy of *Eunice sanguinea*, accepts it as a fact. Thus he speaks of the worm having two hundred and eighty stomachs, and again of six hundred hearts, and a similar number of primary arteries and veins. But let us give a part of his description of this worm, 'a magnificent creature, measuring more than two feet and a half in length:—

'You might suppose, perhaps, that, in consequence of its size, very little difficulty would be experienced in making a detailed dissection of this animal. But if you make the attempt, you will soon perceive your error. The body is divided into rings, which are not above a line and a half in length, although they measure from eight to ten lines in width. It is no easy task, I can assure you, to seek within this limited space the muscles which move the animal, the intestine which receives its food, the vessels which nourish it, and the nerves which animate it; while, to add to the difficulty, you will find that all these tissues bear the closest resemblance to each other.....

'At the bottom of the funnel-like mouth, there is a large proboscis, furnished with powerful muscles, and armed with eight horny jaws. Take care of your fingers! These sharp and curved teeth might very easily penetrate through the epidermis and draw blood. Beyond this tube you will perceive an œsophagus, and further on a series of large sacs, each of which corresponds to one of the rings, and is separated from the two contiguous sacs or pouches by a strong constriction. You see that the animal we are dissecting has not less than two hundred and eighty stomachs.

'Now, we have need of great patience, as we endeavour to disentangle those interlaced muscular bundles which form the flesh of the rings, and give motion to the feet, to their two bundles of sharp and cutting setæ, and to the four aciculæ which are as conical and

strong as a huntsman's spear. There are no less than thirty distinct muscles in the fleshy part of each ring, whilst each inter-annular partition exhibits as many as ten. On either side, two large muscles are attached to the centre of the ring, and the base of the feet, which they move either forward or backward. A sac, composed of about ten muscular bundles, surrounds each tuft of setæ, as well as the aciculæ, which it serves to extrude; on either side eight muscles serve to retract these tufts, and to give motion to the different parts of the foot. Thus, each ring is supplied by about one hundred and twenty muscles; and if we take into account those of the proboscis and head, we shall find that the entire animal moves by the action of more than thirty thousand muscles.'—*Rambles of a Naturalist*, vol. i., pp. 113, 114.

This elaborate provision is not surpassed in any of the insect tribe, (to whom the worms are near kindred,) the complication of whose parts is considered to be unparalleled. Such a calculation may stand by the side of that of Lyonnet, who counted 1,647 muscles in the body of the caterpillar of the goat-moth, and 228 in the head, making a total of 1,875 voluntary muscles, whilst in man there are not more than 529. Enough at least has been said to rescue the annulose tribes from contempt, and to show that while the majority of them present a low and feeble type of structure, the roving annelids are more richly endowed than many animals that are classed above them.

In this slight sketch we have merely pointed out a few of the more strongly contrasted forms, in the hope of drawing attention to a section of natural history which counts but few students, and which is by no means so uninviting as it seems. We may not have imparted interest to the subject, but the subject is interesting nevertheless; and if there be truth in the old adage, that variety is charming, the study ought to be not merely interesting, but fascinating. Perhaps nowhere else is there equal diversity, both of outward form, and of structural detail. Generic differences are of course to be looked for, but the specific differences are here unusually wide. Thus, to take the *Sabella* alone, in one species the dorsal vein is single, running uniformly from end to end; in another species it almost immediately divides, and two branches run side by side, only uniting again at the opposite extremity. In one species the dorsal vein supplies the branchiæ, in another it is the ventral vein. In one species the blood is red, in another it is green; not merely greenish, but a bright unmistakable green. So of habit. The *Sabelladæ* dwell in fixed tubes, and are of necessity stationary; but one of the family may be classed as

both tubed and free, seeing that he carries the tube about with him from place to place. The Nereids are among the most bold, restless, and predaceous of the whole tribe of roving worms, eagerly ranging the shore in their search for food, and greedy in their appropriation of it. Yet one of these worms is never found except as co-tenant with the hermit crab of the shell of the whelk ; but, although thus sedentary in its habits, it is to all appearance as well fitted for an active life as any of the genus, and, when driven from its hiding place, is quick in its movements. So of the internal anatomy. In some genera the peritoneal fluid is in abeyance, and the vascular system is largely developed ; in others the true blood is in abeyance, and the peritoneal fluid may be said to take its place. As a rule, it is the true blood which enters the gills for the purpose of aeration ; but sometimes the peritoneal fluid alone enters the gills, and the blood is only oxygenated by contact with the inferior fluid. In most worms the blood is red, and the peritoneal fluid is colourless ; but in one worm at least the blood is colourless, and the peritoneal fluid is red. This same strange fluid varies widely in its microscopic appearance in each separate genus, and it even varies, though less remarkably, in each species. Again, in some cases the two sexes are united in one individual ; in others they are separate. The feet, in like manner, show an apparently endless diversity of form. The contrivances for oxygenating the blood are equally varied. In short, there is sufficient in the history of the annelids to pique the curiosity of the dullest, and enough of difficulty to tax the powers of the most intelligent. And in curious examples of mechanism ; in adaptation to peculiar habits and necessities ; in those beautiful modifications of the general plan which the naturalist loves to trace, there is no study more interesting than this, in the whole range of animal life ; and among the 'medals of creation,' none are stamped more unmistakably with the Regal image and superscription.

ART. V.—*The History of our Lord, as exemplified in Works of Art : with that of His Types ; St. John the Baptist ; and other Persons of the Old and New Testament.* Commenced by the late MRS. JAMESON. Continued and completed by LADY EASTLAKE. Two Vols. London: Longmans. 1864.

WHEN Mrs. Jameson died on the 17th of March, 1860, she left behind her the unfinished manuscript of a work which she had destined to form the crown of her labours in the illustra-

tion of Christian Art. It was eighteen years since her book on *Sacred and Legendary Art* had been commenced, and twelve since it had been published. In the mean time she had successively written the *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, and the *Legends of the Madonna*; and now she was bringing all her riper knowledge and matured experience to bear upon the highest theme which human art, or, indeed, human-thought in any form, can approach. Christ was to be her subject—Christ as represented by the various generations of men who have had the power of giving form, colour, or substance to their imaginations. She had designed, and partly written, a history of our Lord's life, as exemplified in works of art. But death smote the workman ere the work was done. The information it had taken years to gather, and the taste it had taken years to perfect, were removed,—for we will not say scattered or destroyed,—and Mrs. Jameson's fragment was placed for completion in other hands.

The selection made for this purpose by her friends and publishers has been very wise, and such as she herself, if the circumstances of the case had allowed her any voice in the matter, would probably have entirely approved. Though not much known hitherto as an original writer on art, Lady Eastlake has translated one or two important works on the subject, and is besides, if we mistake not, an accomplished draughtswoman. Her literary spurs, if the image may be allowed in the case of a lady, were won several years ago, under her maiden name of Elizabeth Rigby. The *Letters from the Baltic*, and *Livonian Tales*, were the results of a visit to a sister who had married a Russian noble. But apart from Lady Eastlake's own literary and artistic qualifications, her position as the wife of the President of the Royal Academy, and Director of the National Gallery, have naturally given her the greatest advantages for the successful undertaking of such a work as Mrs. Jameson had projected. Sir Charles is not only a distinguished artist, but—which is more to the purpose—a distinguished writer on art; and above all he possesses an acquaintance with the works of the early Italian painters that is probably almost unrivalled. To this knowledge Lady Eastlake has of course had access; and it is scarcely too much to say that her work is worthy of her by whom it was begun, worthy of the artist whose name she herself bears, and worthy even of the great subject itself.

And truly it is no mean achievement to have risen near to the height of such an argument. For, let the reader think what a *History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art* really means. To grasp such a subject thoroughly, the author must

be an artist, a historian, an archæologist, and even a theologian. He must be familiar, not merely with the great works of the great masters, but with numberless things besides—with the mural decorations in the catacombs, with the sculptures on sarcophagi and church doors, with mosaics, ivories, and enamels, and, last, greatest task of all, with those multitudinous miniatures which the loving hands of mediæval monks traced in the margins and pages of their manuscripts. He must have followed the various developments and decadences of Christian feeling, and traced the changing influences which religion exercised upon art, and art upon religion. He must be able to appreciate devoutness of intention, even when allied to the humblest technical skill, and, on the other hand, not scorn what is beautiful in itself, because the artist evidently thought of nothing except beauty. He must not suffer his dislike for superstition to hide from his eyes whatever of really pious feeling may lurk beneath it. In short, his knowledge must be great, and his sympathies large and ready. And yet these sympathies should not be of that morbid character which palters with truth, and fears, for kindliness' sake, to point out an error. To the Protestant, moreover, the whole subject possesses this difficulty, that he is constantly compelled to pass judgment upon embodied thoughts from which he cannot but dissent,—thoughts embodied by men whom, in many cases, he cannot but respect. This, however, be it said by way of parenthesis, is in a minor degree, and in another form, one of the difficulties of daily life; and it generally takes a long time before we can thoroughly realise the fact, that those whose opinions we most utterly repudiate are sometimes more able and better than ourselves.

But to return to Lady Eastlake. From what we have just said it will be seen how nearly we echo the remark made in her preface, that 'those at all conversant with the extent, interest, and comparative obscurity of this study, are aware that the devotion of a life would have only sufficed to do it justice.' What prevents us from echoing it fully is, that Lady Eastlake, without apparently devoting her life to the task, has performed it so well. The book before us is thoroughly satisfactory. Of course we do not mean by this, that there are not several principles enunciated, and individual criticisms expressed, from which we dissent. To some of these we shall probably have occasion to revert. Imperfections of style might also be pointed out in Lady Eastlake's share of the work. For this lady does not, in our opinion, possess her predecessor's precision and facility of pen. She does not

always succeed in quite clearly explaining her meaning ; and it would not be difficult to pick out here and there a superfluous word and an ungrammatical expression. But such minor blemishes and differences of opinion do not prevent us from entertaining and expressing a warm admiration for the *History of our Lord in Art*, an admiration that extends to the numerous etchings and woodcuts that enrich the volumes. The selection is exceedingly good, and could scarcely, indeed, have been better : many had never been engraved before, and others were so uncommon as to be almost inaccessible to the general public. The execution, too, is excellent. In every case where our knowledge of the originals enables us to gauge the accuracy of the copy, we find that the true meaning has been caught and rendered. And here, if, among so many illustrations that are beautiful, we may mention two in which the beauty of the original designs seems to us unrivalled, we may specify the representations of the creation of Adam and Eve, from Ghiberti's bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence—those doors which Michael Angelo declared were worthy of being the gates of Paradise.

The arrangement of the book renders it very difficult to analyse and epitomize for the benefit of the readers of a review. The *History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art* is not a chronologically ordered description of the representations of the Son of God and Son of Man which have been made by successive generations of sculptors and painters. Though dealing entirely with what is the central axis round which Christian art has necessarily moved, it is in no sense a history of Christian art. In that case it would be comparatively easy to give an outline of the book. But the sequence followed is that of our Lord's manifestations to man. Lady Eastlake and Mrs. Jameson take the various scenes in which our Lord is represented in His dealings with His creatures, whether before or during His life on earth ; and then proceed to show, one by one, how each scene has been illustrated. This necessarily compels them to go over the same ground, in a historical sense, many times, and almost prevents the possibility of giving a general view of what is in truth an aggregation of details. We will, however, do what we can.

It certainly cannot be objected that the subject is not taken up at a sufficiently early date ; for the book opens, even before the creation of the world, with the Fall of Lucifer and of the Rebel Angels. This is unquestionably 'beginning at the beginning.' The explanation of the introduction of a theme which at first sight seems anomalous in a *History of our Lord*,

is its connexion with the creation. And the creation is very properly introduced, because, 'in all religious art, as in all sound theology, Christ is the Creator, in the active and visible sense, on the First Day, as truly as He will be Judge on the Last Day,'—a doctrine plainly asserted in the sublime opening of St. John's Gospel. But, even apart from its theological truth, there was another reason which would have led the early artists, prior to the thirteenth century, to represent all the creative acts as performed by Christ. These men, with a reverence which it would have been well if their successors had imitated, feared to produce an image of Him whom, we are told, 'no man hath seen at any time.' The *Padre Eterno*, that awful, almost blasphemous endeavour to give form, substance, and even age to the Infinite and Eternal, was the production of later and more daring generations. Such representations are a forbidden and unhallowed thing in art; and as in art, so in poetry, every simile which, by comparing a created and visible object to God, makes men try to conceive what the healthily reverent imagination should leave unpictured, is equally reprehensible. But, by a fine contrast, the early painters and illuminators, so fearful of putting their feet on holy ground, were often bold to temerity when any merely artistic difficulty had to be contended against. Indeed, with the intrepidity of innocent ignorance, they often seem not to have suspected that they were trying to make art do what it could not do. The fact that the creative acts are impossible as subjects for pictorial treatment seems never to have occurred to men who were almost ignorant of the first rules of drawing. Lady Eastlake, both in the woodcuts that enrich her volumes, and in the letter-press, gives some curious illustrations of this. In one of the former, taken from the paintings on the walls of the Cathedral of Monreale, and executed probably at the beginning of the thirteenth century, we have a representation of God's Spirit moving on the face of the waters. Our Lord leans forward out of a circle that represents heaven, and a dove hovers midway between Him and a human countenance with waves for hair, floating in the midst of the sea,—a strange literal rendering of the *face* of the waters. In another woodcut, taken from the mosaics of the Cathedral of St. Mark at Venice, (eleventh century,) we see Christ sitting on a throne blessing the seventh day. The other six days stand in angelic form on either side, each with wings and a glory round its head. The seventh, to denote its restful character, is devoid of the instruments of locomotion. But any strangeness which there may be in these images is as nothing compared

to the doctrinal lessons wrung from the story of the creation in a later French Bible. Here Lady Eastlake observes :—

'The distant tide of the Reformation is heard swelling in the very anxiety shown to proclaim the stability of the Roman Church, and the excellence of the monastic orders. Carrying on the fanciful connexion between light and darkness, and good and bad angels, the monkish commentators drive their speculations beyond all limits of moral tension. The firmament in the midst of the waters is the Church firm among dangers; the division of the waters is the separation of the good from the wicked. Again, the appearance of the dry ground is also the Church rejoicing in her stability. The creation of birds, by an extraordinary stretch of fancy, represents those who withdraw into a life of contemplation, and think "*aux biens du ciel*;" that of trees, the Christians who bear fruit; while the sun, the moon, and the stars do duty as emblems, the first of the great prelates, the second of the monks, and the third of the common people.'

This line of illustration and argument reminds us very forcibly of a sermon preached not so many months ago by a divine of Tractarian proclivities. He was desirous of proving that the doctrine of the right of private judgment was wrong. His theme was the parable of the Good Samaritan, and his reasoning took this form: The Good Samaritan was our Saviour, and the man who fell among thieves was our sinful race. The host of the inn was the Church, and the two pence which the Good Samaritan left at his departure were the Old and New Testaments. These, be it observed, were not given to the sick man himself, but to the host; and who, after this, could for a moment hesitate to believe that the interpretation of the Bible belonged to the Church alone? The only drawback to this style of argument is that it may be made available to prove anything. The Schoolmen would have hailed our Tractarian friend as a worthy disciple. Indeed, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, arguments by forced analogy reigned supreme; and from the first ages of Christianity the kindred art of discovering typical resemblances between the persons and events of the Old and New Testaments assumed an extraordinary development. Both tendencies naturally found an ample expression in Christian art; and thus Lady Eastlake has acted very wisely in devoting a large portion of her two volumes to the artistic history of our Lord's types.

For the more important of these types there was, of course, the direct warranty of Scripture. Again and again in the Old Testament we meet with passages that can only be properly read in the light of the New. The whole of the Mosaic dis-

pensation was but a foreshadowing of the completer dispensation that was to follow. Its ordinances were but types to be afterwards fulfilled, its personages but heralds of a mightier presence. Christ Himself, and the apostles after Him, traced many of these analogies for us; and made large use of the instruction to be derived from such sources. For instance, our Lord said to the Scribes and Pharisees, 'An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; but there shall be no sign given to it but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' Here the history of Jonah is shown to be plainly typical of the Saviour's death, burial, and resurrection, and a direct appeal to the faith of the Jews is founded upon it. Again, the doctrine of the Atonement is confirmed in a wonderful manner by the typical sacrifices which could point only to such an antitype. These, of course, are but instances in a thousand; and there was, therefore, in the pictorial illustration of what we may call legitimate types a wide field for Christian artists. This field, be it said, they cultivated duly; but its limits, unfortunately, were not large enough to confine their activity. Certain of the Fathers had given an example of forcing analogies where no real analogies existed, and the Schoolmen had followed with a perverse ingenuity. Resemblances the most distant, accidental, and unreal, were pressed into the service; and almost anything became a type, allegory, or symbol. Thus, with less than no apparent reason, the mere fact of Absalom having been killed while hanging from a tree made his death a type of the Crucifixion. Samson's carrying off the gates of Gaza was represented as a 'type of our Lord's Resurrection, who burst the gates of the tomb.' The Venerable Bede interpreted Adam's declaration on waking from the deep sleep which God had caused to fall upon him, viz., that a man should leave his father and his mother and cleave to his wife, as meaning prophetically that Christ should leave His Heavenly Father, abjure His mother the synagogue, and cleave to His spouse the Church. So also 'a mystical significance was given to the two wives of Jacob. Rachel, the most beloved, signified contemplative or holy life; and Leah, active life. Rachel was also a type of the Virgin Mary.' Again, 'the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar, in which he saw the tree under which the beasts of the earth had shadow, and in the boughs of which the fowls of heaven dwelt,' was also made the subject of one of these absurd comments. 'By a curious disregard of the text, where the person figured is

interpreted by the prophet of the Lord as Nebuchadnezzar himself, this tree is declared to be Christ; and accordingly this second vision is given as a type of the Crucifixion.'

Enough of this. But before we proceed to what is our real subject, as it is that of Lady Eastlake, we should like to glean a few interesting passages from this portion of her work,—the portion that embraces the pictorial history of the Patriarchs, of Moses and the Judges, of David, of the Prophets, and lastly of the mysterious Sibyls who were supposed to have predicted the coming of Christ to the Gentiles. To many of our readers the following passage will explain what must often have appeared strange in the representations of the great Lawgiver.

'In studying the impersonations of Moses, we are at once struck with that convention in art which embodies the idea of the glory that shone from his face under the form of horns. In sculpture, there are absolute excrescences growing on the forehead of the patriarch,—as in Michael Angelo's statue, which has the budding strong horns of a young ox: in painting, they are frequently the same, or at any rate rays of light streaming horn-like from his brow. The origin of this lies in the fact that the Hebrew words for radiant and for horned are synonymous. The Vulgate adopted the latter reading; "*Videntes autem Aaron et filii Israel cornutam Moysi faciem*;" whence, as Fabricius says, the "preposterous industry" of artists in affixing horns to the effigies of Moses.'

Those of our readers who, like ourselves, have been struck with an undefinable awe before a small painting of Jacob's dream in the Dulwich gallery, will be glad to find their own impressions confirmed by this exquisite little critique of Mrs. Jameson:—

'Rembrandt has in this instance, as in others, converted light and shade into poetry. Jacob, whose figure is that of a common peasant, and scarce distinguishable amid the palpable obscure, lies asleep on the left beneath some bushes. The ladder has no steps, but descends like a stream of light from above, while from its summit a strange winged shape, "not human, not angelical, but birdlike, dreamlike," comes floating downwards; and beyond it another figure just emerging from a fount of splendour, in which its ethereal essence was confounded, seems about to take some definite form and glide after its companion. In all the realm of creative art, I know nothing more unearthly and visionary than this little picture.'

Michael Angelo, as an artist whose aim was to display muscular action rather than excite devotional feeling, is naturally not a great favourite with Lady Eastlake. But the following passage is a piece of just and well expressed criticism:—

'The highest honour that art has rendered to the Sibyls has been by the hand of Michael Angelo, on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Here, in the conception of a mysterious order of women, placed above and without all considerations of the graceful or the individual, the great master was peculiarly in his element. They exactly fitted his standard of art, not always sympathetic, nor comprehensible to the average human mind, of which the grand in form and the abstract in expression were the first and last conditions. In this respect the Sibyls on the Sistine Chapel ceiling are more Michael Angelesque than their companions the Prophets. For these, while types of the highest monumental treatment, are yet men, while the Sibyls belong to a distinct class of beings, who convey the impression of the very obscurity in which their history is wrapt,—creatures who have lived far from the abodes of men, who are alike devoid of the expression of feminine sweetness, human sympathy, or sacramental beauty; who are neither Christians nor Jewesses, Witches nor Graces, yet living, grand, beautiful, and true, according to the laws revealed to the great Florentine genius only. Thus their figures may be said to be unique as the offspring of a peculiar sympathy between the master's mind and his subject. To this sympathy may be ascribed the prominence and size given them—both Prophets and Sibyls—as compared to their usual relation to the subjects they environ. They sit here in twelve throne-like niches, more like presiding deities, each wrapt in self-contemplation, than as tributary witnesses to the truth and omnipotence of Him they are intended to announce. Thus they form a gigantic framework round the subjects of the creation, of which the Birth of Eve, as the type of the Nativity, is the intentional centre.'

Passing on from the pictorial history of our Lord's types, one of the first questions that must occur to the student of Christian Art is, whether there exists any authentic information respecting Christ's bodily appearance while on earth. From an inspired source, none. The writers of the New Testament, who, all except St. Paul and St. Luke, had been in daily communication with Him, and must have spent many an hour gazing on His face, are strangely reticent on the point. Even St. John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, to whom He was not only a Saviour but a friend, keeps silence here. But in default of this, may it not be that some artistic tradition, worthy of respect, and not bearing self-evident traces of a lying origin, has carried down to us a true type of our Lord's countenance? That traditions and miraculous portraits purporting to be authentic do exist, is well known, and will surprise no one. For, of course, in the days when the manufacture of a spurious Gospel was regarded as a work tending to the greater glory of God, such an opportunity was too good to be lost. Still it is for the author of a *History of our Lord in Art* to sift the wheat from the chaff

in such a matter, and to determine whether among the heaps of falseness there may not possibly lurk some grains of truth. It behoves such a one especially to examine into the origin of that type of countenance, with divided hair and short silky beard, which has been given to Christ by so many generations of painters, and which has not entirely lost its throne even in the revolutionary nineteenth century. These tasks Lady Eastlake has performed with her usual acumen, and we cannot do better than follow her guidance in our investigations.

The existence of a continuous and, therefore, possibly correct type of our Lord's countenance is at once disproved by the fact, that the earliest representations we possess differ entirely from those of a later date. In the Art of the Roman catacombs,—that mine of Christian Archæology first opened on the 31st of May, 1578,—Christ appears young and blooming like a god or demigod of antiquity. As in 'the heads of Bacchus or Apollo, the hair is short, clustering, and united in front, though somewhat longer behind.' Sorrow and suffering were so repugnant to the serene genius of Classic Art, that even under the influence of Christianity it could not bring itself to portray anything but untroubled youth and beauty. This is but one proof the more—if indeed any such were needed—of the almost insurmountable difficulty men have in throwing off the influence of early education. That Christ suffered, died, and was buried for us, that He bore our sins and sorrows upon Him, is the fundamental fact of our religion. This it is which constitutes the marked difference between Him and the myriad deities which men have created, more or less in their own image, to people the surrounding infinite. The painters and sculptors of the catacombs knew this well enough. The contemporary fathers spoke on these matters as plainly as we can do. And yet, so long as classic influences prevailed, sweetness and youthful beauty were the pictorial attributes of our Lord.

In Byzantine art a totally different conception made its appearance. Beauty of form and feature was repudiated, and Christ was generally represented as old and unlovely,—nay, often as actually repulsive. This, it is almost needless to say, is as repugnant to all religions, as it unquestionably is to all æsthetic, feeling. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to follow the workings of an imagination which could picture to itself a harsh and forbidding Christ. The Son of Man round whose knees little children gathered, who wept over Jerusalem, wore, we may be sure, no forbidding countenance. To bestow such characteristics on the glorified Son of God, is, of course,

illimitably absurd. Nor is it necessary, as seems to have been done, to give a literal rendering to Isaiah's prophetic words: 'Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? For He shall grow up before Him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see Him, there is no beauty that we should desire Him.' (liii. 1, 2.) The deep pathos of such an utterance does not require us to form a mean physical conception of our Saviour. Enough if in His earthly pilgrimage He bore no outward sign of His sovereignty. But notwithstanding the frigid unvarying character of Byzantine art, it would be unjust to say that ugliness alone, and ugliness always, marked this highest of subjects. There is an illustration taken by Lady Eastlake from a manuscript of the twelfth century which would belie such a proposition. It is very beautiful, notwithstanding her remark that no woodcut can do justice to the original. 'Here,' in her own words,

'Christ has assumed a solemn and stern aspect, always more or less characteristic of the art of the Greek Church. He is no longer, as in our classic illustration, the God of a race who deified the pleasures of this life, or the expression of an art whose highest principle was the sense of repose: but He is a Being so far fitted for Christian worship as embodying the great fact of sacrifice and suffering, though combined with a sternness which forbids all thought of sympathy.'

But, however different the form and expression given to Christ's countenance by the Byzantine artists, there is one feature that seldom if ever varies, viz., the hair divided in the centre of the forehead. Generally also there is a short beard equally divided in the middle. These peculiarities may possibly have had some connexion, either as cause or effect, with the legendary description of our Lord to which most importance has been attached, and which purports to have been addressed to the Roman senate by Publius Lentulus, a friend of Pontius Pilate. This, it is almost superfluous to say, is a fabrication,—'possibly of the third century,' says Lady Eastlake, but probably of a much later date. It cannot be discovered earlier than in the writings of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, who flourished in the eleventh century. The passage runs thus:—

'This man is of noble and well-proportioned stature, with a face full of kindness and yet firmness, so that the beholders both love him and fear him. His hair is the colour of wine, and golden at the root,—straight, and without lustre,—but from the level of the ears curling and glossy, and divided down the centre, after the fashion of the Nazarenes (for Nazarites). His forehead is even and smooth, his face

without blemish, and enhanced by a tempered bloom ; his countenance ingenuous and kind. Nose and mouth are in no way faulty. His beard is full, of the same colour as his hair, and forked in form ; his eyes blue, and extremely brilliant. In reproof and rebuke he is formidable ; in exhortation and teaching, gentle and amiable of tongue. None have seen him to laugh ; but many, on the contrary, to weep. His person is tall ; his hands beautiful and straight. In speaking, he is deliberate and grave, and little given to loquacity. In beauty surpassing most men.'

The chief characteristic of Byzantine art was a blind respect for tradition. Even to the present day the devotional paintings executed for the Greek Church are made to resemble as much as possible their prototypes of many centuries ago. Any deviation from the old paths—if such had been attempted—would probably have been regarded almost as a crime. Accustomed as we are, especially in England, to the utmost licence of individual treatment in all subjects, sacred and profane, we find some difficulty in understanding this unreasoning reverence for mere antiquity. Progress and development have become such ruling thoughts in modern society, that voluntary stationariness strikes us as something strange and unnatural. We cannot fancy that the stream which dances and sparkles in the delight of its growth, motion, and life, should ever prefer to be foot-bound by the icy hand of winter. No more can we imagine how men who must have seen defects in the drawing or expression of their predecessors should have dreaded any effort at change or improvement. But this incidentally opens a question too large to be treated incidentally. For a disquisition on the rise, development, and real value of the essentially modern idea of *progress*—an idea unknown to the great thinkers of the Elizabethan age*—would lead us too far out of our way. We shall merely, therefore, remark, that while the

* Take Bacon, for instance. There certainly never was a man more marked out by nature to be a progressive thinker than he. This is shown not merely by his contempt for all antecedent forms of philosophy, and by the peculiar refining character of his mind, but by the way in which his intellect leapt forward into the dark, grasping at shadows which only future investigations have shown to be truths. And yet read his short Essay on Innovations, and see how far he was from holding the modern views of progress, and development for good. Many passages to the same effect might be culled from Raleigh's works. But here the case was not quite the same. A man who had revelled in the glorious activity of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was spending the latter years of his life in a prison under such a monarch as James, may be excused for thinking that things were going habitually wrong. A long confinement in the Tower, with a constant prospect of the block, was not calculated to make a man look hopefully into the future. But even apart from such influences, there can be no doubt that a belief in the gradual decadence of things was one of the ideas of the time.

Byzantine artists were following a path that could lead only to lower and lower depths of decay, their western brethren had entered upon one that was destined to lead to the highest summits of glory and success. The young Italian schools of the thirteenth century certainly owed much, if not indeed their very existence, to Greek influence. But, like subtle speculators, they made such good use of what they had borrowed, that they soon became richer than the lenders. Casting off, though cautiously and gradually, the slough of tradition, they learned to look at things with their own eyes,—which, in this case, happened to be better than those of their fathers. Though too much praise has perhaps been awarded to Cimabue as the *sole* leader in this great movement, yet Cimabue, as a representative man, we cannot respect too heartily.

Among the things borrowed by the Italian painters from Byzantium, were the few vague characteristics of our Lord's countenance that had been most prevalent in Byzantine art. These characteristics were retained by the artists of the Renaissance, and thus it is that a certain type has come down to us. But from this point we may as well follow the summing-up of the subject given by Lady Eastlake :—

‘ We seek in vain for a sole and continuous type of our blessed Lord during those periods when the faculty of representing individual expression was yet undeveloped. As long as Christ was depicted like other men, and other men like Him, He cannot be said to have had a character of His own. No type, strictly speaking, therefore, could begin till Christ stood isolated by the personal individualities of those around Him. This power was partially reserved for the Italian masters of the Renaissance of art which began in the thirteenth century. That they should have reverentially retained the few characteristics transmitted through Byzantine forms—the divided and falling hair, the forked beard, the somewhat lengthy face—was but natural: their business was to vary other faces, not that of our Lord. But even that cannot be said to have been successfully done until the true painter of the human soul arose. Fra Angelico is admitted to have been the first who attained the wondrous gift of expression, by which each individual received a separate existence. He therefore may be said to have been the first who isolated Christ. Whether the character given to the Lord rose in proportion with that of those around him is another question. We need but to look at the picture by Fra Angelico, in the National Gallery, to see that while surrounded with greater variety, and higher types of individual beauty, earnestness, and devotion, than almost any other known picture presents, the head of Christ is negative and unmeaning. Other instances, however, show that while the Frate's pious hand seems lamed when addressing itself to that awful countenance,

yet the expression at which he aimed was that most proper to Christ,—the Divine sympathy towards the human race.

‘It is to be regretted that the great painters of the beginning of the fifteenth century,—Florentine, Paduan, Venetian,—have left so few models of their conception of the Lord’s head. The Madonna and the Infant reign supreme at this time; the Entombment and the Ascension also present His dead or His glorified features; but our Lord as He walked among men is scarcely seen. It would seem as if, in the first triumphs over the living face of one of the most powerful and beautiful races of man, they shrank from a head in which something better than the pride of the eye and the power of the brain was demanded. The great Florentine giants of the fifteenth century,—Sandro Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, the Lippi,—have hardly left a conception of Christ in His living manhood,—nor Bellini, nor Montague. Nevertheless, the fifteenth century did not elapse without bequeathing the profoundest conception of the Son of Man which mortal hand has ever executed. Most of our readers will think of that dim ghost of a head, still lingering on the walls of an old refectory in Milan, which, like its Divine original, has suffered the contempt and injury of man, yet still defies the world to produce its equal. Leonardo da Vinci’s *Cena** is confessed to have been a culminating point in art: in nothing does it show this more than in surrounding Christ with the highest forms of intelligence, earnestness, beauty, and individuality, in male heads, and yet preserving the Divine Master’s superiority to all. We will not attempt to analyse the cause for this, though, perhaps, the intense pathos of that sympathizing look may give a clue. After this, there are few heads of Christ as living on which we dwell with that sadness of admiration which is the evidence of their affinity to our higher part, though the utmost pathos has been given to the dead features; as, for instance, in the Christ in the large *Pietà* by Perugino in the Pitti, and that in the same subject by Francia in the National Gallery, which are both of a very high order. Nor could Raphael run his course without setting the stamp of his mind on this sacred head. But this does not come within the category of conceptions of Christ as man; for his exquisite head in the *Disputa* embodies Christ, though seen with His wounds, as in glory.

‘As Art exulted more and more in her mechanical triumphs, the likelihood of a true homage to that head diminishes. The juicy and facile brush of the Venetian school scarcely arises above a courteous and well-liking benevolence of expression, and Christ, in Titian’s “Tribute Money” falls even below that standard. Albert Dürer, however grand in his *Man of Sorrows*, is most so when he hides the face. Flemish art passes from the meanest and ugliest conceptions in the engravings of the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the

* Lady Eastlake, in a later portion of her volumes, turns back to this great picture, and her descriptive critique upon it is one of the most brilliant in the book. Unfortunately it is too long for quotation.

sixteenth, century, to the handsome, florid, earthly head by Rubens, and that, more refined, but scarcely more spiritual, by Vandyck; while the highest conception of latter days was reserved for that Dutchman who occasionally transfigures vulgar forms with a glory that hides every blemish; so that Christ, under the hand of Rembrandt, though not beautiful and not dignified, has yet a holiness which scarcely any other master has attained.'

There is one respect in which the volumes before us, viewed as a complete artistic history of our Lord's life, are defective, viz., that they contain no account of the nativity, or of His earlier years. That numerous class of pictures, in which He is represented as a child in His mother's arms, finds no description here. Except that there is a short chapter on the scene with the Doctors, we leap at once to His manhood. The explanation which Mrs. Jameson gives of this apparent omission is in one sense satisfactory, and in another, not. She says that she had already fully treated of these subjects in a former volume of her *Legendary Art*, and in the *Legends of the Madonna*. This, of course, accounts for her avoiding what would have been a repetition. But, at the same time, the absence of such topics gives a singularly incomplete character to the book before us. A history of our Lord's sojourn on earth begins of necessity with His birth, and embraces His infancy. Few subjects, moreover, have occupied so prominent a place in art as the Nativity, and the Virgin and Child. The latter, especially, contained such opportunities for the display of all that is graceful in thought and execution, that it is no wonder so many of the great masters should have made it a favourite theme. In themselves there are few things more beautiful than a mother's love for her child, or than the child's responsive caresses; and in this case the woman was dimly conscious that her infant was the Saviour of the human race. Here were the materials for the representation of all that was tender and lovely in womanhood and maternity, of all that was sweetest in childhood. And here, accordingly, the really great painters, from Raphael downwards, have found some of their happiest inspirations.* Here also was a theme in the highest degree congenial to the exquisite tenderness of feeling that was the predominant feature in Mrs. Jameson's character. It is in every way therefore a great loss to these two volumes, that they should not embrace what seems of such right to belong to

* And here also, because, as Robert Browning says, speaking of Guercino, 'he has else endured some wrong,' and been called a 'base painter,' and other ugly names, we would do homage to Murillo's pictures of the Infant Christ. No other painter to our thinking has so happily rendered the simplicity of the child and the Divinity of the Saviour.

them. To us also at this season of the year the absence of such topics is a great loss. For now, in the hallowed Christmas-tide that has just gone by, we have all been more specially reminded of that lowly scene in the stable at Bethlehem, and of the ineffable condescension with which

'That glorious form and light unsufferable,
And that far-beaming blaze of Majesty,
Wherein He wont at Heaven's high council table
To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
He left for us—and here with us to dwell
Forsook the courts of everlasting day,
And took with us a darksome house of mortal clay.'

Omitting, by a kind of 'self-denying ordinance,' all notice of our Lord's earlier years, Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, as we have just seen, commence His artistic biography with the Dispute in the Temple. This is a subject which has been thoroughly appropriated by a modern painter whom Royal Academicians do not delight to honour. But Holman Hunt is a man who can well afford to bide his time. The scope of the book before us does not include the art of later schools, and accordingly the references to the works of living or recently deceased men are very rare. A passing allusion to Paul Delaroche, Ary Scheffer, and Sant—this well-nigh exhausts the catalogue. And yet, though there is less than nothing to call for such an *excursus*, Mrs. Jameson goes out of her way to make a rather contemptuous observation on the Light of the World. But it is not for the purpose of calling attention to this fact, and still less with the object of praising one who can very well do without praise, that we have brought Mr. Holman Hunt's name into our pages. It is because he stands forward as perhaps the ablest representative of a certain set of principles which Lady Eastlake condemns, and which, whether right or wrong, are of great artistic importance. Indeed, a proper appreciation of the controversy is necessary to a right understanding of the subject of this article.

In painting a picture, Holman Hunt's first object, unless we are greatly mistaken, is to place the scene before the spectator's eye exactly as it took place, or, in default of more accurate knowledge, as it might have taken place. Thus, when he wished to show us Christ conversing with the Rabbis in the temple, he went to the East, studied the physiognomy of the Jews of the Holy Land, and toilsomely acquired the power of giving local colour to his work by making himself acquainted with every necessary detail of architecture and costume. So much for the subordinate personages and accessories. Then, in the

more difficult task of representing our Lord Himself, he selected one of the finest types of the eastern countenance, and gave us *that*. The face was heightened and ennobled perhaps, but only so far as we may conceive His face to have been ennobled, who was in constant communion with His heavenly Father. Then, having obtained these preliminary data, he sought and found what is indeed the highest, but not, as Lady Eastlake would have us believe, the only desideratum in a work of art, viz., the true interpretation through expression and action of what the various personages thought and meant. The result is, that when we stand before Holman Hunt's picture, we feel as if we were among the actual spectators of the actual scene,—and yet with no irreverent forgetfulness of the fact that the young questioner is the Son of God. Of course we do not for a moment mean that this result is due merely to the painter's travels and studies. Without a powerful imagination to conceive the whole subject, the most accurate attention to details would avail nothing. The difference between Holman Hunt and those who act on the opposite principles is, that having first taken every trouble to obtain the necessary data for an absolutely true representation, he forces his imagination to work in accordance with those data.

All a mistake, says Lady Eastlake. You cannot form a real conception of the manner in which the various events of our Lord's life took place, and may just as well give up the attempt. 'To endeavour to assume the position of a looker-on at the time, is the fallacy, as we have observed in the Introduction, by which many an artist of no elevation of character has erred. Such a position, however true in the light of a fact then, has never been true in any light since.' Indeed, by so doing you sacrifice the 'permanent truth' to the 'temporary fact.' For the permanent truth respecting our Saviour is that He is very God of very God. Our faith can look upon Him in no other light. But the temporary fact was that He appeared to men a poor and suffering mortal. 'It is a mistake to suppose that a picture can convey the double sense of Christ, as He appeared to those around Him, and as He is beheld through the eye of belief. Art, by its essential conditions, has but one moment to speak, and one form of expression to utter.' Thus you must adopt a convention, and presuppose that the actors in the scene do not see what is made perfectly plain to the eye of the spectator. For instance, if the Jews and Roman soldiers had perceived the cruciform nimbus that is generally made to shine round Christ's head, they would have recognised His supernatural character and ceased to torment Him. But this

is a mere convention, like—to borrow a simile which is lowering to the subject, but which best expresses our meaning,—like the stage *aside*, which the audience alone are presumed to hear, but which can only be inaudible to the other *dramatis personæ* in cases of extreme deafness. Not merely, however, in the representations of our Lord's person are we to discard the actual facts of the case. Inconsistencies in minor matters, such as landscape, architecture, dress, are of no importance. 'On the contrary it is right that art should exercise the utmost possible freedom in such circumstances, which are the signs and handwriting of different schools and times, and enrich a picture with sources of interest to the historian and the archæologist.'

Now in this matter we agree both with Lady Eastlake and with Holman Hunt,—with the former as regards the past of art, with the latter as regards its present and future. This means that we frankly and freely accept what she says as an explanation and complete justification of the practice of the old masters, but that we do not consider it as the expression of the most perfect result at which art can arrive. To any one who studies, however cursorily, the works of painters till within very recent times, it must at once be apparent that they scarcely ever endeavoured to represent a scene *exactly* as it occurred. In purely devotional pictures this is, of course, not to be looked for. Here the desire to excite the religious feelings of the spectator was the paramount object. When, for instance, the pious Fra Angelico painted a Crucifixion in which the saints and martyrs of the church surround the cross in mute, prayerful, or ecstatic adoration; he wished, doubtless, to impress on the beholders the mystery of the Redemption. He certainly had no desire to make any one believe that the actual Crucifixion took place in this wise. In another picture by the same artist, (Convent of S. Marco, Florence,) we see Christ carrying His cross with a light buoyant step and elate aspect. He is unfettered; and there is no one to compel Him to take His course towards Calvary, as the only spectators are the Virgin and St. Dominic. Here the holy monk, well called *Angelico* from the heavenly spirit that breathes through all he did, evidently wished to give the Christian an example of the way in which he was to bear the cross of life. Again, in a curious English miniature of the fourteenth century Adam is depicted lying at the foot of the 'accursed tree,' and holding a chalice to catch the drops of blood that drip from our Saviour's side. This may be in allusion to a legend that our first father was buried at Golgotha, and that the blood falling on his tomb had called him to eternal life. Or it may more

probably be, like the legend itself, an illustration of the fact that it is only through that blood that the sons of men can escape the darkness of the grave and the pains of hell. Instances such as these, in which the artist has endeavoured to draw a lesson, or excite an emotion, and not at all to represent an actual fact, might be multiplied infinitely. These are what Lady Eastlake and Mrs. Jameson call 'devotional pictures.' But even in what they call 'historical pictures,' viz., those in which a more direct attempt is made to realise a scene in our Lord's history, a very large devotional element generally prevails. The artist frequently wishes to inculcate a lesson for which he deserts in some particular the probabilities of the case. Thus in nearly all the pictures of the Last Supper executed before Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece, Judas is depicted sitting apart from the rest of the apostles. He generally occupies a little stool in front of the table at which our Lord is seated.* That he did occupy such a place was in the highest degree unlikely; for we may be sure that a man just contemplating a hideous wrong would take good care not to put himself in a too conspicuous position. The perpetrator of a deed of darkness does not generally court the glare of an exceptional situation. A murderer is probably the person of all others who will be the most anxious to appear exactly like his fellows. We should, therefore, very much hesitate to believe that Judas had placed himself where the gaze of twelve pairs of eyes must have been continually fixed upon him. But anything was better than making him whom Christ had declared to be a devil sit side by side with the founders of the Church. Probability was made to yield to the fitness of things. Even in the 'historical pictures,' when the desire to represent an event and nothing but an event was most prominent, the old masters seldom did more than give each personage the expression most fitted to his character and the actual scene. And when they

* The *Cena* discovered some twenty years ago in what had been the refectory of the Convent of S. Onofrio (now the museum of Egyptian antiquities) at Florence is an instance of this arrangement. This fresco, Lady Eastlake says, is 'now generally attributed to Pinturicchio.' Though it is very dangerous in such a matter to question a statement made by so good an authority,—by one, moreover, who is the wife of the director of the National Gallery,—yet we are not at all sure that the general voice of the critic world assigns the picture to this artist. Unless we are greatly mistaken, it is usually accepted in Florence as a work of Raphael's youth. M. Vitet, a French critic of very high standing, has devoted a long and remarkably interesting article in his recently published '*Etudes sur l'Histoire de l'Art*' to the support of the same thesis. So far as we can judge without consulting the fresco itself, his arguments have very great force. It seems strange especially that a portrait of Raphael should have been introduced by any other hand than his own. Right or wrong, M. Vitet's article is a beautiful specimen of constructive reasoning.

had succeeded in doing this, there can be no doubt that they had reached very near to the topmost pinnacle of art. But at the same time it never seems to have occurred to them that Christ and His apostles belonged to a different race of men to themselves, that their dress was not the same, and that in surrounding them with Gothic or Renaissance buildings an anachronism was committed. The Jews in all older pictures follow the nationality of the artist. They are Dutch in Holland, Italian in Italy, and German in Germany. Our Lord's dress is most often conventional, but not unfrequently it follows the same law. The architecture varies similarly. Rembrandt, indeed, seems to have been the only one who ever suspected that the Jews of old had some connexion with the people who now bear that name, and that they might have worn a Jewish physiognomy. But even his Jews are not quite what they should be, savouring as they do very much more of the exchange and money-lending establishments of Amsterdam than of Judæa. Now all this was in a great measure due to ignorance. Strict archæology is a modern science; and it is comparatively but very few years since the East has been be-painted, be-photographed, be-travelled, and described as it is now. The old masters were really not in a position to commit what Lady Eastlake calls the fallacy of trying to assume the position of lookers on at the time. Most of the early artists never had this aim, and could not have realised it if they had. With those whose sculptures and mural paintings enrich the Catacombs, the object was to convey a lesson by the simplest possible means. Thus, in the miracle of the transformation of the water into wine, 'Christ as a single figure in classical drapery stands before three vases; and with a touch of the wand which He extends towards them, the water is supposed to become wine. The Divine power of our Lord, and the object on which He exercises that power, are alone present; there is no attempt to express any locality, or any attendant circumstances. It is the idea merely suggested rather than represented.' The same spirit, modified by the changed character of the times, shows itself in the illuminations that glow on the pages of the MSS. of the middle ages. The painters of the Renaissance of art in Italy, though less abstract than their forefathers in the Catacombs, yet made the lesson to be taught paramount to the true rendering of the scene. Their successors, as they waxed mightier and mightier in technical skill, grew to care less for the lessons and more for the art. But still, as power of the human countenance, richness of colouring, skill in grouping, and

anatomical knowledge could all be lavished just as well on scenes that were not historically true as on those that were, they made no great effort to be strictly accurate.

Now let us not be misunderstood. The question lies in a nut-shell. The ancient masters for various reasons did not always care to represent a religious scene as reason and riper knowledge sees it to have most probably taken place. When they thought that the lesson to be taught required them to depart from the probable facts, they did so. In nearly every case they neglected truth of accessories. In all this Lady Eastlake thinks they acted quite right, and so do we. They were perfectly justified by the principles on which they acted, and which are sufficiently reasonable to constitute a justification, and by the knowledge which they possessed. They are justified moreover by the fact, that when once we have accepted their conventions, their works have still the power to give us religious and artistic pleasure. But the question is, whether the right course for the artist *now* be not to take these subjects up in a realistic spirit, to depict them as far as may be exactly as they took place, and whether it is not possible to throw as much reverence into this treatment, and to derive as much and even more instruction from it than from the old. *Vérité quand même, vérité toujours*, is our motto, and we answer these questions strongly in the affirmative.

Let us take a series of subjects in which Lady Eastlake again and again complains of realistic irreverence. The Passion, we need scarcely say, is the collective name given to the closing scenes in our Lord's earthly career, commencing with the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and ending with the ascension. As the most important part of Christ's sojourn among men, the apostles have described it most minutely. For innumerable reasons it is that which has furnished the most ample materials to Art. Many of these scenes are, of course, of a highly painful character, and not unfrequently there may have existed a disposition to heighten that painfulness. Still it was impossible to represent our Lord as captured in the Garden, smitten before Caiaphas, mocked, scourged, and crowned with thorns, bearing the Cross, and suffering the most horrible and infamous death, without placing the sacred Person in what are, humanly speaking, humiliating positions. On this Lady Eastlake remarks: 'To represent the sacred person of our Lord succumbing beneath degrading treatment, is not endurable to a reverent eye, even in scenes which commemorate His known sufferings; and on occasions where Scripture is silent, utterly unjustifiable. We can never too often impress upon our

readers that Art is bound, as the very first condition of her service, to show respect to the person of our Lord by rendering its dignity paramount to every outrage to which He subjected Himself.' Then follows the sentence we have already quoted : 'To endeavour to assume the position of a looker on at the time is the fallacy..... by which many an artist of no elevation of character has erred.' Now, this is just what we deny. That any painter who fancied he had constituted himself an actual spectator by 'associating Christ's sufferings with a mean or degraded figure, or exaggerating them so as to hide all the character of Him who endured them,' erred, and erred greatly, we are prepared to admit to any extent. In our own conception this is precisely what any 'looker on at the time' would not have seen. The unbiassed witness to the closing scenes in our Lord's life would have stood before some of the most sublime though terrible spectacles that have occurred in the history of mankind, and have seen 'things' which we are told 'the angels desire to look into.' He would have seen the Saviour on whom the 'Lord hath laid' 'the iniquity of us all,' and who 'was wounded for our transgressions,' 'brought as a lamb to the slaughter,' and, as a sheep dumb before her shearers, not opening His mouth. In the picture of unmerited insult and violence, borne with Divine meekness and resignation, there can be nothing to degrade the sufferer. And if the painter have made the spectacle degrading, it can only be through want of power to imagine the scene as it took place. Indeed, it is to this, and not to an overmastering and ill-advised desire to be literal, that a large proportion of the pictures to which Lady Eastlake objects may be attributed. When, for instance, Ludovico Carracci, in the picture of the Flagellation, shows us our Saviour surrounded by half a dozen maniacs, one of whom is dragging Him down by the hair, our taste is offended quite as much by the unlikelihood of such a representation as by its irreverence. So also in Albert Dürer's engraving of Christ's being dragged before Caiaphas by the hair of His head ; and in a design for the Betrayal 'purporting to be by Poussin, but more probably by the hand of his scholar, Stella,' where 'the garden is occupied by a mere rabble rout, in the midst of which is our Lord screaming with terror, and with both His arms extended—an action as improbable in one just captured, as it is unbecoming when applied here to Christ.' The fact is, in all these subjects, truth constitutes the happy mean. As it is only a sickly sensibility that would shun or tone down the representation of scenes which the inspired narratives have described for our edification, so it is only a

vulgar delight in horrors that would exaggerate their cruelty.
To

‘nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice,’

should be the artist's aim.

But, if we think Lady Eastlake inclined to attribute too respectful a character to the treatment of our Lord by His enemies, we entirely agree with her strictures on those who have represented Him as irreverently treated by His friends and disciples. Here there is a violation of every propriety, and of every probability. The artist not only shows that he himself cares little for the sanctity of his subject, but that he has not been able to conceive the devotion with which those who had listened to Christ's teaching would treat even His inanimate remains. Thus in Tintoretto's picture, in the Stafford Gallery, of the Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Sepulchre, a man with his head between our Saviour's knees carries the legs dangling over his shoulders. A soldier burying a dead comrade amid the accustomed horrors of a field of battle, would scarcely do it in this fashion. So again, in a picture of the same subject by Raphael,—a picture of which there is a woodcut in these volumes,—the body is supported by the corners of a winding sheet, about equal in size to an ordinary towel. The consequence is that the three bearers have to strain over their burden, and handle it roughly. Besides, the cross is seen on a distant eminence, and few things can be imagined more physically hopeless, than for three men to carry a heavy body for such a distance by such means. As Lady Eastlake says, ‘Nothing can be finer than their figures, or more satisfactory than their labour, if we forget what it is they are carrying; but it is the weight of their burden only, and not the character of it, which the painter has kept in view; and we feel that the results would have been the same had these figures been carrying a bag of sand.’ This is just. In such a picture the sense of repose which should ever brood over those who have done with the toils and troubles of our restless life, is lost. The solemnity and awful stillness of death are mocked by these straining muscles. Even in the case of Christ we have no right to intrude with our violence ‘where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.’ No one seems to have felt this more fully than that strange poet of light and shade whom Mrs. Jameson has called the ‘inspired Dutchman.’ A woodcut from one of Rembrandt's etchings stands opposite the woodcut from Raphael's picture, in Lady Eastlake's volumes; and we thank her for bringing the

contrast so admirably before us. Here a group of homely, sorrow-stricken figures bears our Lord reverently, decently along upon a bier of simplest construction. Making no useless parade of strength, but quietly, and with sad, slow steps, they carry their precious burden to the grave. This is a case in which genius aimed simply at truth, and by the same effort reached pathos, dignity, and devoutness. Another contrast of a similar kind, in which again Raphael and some of the great masters do not play the finer part, is pointed out by Lady Eastlake. In a large proportion of the pictures of the Descent from the Cross, the mechanical means used are utterly inadequate to the desired end. Thus, to give one instance out of many, in a design of Raphael, engraved by Marc Antonio, our Lord hangs between two ladders, resting on either side of the Cross, in such a way that he *must*, be the next movement what it may, fall upon the fainting Virgin below. Indeed, we do not believe that He could, even for a second, have been held where He is; for the full weight virtually rests on the arms of one man, and that man has anything but a secure hold of either side of the waist. The passage in which Lady Eastlake compares this and similar works to a picture of Fra Angelico, is too clever and characteristic not to be given in full.

'After contemplating these conceptions of the deposition, in which a certain parade of idle sorrow, vehement action, and pendent impossibilities are conspicuous, it is a relief to turn to one who here, as ever, stands alone in his mild glory. Fra Angelico's Descent, painted for the S.S. Trinità at Florence.....now in the Academia there, is the perfect realisation of the most pious idea. No more Christian conception of the subject, and no more probable setting forth of the scene, can perhaps be attained. All is holy sorrow, calm and still; the figures move gently and speak in whispers. No one is too excited to help, and not to hinder. Joseph and Nicodemus, known by their glories, are highest in the scale of reverential beings who people the ladder, and make it almost look as if it lost itself, like Jacob's, in heaven. They each hold an arm close to the shoulder. Another disciple sustains the body as he sits on the ladder; a fourth receives it under the knees; and St. John, a figure of the highest beauty of expression, lifts his hands, and offers his shoulder to the precious burden, where in another moment it will safely and tenderly repose. The figure itself is ineffably graceful with pathetic tenderness; but Corona Gloriam, victory over the old enemy, surrounds a head of Divine peace. He is restored to His own, and rests among them with a security, as if He knew the loving hands, so quietly and mournfully busied about Him. And His peace is with them already: 'Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you.' In this picture it is as if the pious artist had sought first the kingdom of God, and all things, even in art, had been added unto him. He who

could hardly set a figure in action, or paint the development of a muscle, here puts Luca Signorelli, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Rossi to shame, in his quiet success in one of the most difficult of subjects. Pious carefulness and earnest decorum here do even this hard work far better than the most ostentatious display of anatomical knowledge and physical strength.'

Lady Eastlake, as it appears to us, is needlessly hard upon those painters who have represented the Virgin as fainting during our Lord's Passion, and Christ as falling beneath the cross on His way to Calvary. As regards the former, we will merely say, that Lady Eastlake seems too often to forget that the Virgin was not only a Christian, but a mother. This would fully account for her yielding to the strength of her emotions when other persons, with perhaps less faith, were able to bear up. They bore up because they had from the necessity of the case less to feel. As regards the strictures passed upon the artists who have dared to conceive our Saviour as falling beneath the weight of the cross, our remarks must take a more extended form. The reason why they are condemned by our authoress is because this event in Christ's life was intended to convey a direct lesson. Christ bearing His cross was the great example which Christians were to follow; for did He not again and again tell us each to take up our cross and follow Him? If therefore He Himself, the great Head of the human race, was unable to bear the burden He had willingly taken on His shoulders, how can we hope or expect to bear those He will impose upon us? In fact, such a representation is a direct invitation to cowardice in that great battle of which the field is the Christian soul. As Lady Eastlake says, 'It is not too much to say that the painter who should make our Lord succumbing in the Temptation would be not farther from the moral truth than he who presents the false and discouraging image to the eye of His falling beneath His Cross.' Now we fully allow that these arguments have great force. They are unanswerable if we admit a *necessary* and *inevitable* connexion between such utterances as, 'He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after Me, is not worthy of Me,' (Matthew x. 38,) and the manner in which Christ performed His toilsome journey up Mount Calvary. If when He spoke thus He referred to a subsequent action in His life which alone would give point and meaning to His declaration, there is nothing more to be said. In that case we may be sure that when the time came for Him to show practically how an actual cross was to be borne, He would have borne it without faltering. But if, on the other hand, there is nothing to establish this connexion as necessary,

the painter's treatment of the subject may fairly be left to his own choice. He may elect to teach us the lesson for which Lady Eastlake contends, or he may prefer to draw the necessary inferences from the fact that our Lord had spent a night and morning of agony, betrayal, insult, torture, and condemnation; that He had been bandied about from judge to judge; that after this He was called to carry a heavy weight; and, finally, that it was necessary to compel a stranger to help Him. From such premises the inference that Christ may have fallen by the way would surely not be so very far-fetched. Now, on an examination of the most important of the circumstances under which our Lord used the simile of taking up the cross, it certainly seems as if the connexion of which we have spoken had been intended. Jesus, we are told, had begun to 'show unto His disciples, how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day.' (Matt. xvi. 21.) This teaching proving distasteful to the ardent spirit of Peter, our Lord rebuked him, and then, turning again to His disciples, said, 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me.' (Verses 22-24). St. Luke gives the same account; (ix. 23;) but St. Mark adds this important particular, that Jesus had first 'called the people unto Him with His disciples also,' (viii. 34,) before He spoke to them about taking up the cross. Now this gives a slightly new complexion to the case. If Christ, after first minutely explaining to His disciples by what death He was to die, had pointedly used this expression to them alone, we could have no doubt that He intended His prospective act of bearing the Cross to convey a special lesson. But when He used it to the people at large, who had heard nothing about His future sufferings, the simile must have been utterly incomprehensible, unless it possessed some larger and more habitual meaning. They did not know He was actually to carry a wooden cross, and therefore any allusion which there might have been in Christ's words would have been lost. This reasoning is strengthened if we consider that on two other occasions (Matt. x. 38, and Luke xiv. 27) Jesus used the same form of expression, when there was no special reference to His own end or to the manner of it. We are therefore led to believe that He used it simply because it would most readily convey to His hearers the idea of a heavy and ignominious burden,—of the obloquy and self-denial which every follower of His must be prepared to endure. The fact that Christ Himself actually bore His burden in a tangible form may be regarded

rather as a fortuitous circumstance. The inspired narratives of the Passion do not connect the two facts together; and though the artist may without blame do so if he please, yet he may equally without blame represent this scene in our Lord's life as it seems most probably to have occurred.

But it is time that we should retrace our steps, and give a completer catalogue of the events in our Lord's life and ministry which Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake have selected for verbal and pictorial illustration. Beginning, as we have already seen, with the Dispute with the Doctors, they proceed to the Baptism of Jesus—treated as an episode in the history of John the Baptist. Then comes the Temptation in the Wilderness, with its corollary of the Angels ministering to our Lord. These are followed by the Money Changers expelled from the Temple, Christ as Teacher and Preacher, the Tribute Money, Christ in the House of Martha and Mary,—a subject already described in the *Sacred and Legendary Art*,—and Christ blessing little Children. Here we may stop a moment to notice, with Mrs. Jameson, how comparatively seldom this touching incident in the Saviour's life has been represented in earlier art. The reason probably was that while art remained under the influence of a celibate clergy, such a subject was regarded as savouring too much of the world and the flesh. With proper handling, it might indeed have been made to teach monks and priests a wholesome lesson. But people do not generally go out of their way to provide for their own instruction. Next we have that most beautiful of themes, the Woman taken in Adultery, with its contrasts of mercy and majesty in the Saviour, of utter humiliation and self-abasement in the woman, and of guile and cruelty in the Pharisees. We ourselves confess to a liking for the picture (so well known as an engraving) by the French artist Emile Signol, in which the woman, with hidden face, cowers in her shame at the Saviour's feet. Then come Christ and the Woman of Samaria, and the Transfiguration. To Raphael's great painting of the latter subject, now in the Vatican, Mrs. Jameson devotes several pages of her exquisite criticism. It was the last work which that matchless hand ever touched, the one on which he was engaged when death took him. It hung unfinished over his bier when he lay dead in his studio, and the people of Rome flocked to take a last look at his features, 'every heart,' as we are informed, 'being like to burst with grief.' Most appropriately did it hang thus over the lifeless remains of one whose soul was elsewhere; for it is, in Mrs. Jameson's words, 'a fearful approximation of the most opposite things; the

mournful helplessness, suffering, and degradation of human nature, the unavailing pity, are placed in immediate contrast with spiritual light, life, hope,—nay, the very fruition of heavenly rapture.’ Such a contrast to the Christian is death itself.

Proceeding onward, Mrs. Jameson (for this portion of the book is nearly entirely by her) treats successively of the Miracles; the Marriage at Cana of Galilee; the Raising of Lazarus; Jesus either simply Healing, or Healing the Daughter of the Woman of Canaan, or the Centurion’s Servant; and the Pool of Bethesda. And here, though the quotation is a long one, and though there are one or two more of which we would fain not deprive our readers, yet we cannot forbear to give the following extract. It is one eminently characteristic of the author:—

‘But all these (representations of Christ at the Pool) are surpassed, eclipsed, by the wonderful picture by Murillo, a large, grand composition, “formerly in the Hospital of Charity at Seville, whence it was stolen by Marshal Soult.” Our Lord, three apostles, and the lame man are seen in front; the head and attitude of the Saviour most impressive for beauty and benignity,—the finest in point of character ever painted by Murillo. In the background is seen the Pool of Bethesda with its portico, (its five porches, as described,) and above it, in the sky, hovering in a blaze of glory, is seen the angel, as if about to descend and trouble the waters. For grandeur and poetry, for the sober yet magical splendour of the colouring, for its effects altogether on the feelings and on the eye, there are few productions of art that can be compared to this; and, till I saw it, I think, I was rather inclined to underrate the Spanish school generally. Murillo himself has never equalled it, that I am aware of; but then I have never been to Seville. I have a vivid recollection of the occasion on which I first beheld this beautiful picture, and something, perhaps, may be allowed for the associations connected with it. I had breakfasted with Mr. Rogers, and, when the other guests had departed, he took me to see it. It was then in a back room in a house on Carlton Terrace, looking out on gardens quite still and bright with summer sunshine. It had been raised only a little from the ground, so that the heads were not much above the eye, only sufficiently so to make one look up,—as one would instinctively have done before that Divine presence. Then, when we had contemplated for a time the beauty of the painting, which really struck me into silence,—for the colour seemed to affect us both in the same manner, like tender, subdued music from many grand wind instruments, all breathing in harmony,—we sat down opposite to it. He pointed out the rich violet-purple colour of the robe of our Saviour as peculiar to the Spanish school, and contrasted it with the conventional red tunic and blue mantle in the Italian pictures. He speculated as to how Raphael would have

treated the same subject, and we compared it with the cartoon of the "Beautiful Gate," and the crippled beggar in that picture with the poor, disabled, paralytic man before us; and we gave the preference to Murillo in point of character and living expression. The porches of Bethesda did not equal the wreathed columns of the Gate called—how justly!—the "Beautiful." But then how soft, how translucent the aerial perspective, and how the radiant angel comes floating down! Goethe used to be provoked when comparisons were made between two characters, or two artists, or two productions of art, the true value of which rested in their individuality and unlikeness to each other; but a large portion of the pleasure we derive from art, and from nature too, lies in the faculty of comparison, in the perception of differences and of degrees of qualities, in the appreciation of distinct aims, and of the wondrous variety with which Nature reveals herself to the souls of men. If we were forced to choose between Raphael and Murillo,—who was the master of the great and the graceful,—we must turn to him who created the Heliodorus, and the School of Athens; but, luckily for us, we are neither obliged to compare them nor to choose between them, since God has given us both. Something like this did we say on that summer morning, sitting before that marvellous picture; and, since then, I cannot bring it before my mind without thinking also of the dear old poet, whose critical taste was at once the most exquisite and least exclusive that I have ever known.

'Let me add that the sight of that picture awakened some thoughts which were perhaps deeper and more mournful than the painter intended. How many of us might well, metaphorically, have laid ourselves down for years by that Pool of Bethesda, and no angel have come down from heaven to trouble it with a Divine power, or infuse into its waters a new spiritual life! Or, if it were so, yet were we prostrated by our own infirmity, and there was no human sympathy near to help us down into its healing and reviving waters, no aid in man or angel, till Christ comes to say, "Take up thy bed and walk." A morning thus spent might well take its place among the "pleasures of memory."'

Leaving this subject, our authoresses proceed to the representations of Christ Feeding the Five Thousand with five loaves and two fishes; of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes; and of the Calling of the first two Apostles, Peter and Andrew. Then came the Parables, including the Rich Man and Lazarus,—which the Gothic sculptors used sometimes significantly to carve by the side of the church doors, for the rich to see as they went past the beggars that collected there;—the Prodigal Son; the Good Samaritan; the Wise and the foolish Virgins; the Householder who hired Labourers for his Vineyard; the Unmerciful Servant, and one or two others.

Then, with the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, begins the

history of our Lord's Passion. This proceeds with the representations of Christ washing the Disciples' Feet—a subject for the proper treatment of which great refinement was required in the artist. For the act itself is homely to western eyes, unless its moral and religious significance be clearly pointed out. Our readers will probably scarcely believe that in several instances 'one or two of the disciples are seen with large knives in hand, coolly relieving their feet of some inconvenient encumbrances.' This is vulgarity without excuse; for who can suppose that the apostles had so far forgotten the solemnity of the occasion? The chapter devoted by Lady Eastlake to the Last Supper is short, and seems to us somewhat incomplete, considering the importance of the subject. After this we come to the first scene of anguish in that terrible series—to the first note in that *crescendo* of horrors, culminating in the awful words: 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' From the Agony in the Garden we pass to the Betrayal, and then follow the Holy Prisoner, first before Annas, and then before Caiaphas; we see Him mocked, buffeted, and spat upon, and, worst pang of all, betrayed by one of the foremost of His apostles; next we accompany Him before Pilate,—that worldly-wise and temporising man, who, amid the wrangle of conflicting opinions, had lost all belief in a truth and justice more steadfast than mere expediency,—whose character and principles were tried in the furnace of a great emergency, and found wanting. From his tribunal we follow our Lord before Herod, and then back again before Pilate; we see Him scourged and crowned with thorns; and are present at that solemn moment, pre-eminently suited for pictorial treatment, when 'Jesus came forth, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe, and Pilate said unto them, Behold the man!' (John xix. 5.) Here are all the materials for a grand picture, whether the artist prefer to give the whole of the tumultuous scene, or only the figure of our afflicted Saviour, with its face of loving pity for His persecutors. But few painters, as Lady Eastlake very truly observes, have shown themselves equal to this great occasion. Too many have contented themselves with displaying a merely suffering and agonized Christ, a spectacle fitted to inspire compassion, but nothing more. Rembrandt, however, in one of those marvellous etchings that carry with them such an indefinable sense of power, has here achieved a splendid triumph. Let us describe it in Lady Eastlake's own words, which we could scarcely mend:—

'The incident takes place in the open air. A crowd is round and behind our Lord; a crowd is importunately pressing upon Pilate; and

below is more than a crowd—rather a furious sea of heads vanishing beneath an archway, of which we see neither the beginning nor the end. A figure in front, connecting this multitude with the group before Pilate, is extending a hand over the seething mass, as if enjoining patience. Far off in the gloom, another figure, borne apparently on the shoulders of the multitude, is gesticulating to the same effect in the opposite direction; both seeing numbers invisible to us. The conception of the Saviour departs from all our theories; He is not looking at the people or at any one. His head and eyes are uplifted, not in protest or in prayer, but in communion with His Father. The people are not even looking at Him; for Rembrandt well knew that such a multitude, in this state of violent excitement, are incapable of fixing their attention upon any thing. The Christ is neither beautiful nor grand in the usual sense, nor is there any glory round His head; nevertheless, a light seems to emanate from His person, and the darkness comprehendeth it not. One face alone has apparently caught the suspicion that this is no common culprit. It is a hard-featured soldier near Him, who is wrapt in thought. But the group before Pilate is the prominent and master stroke. Rembrandt must have witnessed incidents which told him that there is no earnestness like that of fanaticism. These are not the mere brutes who bawl from infection, and who can be blown about with every wind, such as we see in former representations; these are the real Jews, and this is the real Pilate—vacillating, bending in indecision, with his expressive, outstretched, self-accusing hands, and false temporising face,—who has no chance before them. It is not so much the clutch on his robe by one, or the glaring eye and furious open mouth of another, or the old Jew, hoary in wickedness, who threatens him with the fury of the multitude; but it is the dreadful earnest face, upturned and riveted on his, of the figure kneeling before him;—it is the tightly compressed lips of that man who could not entreat more persistently for his own life than he is pleading for the death of the prisoner. Rembrandt has given to this figure the dignity, because the power, of a malignant delusion: horribly fine. This is a truly realistic conception of such a scene, which has a grandeur of its own, in contradistinction to those improperly so called, for the reality of mere brutality is no subject for art at all. Rembrandt, in executing this etching, may be conceived to have had the Second Psalm in his view: "Why do the heathen so furiously rage together? and why do the people imagine a vain thing?" Yet the master has exquisitely contrived the full effect of a scene of violence, without shocking the most refined spectator. Not a sign of it approaches our Lord's person, who, as long as He is in the custody of the Roman soldiers, is guarded by a form of law; while the furious crowd below is so wrapt in Rembrandt gloom as to suggest every horror to the imagination, and give none to the eye. But "the vain thing" is seen without disguise in that urgent group before the wavering Roman,—embodying the strength of an evil principle, against which nothing can prevail but that "Truth" which Pilate knows not.'

Of Christ's bearing His Cross to Calvary, we have already spoken. Nor need we linger over such preliminary scenes in the Great Sacrifice as the stripping of His garments, the wrapping of the linen cloth round His loins, the offering of the bitter cup, or even the nailing to the Cross, and its elevation. The interest of these subjects falls before that of the greatest event in the whole history of mankind: the Crucifixion. This is a theme which the early Christians feared to represent directly. They hinted at it through the sacrifice of Isaac, or the death of Abel, or any analogous type. But the scene itself was of too tremendous and painful a character to be attempted by their reverent hands. It should also be remembered that until Constantine, in the fourth century, abolished crucifixion as a punishment for criminals, there was a degradation implied in the representation, which we have some difficulty in properly appreciating. To us crucifixion is a terrible mode of death, chiefly remembered because it was the one our Saviour suffered, and hallowed, in some sort, by that remembrance. To any one living during the first four or five centuries, it must have conveyed that sense of loathing and repulsiveness which we attach to the penalty of hanging. But even when this feeling had died out, the classic feeling to which we have already alluded prevented the Christian artist from treating so painful a theme. Later limners, however, were withheld by no such scruples; and many are the modes in which the subject has been treated. Almost every generation, every school, and every painter, has left a mark upon it. Fra Angelico's tender piety, and Rubens' boisterous delight in full-blown forms and rich ripe colour, have found an expression here; so have Michael Angelo's love of muscle for its own sake, and Albert Dürer's almost morbid fancy. According to Lady Eastlake's classification, there are *symbolical, sacrificially symbolical, simply doctrinal, historically ideal, historically devotional, legendary, allegorical and fantastic, and realistic Crucifixions*. There are Crucifixions with the Virgin and St. John alone, Crucifixions with the thieves,* with angels, with the Virgin, St. John and saints, with the Magdalene, with

* It was a question much discussed in the Middle Ages,—and one which throws a curious light on the importance ascribed to rites and sacraments in those days,—how the penitent thief was baptized? For without this ceremony it was, we presume, considered that even Christ's word was ineffectual for his salvation. Here was a dilemma. But ingenuity can triumph over most difficulties. By a happy hypothesis it was supposed, that some drops of the water from our Lord's wounded side reached the dying man, and that thus he was saved. Recorded facts unfortunately contradict this presumption; for the thieves had had their legs broken, and were most probably already dead, when Christ's side was pierced. But the Schoolmen, in their spinning of intellectual cobwebs, did not much care for facts.

the Maries, and numberless Crucifixions with the figure of Christ alone. Of one of these by the great Spaniard, Velasquez, Lady Eastlake says :—

‘It was reserved for him to revive this somewhat hackneyed type, with the infusion of his strong originality. The great painter who gave something none ever gave before to every subject, touched this also with his wand ; yet not to reanimate it, but to turn it to stone. Velasquez’s prominent quality is always intense character, whether of an individual, as in his portraits—of a class, as in his dwarfs—of a scene, as with the commonest landscape, which under his hands becomes an individual locality. That he sought for the stamp of character in the Crucifixion as well, is evident. And he found it in that which, as regards the Man, was most natural ; as regards the God, most supernatural ; in that which gives a stern pathos to the meanest creature that has ever breathed, and is almost too dreadful to gaze upon in the person of the Lord of Life—he found it in the character of death itself. This picture is no conventional form of a dead Christ,—a sight as hackneyed in art as the words that express it,—no counterfeit to spare the feelings of the beholder. Death reigns and triumphs in this pendent head, which, with the sudden relaxation of the muscles, has fallen straight forward on the chest, while, with that last movement, the hair has fallen too, and hangs over one half the countenance. It was a daring thought to make the extinction of life the hiding of the face. Nor did Velasquez use this device to get rid of a difficulty none could better cope with than he. He knew that pain would not make the head fall thus,—nor weakness, nor weariness,—that while there was life, the position was not that. In short, he knew that death only could thus lower that Divine brow ; on which, while we gaze, we realise the feelings of the disciples, to whom the rising again of this dead body was for a while as an idle tale, not even remembered in their time of desolation.’

The next subject discussed is naturally the Descent from the Cross. Then comes, in due sequence, the *pietà*, or Lamentation of the Virgin, the Maries, and others over the Body of Christ, and the Bearing of the Body to the Sepulchre. An etching from an engraving of Montague representing this latter subject is given by Lady Eastlake, and much praised,—why, we really cannot tell. If the etching be a fair representation of the original, which we see no reason to doubt, it is one of the most *ranting* specimens of art we have ever seen. The Virgin swoons, and two aged women weep over her ; St. John clasps his hands and cries aloud ; one of the Maries pulls at the bier and wails ; another throws her arms aloft ; a figure behind weeps noisily. We are sorry to use such expressions in connexion with such a theme, but these alone will describe the picture. Altogether there is as little truth and reverence in the

whole design as need be. From this subject we of course pass to the Entombment, and thence to Christ's mysterious Descent into Limbus to deliver the souls of the just, and then to that glorious theme, the Resurrection. In her notice of the representations of Christ's appearance to the Magdalene, Lady Eastlake very properly censures those in which He is dressed up as a gardener. Poussin, indeed, goes so far as to make Him dig. Now this is all hopelessly wrong. There is nothing in the sacred narratives to show that our Lord assumed any disguise to avoid recognition. The mistake—it was but a momentary one—occurred probably from Mary Magdalene being too preoccupied with her inquiries from the angels to give any due attention to the new interlocutor. Indeed, very few are the painters who have given this scene its full significance, and shown us that the risen Lord was identical with Him whom the disciples had loved and known,—that the 'first-fruits of them that slept' had re-appeared glorified, but yet the same. From this scene we pass on to the Journey to Emmaus, the Supper there, the Charge to Peter, and the Ascension. Then comes a chapter on the 'Signs' of the Cross, (or different shapes given to the Cross,) on the Crucifix, on Christ as the Lamb, as the Good Shepherd, as the Second Person of the Trinity, as the Man of Sorrows, and several other kindred subjects. At the end of all, as is most fit, comes the last occasion when Christ shall have any dealings with man as man, when the graves shall be opened, and the sea give up her dead, and the trumpet call every individual soul to judgment. Here, in the absence of all but dim foreshadowings in the sacred books, the artist's imagination was left to be its own law. And horribly grotesque were the tortures invented for the condemned souls by the cruel and fantastic mediæval and renaissance minds. Gradually, too, our Saviour lost the impartiality of the Judge, and became an angry accuser. Indeed, this is one of those subjects which, from its utterly supernatural character, human art is inadequate to represent. The thought of it transcends our imaginative powers,—much more, therefore, does the giving force and colour to the thought seem hopeless. Notwithstanding the great and manifold beauties to be found in various representations,—as notably in that by Fra Angelico, of which Lady Eastlake gives an etching,—beauties that go very far to neutralize any sense of failure, yet we know of none that is in every sense satisfactory to Christian taste and feeling. Of the one we have mentioned, fully a quarter might advantageously be blotted out. Michael Angelo's renowned fresco, though a marvel of anatomical drawing, and

wonderful as a mere specimen of artistic power, is utterly repugnant to any Christian conception that can be formed; but then he lived in an age that was more than half paganised, and in truth neither he nor any man could do aught but grope about blindly in an attempt to find the truth of such a scene as this. It is one of those that lie out of the ken of our human faculties, beyond that veil wherewith the Lord in His mercy has shaded us from the too dazzling splendour of another world.

There is a thought that has recurred to us again and again in reading these two volumes. It is, what an unexhausted artistic field the modern painter and sculptor still have in the history of our Lord. That they should almost have abandoned it for other fields is very comprehensible. The phenomenon may be explained without any of those disparaging comparisons which rabid mediævalists are so fond of instituting between the present and the past. The laws of supply and demand rule here as elsewhere. An English painter of to-day executes incident or historical pictures, landscapes, and portraits, because these are what purchasers mostly require at his hands. The great and ravenous 'market,' that used to absorb such innumerable works of religious art, is now all but closed. Our churches and chapels are never decorated in this way—and very properly so. We aspire to a higher ideal of religious worship than that which appeals to the senses, and therefore reject all those representations which are supposed to heighten devotion in Roman Catholic chapels.* A Protestant goes to a place of worship to pray and to hear God's word expounded, and not to excite his feelings by the contemplation of a work of art. But this does not at all prove that representations of religious subjects may not properly find a place in the public picture-gallery or the private dwelling. And though the demand is so much smaller than it was, yet that there still is a demand is proved by the success of many a modern work. Of that deeper, more hidden success which a picture obtains when it strikes a responsive chord in the beholder's heart, and makes it vibrate there for ever, no one can judge but God. But of

* And here there is one observation which we cannot forbear making. It is utterly incomprehensible to us how the educated Roman Catholics—often men of exquisite æsthetic feeling—can tolerate the vile daubs which so often disfigure their places of worship both here and abroad,—to say nothing of miserable tinsel images of the Virgin, and wretched coloured crucifixes. Apart from any religious dislike, we cannot understand how any person with the slightest pretensions to taste can fancy he honours God, or does the people good, by such vile displays. In a recent paper in *Good Words*, Dean Alford has some excellent remarks on this subject. (See *Good Words* for November.)

that success which is attested by crowds of admiring spectators, a large sale of engravings, and an enormous price, every one is qualified to judge. And these latter results, which do not by any means exclude the former, have been obtained by the religious paintings of several modern artists, as Paul Delaroche, Herbert, Ary Scheffer, Holman Hunt, and others. Now the question is, What is the line of treatment that should be adopted in the delineation of scriptural scenes by the artist of the present day? What is the process by which he will most readily retain his own originality, and at the same time reach the spectator's heart? In our own opinion, unquestionably by endeavouring as far as possible to represent things exactly as they took place. We say this deliberately, and notwithstanding the many arguments Lady Eastlake urges against such a proposition. Conventional, traditional, symbolical, legendary treatments—all these are well-nigh exhausted. The world has worked in that mine for several hundred years, and seems to have extracted pretty nearly all the ore that was worth the trouble, and some that might as well have been left in its native gloom. What we want now are the actual facts, and those lessons which may be derived from them. Lady Eastlake herself says, 'It may at once be laid down as a principle, that the interests of Christian art and the integrity of Scripture are indissolubly united. Where superstition mingles, the quality of Christian art suffers; where doubt enters, Christian art has nothing to do.' We would echo these words, adding only that it savours both of doubt and superstition to fear to represent any scene or action described for man's edification in the Bible, because that scene or action may be thought irreverent. We confess to having very little sympathy with the reverence that is more reverent than revelation. God's word may surely be our safe guide in such matters. We do not for a moment dispute that the principle we are advocating may be exaggerated; for what principle may not? There was a picture we saw several years ago—by Mr. Millais, if we remember rightly—representing Christ as a child in the carpenter's shop. With that indifference to beauty which has characterized so much of this gifted painter's work, he had made our Lord and the Virgin mean-looking and almost ugly. The evident singleness of heart and aim that had presided over the composition prevented it from shocking our own sense of the fitness of things. But we quite understood the feeling of those who were disagreeably affected by it; for such a painting is an exaggeration. As we have already said, there is no necessity for being repulsive in order to be true. In fact, coarseness is as much a want of

truth in such matters as over-refinement. What we want is to have things looked straight in the face. There has long been a growing endeavour to attain to accuracy in historical matters. Why not in that highest and greatest of historical themes? There is here a grand series of opportunities for all those painters who will be bold to shake off the fetters of tradition, and dare to aim at the reverence and devoutness of truth.

ART. VI.—1. *Abeokuta and the Camaroons Mountains. An Exploration.* By RICHARD F. BURTON. In Two Volumes. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1863.

2. *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome. With Notices of the so-called 'Amazons,' the Grand Customs, the Yearly Customs, the Human Sacrifices, the present State of the Slave-Trade, and the Negro's Place in Nature.* By RICHARD F. BURTON, late Commissioner to Dahome, Author of 'A Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah.' In Two Volumes. Second Edition. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1864.

PUBLIC interest has of late been very much concentrated on the continent of Africa. The mystery that yet hangs over a very large portion of it invests it with romance; and the stirring narratives of adventure and discovery published by Livingstone, Dr. Krapf, Speke, Grant, and others, have revived a curiosity about it, which, indeed, has never been long dormant since the days of Bruce, Park, Clapperton, and the Landers. The western portion of the continent is rendered specially interesting to philanthropists as the chief seat of the slave-trade, and has been recently made attractive to general readers by the racy volumes of Du Chaillu and Winwood Reade. Just now, too, everything that relates to the negro is sure to be read and studied. Whatever may be the subordinate questions involved in the American civil war, the negro question is at the bottom of it. Whatever may be the real intentions of Abraham Lincoln or Jefferson Davis, these rival presidents represent respectively the enfranchisement or the continued enslavement of the negroes in the Southern States; and, as the tendency of events in those States prior to Mr. Lincoln's first election showed, the revival or speedy suppression of the slave-trade itself. Undoubtedly, but for the check imposed on southern proclivities by the stern necessities of war, the world would by this time have witnessed an elaborate and highly organized attempt to break up the combination into which the Christian

and civilised nations of the world have long since entered for the suppression of that accursed traffic. There are not wanting, moreover, indications of a reaction even in the minds of British statesmen and philosophical speculators on this subject. In the mass of the nation, the sentiments that animated our fathers still prevail; and the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, and Buxton, are not yet regarded as the symbols of philanthropic Quixotism. But there is a small and influential minority of thinkers who have no sympathy with the old enthusiasm in behalf of the negro, and who, to say the least, would very contentedly acquiesce in his continued serfdom, and shut their eyes to all the horrors connected with his capture and transportation.

The interest awakned by this general question has been intensified in the case of the two countries to which these volumes refer by two circumstances. Abeokuta is the principal resort of those freed negroes who in years gone by were rescued from slave ships by our cruisers, located in Sierra Leone, brought while there under Christian and civilising influences, and supposed to have transferred those influences to their ancestral home, when they returned thither soon after the ill-fated Niger expedition. Besides this, the hostility of Dahome to Abeokuta, the serious attacks of the Dahoman army upon this city, each ending in failure and disgrace, the personal character of the king of Dahome, his reputed cruelty, and the singular nature of many of these institutions of which he is the head, have awakened the attention of politicians, and of missionary and philanthropic societies, to this part of Africa in a singular degree; and hence any fairly written book that professes to give an account of it, founded on actual observation of its people, and protracted intercourse with them, is almost sure to be welcomed by a large circle of cultivated and thoughtful readers. This is just what Captain Burton's books propose to do; and his well-known antecedents as an adventurous traveller, and a vigorous and lively narrator, have already secured for these volumes an extremely favourable reception. We do not doubt that they will serve not only to keep up, but greatly to enhance and extend his reputation; and in many respects they deserve to do so; but there are several serious and lamentable defects which cannot but detract from their credibility in well-informed quarters, and which will, we fear, contribute to spread mischievous delusion and error in quarters not so well-informed. Unhappily, Captain Burton is with many readers an all but infallible authority on the matters about which he writes. He has already, by his very fascinating but pernicious book,

The City of the Saints, too successfully striven to stamp Mormonism with a quasi-respectability, and to win from a considerable section of readers a degree of toleration for its worst and most immoral practices; and we are sorry to say that the spirit which prevades that book is, in some respects, even more offensively and injuriously displayed in those on which it now becomes our duty to remark. What are the grounds of our disapproval will appear as we proceed. It may be as well to premise that we do not intend to follow our author in his romantic and deeply interesting 'exploration' of the Camaroons Mountains, but to confine ourselves to his adventures and observations in the two contiguous countries of Dahome and Egba-Land, the one having Abome or Agbome for its capital, and the other rejoicing in the possession of Abeokuta.

These two countries lie side by side on the northern coast of the Bight of Beniu,—Dahome to the west, and Egba-Land to the east. They are, according to Captain Burton, integral parts of the country properly called Yoruba, extending from the river Volta in east longitude $1^{\circ} 45'$, to the Niger in east longitude $6^{\circ} 45'$; and southwards from the region of the Soudan to the Bight of Benin or the Slave Coast. Yoruba embraces many more provinces or kingdoms besides these two, and is an irregular parallelogram of about three hundred and fifty miles in breadth, by upwards of two hundred miles in depth, covering an area of seventy thousand square miles, and containing a population of probably about four millions of people, or about twenty-five to the square mile.

It will be convenient, in the first instance, to follow the track of our traveller in his two journeys, beginning with that to Abeokuta. His starting-point was Lagos, 'the youngest of our colonies,' from which Abeokuta is distant, in a northerly direction, about sixty miles. The journey was by water, in a party under the direction of Commander Bedingfield, R.N., of H.M.S. 'Prometheus.' Captain Burton describes his companions in a way which may be meant for good-natured banter, but which reads to us as very ill-natured and cynical; and unfortunately this seems to be his uniform manner in both these books. He hardly ever has a thoroughly good word to say of his associates, especially if they be Christians, and manages every now and then to drop a hint by no means too favourable to their intelligence or character. We never shake off the feeling that he is, sometimes in rather a heartless and ungrateful manner, 'making fun' of almost everybody about him. This is a habit with some people, and their

acquaintances pass it off with, 'O! it's only Mr. ——.' For our own part we hold the inveterate quiz to be an inveterate nuisance, and care not how little we have to do with him.

'The little party consisted of Commander Bedingfield,—who, with that condescension which characterizes every truly great man, had permitted me to form part of his suite or train,—Mr. Eales, and myself. The dog Sambo must precede Mr. Williams, a "sassy," half-educated Egba interpreter to the government at Lagos, who, in his quality of interpreter, went on in a canoe, preferring, *more Africano*, lying at full length to sitting upright, and who intrigued like a black Talleyrand throughout the week. Commander Bedingfield, who, and who only, believing in his own omniscience touching African affairs, had, as will appear, sundry affairs to settle, and was destined not to succeed in all and every of them. The second, Mr. Eales, added to the natural wish of sight-seeing the *idée fixe* that unicorns abound in Northern Yoruba. He had heard of the animal from certain merchants at Lagos—one of them had promised to provide him with a specimen—and he had read of it in the matter-of-fact and highly imaginative pages of Mr. Bowen.'—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., pp. 11, 12.

That is by no means a pleasant passage; and, seeing that it resembles so many more scattered over both these volumes, does not lead us to any very warm admiration of the writer. We should much like to know what estimate Commander Bedingfield, the 'sassy' Mr. Williams, and the romantic Mr. Eales, formed of Captain Burton himself.

When we endeavour to trace our Captain's voyage, we regret the absence of a good map. Considering how new the country is, how every year adds fresh contributions to geographical discovery within its bounds, and, above all, how every new traveller adopts a new method of spelling, it is certainly embarrassing to be without a map of the traveller's course. The usual line, however, was followed, 'across the Ikoradu Water [called in our maps the Cradoo Lake], through the Agboi Creek, and thence up the open river.' The lake,

'though unsurveyed, is believed to be of considerable extent, and to connect the Benin with the Volta river: the formation, however, is simple; it is merely a general reservoir for the numerous streams, which, rapidly pouring down from the mainland, and lacking watershed near the coast, here collect within two miles of the surf, and, when swollen by the rains, force a tumultuous passage into the Atlantic. According to some, it is connected with the Ardrah Lake near Whydah, which they say can thus be made from Lagos by water: others declare that the continuity of its arm, the Osa, or Victoria Lagoon, is

broken at Godemé, a place beyond Porto Novo. It is shallow, but intersected by channels, some of which are known to be eight fathoms deep: in a setting of mountain-land it would be beautiful; its low shores, and its clay-coloured water, however, render it tame and uninteresting. The bottom is alternately muddy and sandy. It produces oysters, differing from the mangrove species, before which every fresh African traveller stands with open mouth; and amongst the variety of its fishes, one locally called the mullet stands unrivalled.'—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., pp. 20, 21.

Captain Burton adds a note which is commercially important; namely, that, if the Benin and Volta rivers be connected, 'there is an uninterrupted line of natural canalization between the Volta, the Niger, and the Bonny rivers, a distance of nearly four hundred direct miles.'

We dare say most of our readers are tolerably familiar with African river scenery; but the following is worth quoting.

'The trees were externally of three aspects,—the feathery, the densely-foliaged and the creeper-clad. In the stream lay logs, snags above and below, and sawyers dancing upon the wavelet; here a vast trunk, like some dead plesiosaurus, cumbered the bed; there stood a stub, upon which baby-alligators stretched and sunned themselves; here a fallen tree, supported by the stream, had shot up fresh roots, themselves trees—the very fishing-ropes had in places put forth *bourgeons*; there a green-robed patriarch was beginning to totter up the water-mined bank that showed a cave beneath. The wild plantain, with wind-torn leaves, bent its purple flowers earthwards. The palms were of many kinds.....The river-sides were solid walls of trees, sweeping in glorious folds towards the water's edge, a boundless continuity of shade, many-coloured, from the darkest spinach—the prevalent hue—to the lightest green. The dense bank of foliage threw softened summits against the bluest of skies, and the mid height was broken by tall, straight shafts—they looked limed or whitewashed—shining like the bark of the silver beech, and ghastly enough in the shade of evening....The monarchs of the forest were the bombax or silk-cotton trees—many of them were one hundred feet high, and ten in diameter, upright canoes, ready for felling, with boles, near which the tall and tapering palm, straight as an arrow, attempted rivalry, but in vain. They were girt below and often about the waist with anfractuosités, [*sic*!] fluted and channelled like Doric columns; these buttresses show that the timber, being weak, demands support.....The llanas were especially eccentric, varying from the thickness of twine to cable; here straight, there arched; there forming a true lover's knot, dangling in the air, or rooted to earth; here they depended from cords as fine as the chorda filum, or dead man's ropes, gourd-like, over the voyager's head; there they strangled some Laocoon of the woods with a desperate gripe, "the Scotchman hugging the Creole;"

whilst the sarsaparilla vine clung tenderly to the trunk as though she loved it. Towering and climbing herbaceous plants, formed by successive accretions, surrounded a mother stem thick with vegetable masses—mysterious columns, so covered that the eye could not distinguish the support: these immense growths hung their mantles of parasite, with ribs, folds, and flounces, from the shoulders to the feet of the tallest trees; their middle was adorned with the bright blossoms of sundry convolvuli, cucurbitacæ, asclepiadæ, and the white-flowered chailletta; and they supplied the watery maze with arches and ogives, bowers and fairy retreats, showing the arabesques and the delicate tracery of a natural Alhambra.....Almost every large growth had its little family of orchids, snugly nestling in its arms; and in not a few the topmost boughs were bearded like old goats or Israelites. Nor were flowers absent from the scene. The glorious nymphæa was there, and the lower bush was gemmed with the ipomæa, and a large white flower, said to be selenitic, and opening only to the moon.'—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., pp. 35–39.

Through this beautiful scene, the exploring party proceeded leisurely onwards, enlivened by the mellow whistling note of 'the red-gray polly,' the harsh voice of the beautiful-crested touraco, the whining of the goatsucker, and the screaming of the ibis. Martens, kingfishers, yellow-billed blackbirds, Whydah finches, orioles, guinea-fowls, rock-doves of great beauty, bitterns, lapwings, flitted and called on every hand; and on the larger river islets turkey-buzzards, paddy-birds, Senegal crows, and brown kites sought their prey in the waters. No hippopotamus was seen, that 'water-elephant' having long been killed out of the river. We have noted in the above extract a word the use of which exemplifies a glaring fault in Captain Burton's style; namely, the constant use of technical terms, many of them, as in this instance, entirely unknown beyond the narrow limits of the scientific schools. We are sure that the greater number of non-professional readers will need to be told that 'anfractuosity' means, according to the dictionaries, 'a state of being full of windings and turnings.' Had our author written avowedly only for naturalists, this interlarding of his pages with the technology of science would have been right enough; but it will be a painful drawback upon the pleasure and profit of these volumes to most people to require a glossary in order to understand much of what the author has recorded.

His descriptions of the populations on the banks of the river are often more curious than inviting. The following is certainly very lively, if not in very good taste:—

'All seemed comfortable and in good condition; they had sheep,

goats, ducks, fowls, and pigeons, whilst the fetish-house showed signs of fresh whitewash. The women consider elongated bosoms a charm, and even the men showed flaccid mammary glands. This "bestial exposure of the sacred part of woman's form," as some term it, first disappears permanently among the Moslem converts from heathenism. The goodwives had little remarkable, save a plug of pipe-stem-shaped coral worn in the left nostril: it may serve the purpose of the Indian nose ring. Many of them wore their hair upstanding in little tufts of wool, which coiffure, says a German traveller, "made them look more like horned fiends than human beings." Some of the tattooed were painfully ugly—lines of scars and dreadful knobs and marbles raised in altissimo rilievo by some encaustic process. Severe scalds were common, and one woman had her back adorned with what appeared to be an imitation in thickened skin of gouts and streamlets of blood. Many of the children were marked from head to foot with little gridirons of cuts, dyed dark blue by means of native antimony. They are all more or less exomphalous, yet they will grow up like their sires, remarkably sharp when under puberty; that epoch, as amongst the Hindus, seeming to addle their brains. They are placed for discipline under some old and trusty hand, who compels them by force of stripes to industry; they amused themselves by remarking on the sly, "Oibo Akiti agba, The white man is an old ape." The African will say of the European, "He looks like folks," and the answer will often be, "No, he don't." Thus we observe, that whilst the Caucasian doubts the humanity of the Hamite, the latter repays the compliment in kind.—*Abokuta*, vol. i., pp. 43, 44.

Our author adjudges the Egba race to be not full-blooded negro, but 'negroid,' the skin generally of a dark dilute copper colour. The eye is fine, the lips not thick, but the gums blue, and the face high-cheeked, chinless, and retreating. The form and figure, however, are admirable; and Captain Burton accounts for this by a reason which we do not feel at liberty to transfer to our pages. The passage containing it exemplifies another great defect of these volumes,—a free-and-easy, outspoken, chuckling way of writing on delicate subjects, as if the author enjoyed the thought of shocking the modesty of his readers. There frequently crops out a coarse vein of sensuality and indecorum which greatly detracts from the pleasure of the reader, and reflects not a little upon the taste of the writer. And in connexion with this passage appears the first notice which these books contain of the author's proclivities in favour of polygamy. In our review of his work on 'the City of the Saints,' we felt it necessary to animadvert on the favourable terms in which he speaks of this practice among the Mormons; but it did not then appear that he deliberately prefers it to monogamy. He takes good care now, however, that there shall be no mistake as to

his views. After stating why, in his opinion, the forms of the Egbas are so finely developed, and advocating the adoption of their practice at home, he adds, 'Besides, it would necessitate polygyny,—that is to say, a love of offspring warmer than the sexual feeling. The Mormons have tried it with success; and to the excellent letter of Mrs. Belinda Pratt I must refer the reader for more information upon this momentous subject than can be conveyed in these pages.' (Vol. i., p. 46.) In another part of this volume, he goes into the rationale and defence of this institution. The same reckless 'plainness of speech' characterizes his speculations here, and we cannot bring ourselves to transcribe any portion of them to our pages. The circle of our readers will not expect from us a defence of monogamy; but there are hints and innuendoes in much that our author says which may perhaps furnish a clue to the cause of his singular preferences. In a note on page 210, speaking of an article which had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, he says:—

'With respect to the reviewer's last assertion, namely, that Christianity is based upon freedom and love, I doubt that the monogamic sentiment was ever intended by it. And I doubt, even more vehemently, whether the mixture of sentiment and passion which we know by that name, has not added to the miseries rather than conduced to the happiness of human life. In my humble opinion, it is not one of the least merits of polygamy that it abstracts from the parents an affection which it bestows upon the progeny. As no man, it is said, can serve God and Mammon, so no woman can equally love husband and children; even the same woman, at different periods of her existence, will prefer one to the detriment of the other. And whilst conjugal love contains the base alloy of sexual feeling, parental affection is of all the most pure and holy. The unselfish will find no difficulty in pointing out which to prefer.'

Our author held discussions on this subject with the Missionaries of the Church of England at Abeokuta, making of course a strong point of Bishop Colenso's unfortunate laxity in the diocese of Natal,—a laxity which is now but too clearly explained. The contempt with which he speaks of these reverend gentlemen, the cool way in which those who differ on such points from himself are written down dolts or something worse, is another most offensive feature of his volumes. He was accompanied to Dahome, for instance, by the Rev. Mr. Bernasko, a Wesleyan Assistant Missionary; and it is quite clear that he was greatly indebted to that gentleman's good offices during his stay there; but he takes a strange

delight in quizzing him, depicting him in absurd and ridiculous positions, speaking of him always as 'the reverend,' and in other ways betraying a most unworthy contempt for his coadjutor and adviser. But this by the way. What do our readers think of the outrageous note just quoted? What must the man be who can speak of the hallowing and ennobling sentiment of wedded love in such terms? Does not the coarse animal sensuality so distinctive of Mohammedanism and Mormonism show itself in every line? What can the notions of such a man be as to woman's place, office, and character? What a contrast to the beautiful doctrine which sets her forth as 'the help meet for man!' It is notorious that, among the Mormons,—and this is one of the strongest condemnations of the system,—polygamy has reduced woman to the level of the mere 'nurse-tender;' that domestic affection, and all pure and ennobling intercourse between husband and wife, are destroyed by it; that she is valued chiefly as ministering to the animal gratification of her lord. And we deeply regret to see throughout Captain Burton's speculations on this subject traces of the same degrading estimate of the sex. But what most of all amazes us, even more than the fact that an English gentleman should indulge in such speculations at all,—is, that he has the courage to defy all notions of Christian decency by dedicating the book in which they occur to his wife! in the following terms:—'To my best friend, MY WIFE, these pages are lovingly inscribed.'

We shall not return to this unpleasant subject; but it is only just to Bishop Colenso to say that Captain Burton, when quoting him as an authority, forgot to say to his ignorant clerical friends at Abeokuta that the bishop's crotchet has reference only to those who are polygamists before their conversion to Christianity. Even he would not allow a Christian native to become a polygamist. But now as to the explanation of our author's peculiar and, as we think, most degrading opinions. We have sought earnestly for some probable explanation; and we seriously ask a question which will no doubt surprise our readers,—Is Captain Burton a Christian or a Mohammedan? Here are two passages from his books which may be taken for what they are worth. To our own minds they are painfully significant:—

'The period between the 23rd and the 28th of October was passed under the hospitable but not water-tight roof of my friend Mr. M'Coskry, then acting governor of Lagos, in various preparations for departure, and in the enjoyment of Moslem society. A small knot of us gathered to interchange pleasant communings,

whilst grace gave a fresh intenseness of longing. Yet El Islam is under a cloud in these regions: the young and vigorous creed has still the proportions of a child. The number of converts has been stated at 2,000; it can hardly exceed 800. The mosque is still a hut, the musical call of the Muezzin—how much more human and heart-stirring than the clang of the brasen-tongued bell!—is yet unheard, and the women of the Kaffirs are allowed to display their bosoms in the market place. There were, however, several of the Safe Faith,' &c.,

And then comes the following note:—

'The expression "saving faith," applied to El Islam, is apt to convey an erroneous idea; Moslems are wholly opposed to Christians in their notions touching salvation. With those every man is sent into the world by a beneficent Deity to be blessed; with these, to be damned.'—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., pp. 8, 9.

We say nothing now of the wicked falsehood contained in this outrageous libel upon Christianity. But, after that, have we not a right to ask whether the writer is not at heart a Moslem? And now read this:—

'Were it not for the southward progress of El Islam, the slow and silent, but sure advance of the Perfect Cure, the future of negro Africa would not be bright. The experience of three centuries teaches us, that as a rule the tropical continent cannot be colonised by Europeans. We have also learned that hitherto maritime intercourse, with its *aqua mortis* and *bouches à feu*, has done nothing but degenerate the natives; and that until the long day when Guinea commanders—of whom bluff old Philips wrote, "Their words and promises are the last to be depended on of any I know who use the sea; for they would deceive their fathers in the trade if they could"—shall become "virtuous," such will continue to be the result. The much-talked of "reflex of the West upon the East" has yet to begin doing good; hitherto, as a rule, the semi-civilised negroes, like the S'a Leone people at Abeokuta, when restored to old influences, have proved themselves worse than the heathenry. They have almost to a man displayed the worst and blackest form of ingratitude, that which does not merely ignore benefits conferred, but which bitterly hates the benefactor for having conferred them. It is a generation of vipers that found its way from the Red Grave to Lagos and Understone.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii., pp. 210, 211.

We are not about to argue the point with Captain Burton, as to 'the S'a Leone people at Abeokuta.' He has grossly exaggerated the numbers of his 'generation of vipers,' and in this as in all similar cases has written under the influence of a foregone conclusion as to the Negro race, and the propriety and success of missionary enterprise among them. But he himself shall supply the answer to the monstrously unfair

deduction against the influence of the West upon the East, so far as Abeokuta is concerned; for what is true of Whydah is true of Abeokuta. He says,—‘At Whydah, missionary enterprise is still young; it is not therefore to be judged of as if it had enjoyed a fair trial.’ (P. 165.) Now let the same principle be applied in both cases, and it will be seen how hastily Captain Burton has jumped to his conclusion. He is, however, and that is what we complain of, determined not to see any prospect of good from the contact of Christianity with the negroes; for he adds to the above candid admission, ‘But all who know how deeply rooted is fetishism in the negro brain, will despair of the nineteenth succeeding better than the sixteenth century.’ By the way, he unconsciously supplies the answer to this despairing note in the very next sentences, where he confesses that much of the charges of Protestant missionaries against Popery is true, especially that, in the estimation of the black man, it has but supplied him with a more shapely and comely Fetish than his ancestors worshipped, and so has confirmed him in heathenism rather than weaned him from it. But, passing all this by, what conclusions are we to draw respecting a man who, while studiously disparaging Christianity, and taking every possible opportunity of quizzing its agents, speaks in raptures of the charms of Moslem society, and the music of the Muezzin’s call; who declares that Moslems believe God made men to be happy, while Christians teach that He made them to be damned; and who records his conviction that El Islam is the Perfect Cure, and its advance southward the one hope for the regeneration of negro Africa, and the extinction of its appalling heathenism? We are not surprised to learn, on undeniable authority, that in Western Africa the followers of the prophet think him a holy Sheik; and that he can and sometimes does kneel and go through their prayers in the most orthodox fashion. It is not from such a man as this that Christian readers can accept a *dictum* in favour of polygamy, or a testimony against the ability and intelligence of the Missionaries of the Cross and their success in the conversion of the heathen. We seriously believe that Captain Burton would have acted more openly and honestly towards his readers, if he had added to all the other titles that trail along after his name, the words, ‘An English Gentleman, converted long ago to El Islam or the Perfect Cure.’ We should then have been prepared for the strange and startling speculations in which he indulges, and should hardly have been astonished at his courage in dedicating them to his best friend, his wife.

The Captain's journey to Dahome was taken subsequently to that of which we have spoken. It was undertaken in fulfilment of a special mission to the king, to which the author was appointed by the Home Government. The object of this mission was to induce the Dahoman monarch to discontinue the slave trade, and 'to mitigate, if we cannot at once prevent, the horrors of' the annual 'customs,' disfigured as they are by those human sacrifices which, however they may have been exaggerated as to number, are sufficiently frightful. Captain Burton was also to endeavour to secure adequate protection for British merchants settling at Whydah, and was entrusted with various presents by way of conciliating Gelele. Supplementary instructions required him to stipulate, before proceeding to Abomey or Agbome, that there should be no human sacrifices during the time of his visit, and under any circumstances to refrain from sanctioning any such atrocities by his presence. It is needless to say that as to these matters our countryman did his duty. Nearly ninety pages of the first volume are occupied with an interesting account of the official entry into Whydah, and a general topographical description of that emporium of the Dahoman slave trade, the 'Liverpool of Dahome.' Here is a lively description of the first interchange of official courtesies with the native authorities:—

'We all descended from our hammocks, despite the heat, to greet the head Fetishman, a dignitary fat and cosy as ever was the *frate* or the parson of the good old times. He stood with dignity under a white "kwe-ho," the tent-umbrella, which here marks the caboceer; it was somewhat tattered, because these spiritual men care not to make a show of splendour. He snapped fingers with us, after "country custom," palm never being applied to palm except by the Europeanised; as throughout Yoruba, the thumb and mid-index are sharply withdrawn on both sides after the mutual clasp, and this is repeated twice to four times, the former being the general number. After the greeting, he sat down upon what is called a Gold Coast stool, cut out of a single block of wood, whilst two young, if not pretty, wives handed to us drinking-water in small wine-glasses. This appears to be a thorough Dahoman peculiarity, which extends even to the court. When pure, the element is considered a luxury; it serves to prepare the mouth for something more genial, and it is a sign that treachery is not intended. We were then regaled with rum—Brazilian Caxaça—too sour even for Ruxton's Krumen, who regarded the proceedings of the day with the goguenard air of a Parisian *diminutif* at a rustic maire's ball. Three toasts are demanded by the ceremony, and they must be drunk standing. You bow, you *choquer* the glasses in continental style, and you exclaim, "*Sin diyye!*" "This is water!"—when it is not,—and your com-potator responds, "*Sin ko,*" "(May the) water (cool your) throat!"

In former days the spirits used to be poured from one glass into all the others, showing that they did not contain poison. The custom is now obsolete. Happily it is not necessary to swallow all the trade stuff to which hospitality is here reduced; you touch it with the lips, and hand it to a neighbour, who is certain to leave no heeltaps. If he be a common fellow, and you wish to be peculiarly countrified, you sign to him to kneel; he opens his gape, like a fledgling to its parent, without touching the cup or glass, and you toss the contents into his mouth, taking care that half of it should deluge his beard, if he has any.—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., pp. 87, 88.

We have not space here, however, for describing in detail the state ceremonies which attended the entry of the British deputies into Whydah; the native soldiers, marching in regiments, each with its own band, composed of rattles, drums, horns, and cymbals, making sad discord; the shabby white tent-umbrella covering the chiefs; and the 'highland tail' of followers; the fantastic dancing, to which the Dahomans are fanatically addicted. As this last ceremony, however, plays a conspicuous part in all receptions, and in 'the customs,' it is as well to hear our author's account of it:—

'It is a tremendous display of agility, Terpsichore becoming more terrible than Mars. One month of such performances would make the European look forward to a campaign as to a time of rest. The jig and the hornpipe are repose compared to it. It is grotesque as the Danse Chinoise, in which the French dancing-master of one's youth, of course an *ancien militaire*, used gravely to superintend the upturning of thumbs and toes. The arms are held in the position preferred by the professional runner, the hands paddle like a swimming dog's paws, the feet shuffle or stamp as if treading water, the elbows are jerked so as nearly to meet behind the back, with a wonderful *jeu des omoplates*, and the trunk joins in the play, the posteriors moving forwards and backwards to the pedal beat-time. The body is not, as in Asia, divided, as it were, into two, the upper half steady, and the lower taking violent exercise. Here, there is a general agitation of the frame, jerked in extreme movement to front and rear. As all these several actions, varied by wonderful shakings, joltings, grimaces, and contortions, must be performed rapidly, simultaneously, and in perfect measure to the music, it is not only a violent, it is also a very difficult performance, exceeding even the Hindu Nautch, or the Egyptian Alimek's feats. As a calisthenic exercise, it is invaluable. The children begin as soon as they can toddle. It is, perhaps, the most amusing thing in Dahome, to see them aping their elders.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., pp. 47, 48.

This grotesque dancing is part both of the state and the religious ceremonial in most parts of Western Africa; and Captain

Burton had the pleasure, on several occasions, of witnessing his Dahoman Majesty's skill in cutting capers.

We must not be tempted to inspect Whydah, excellent as is the account here given of its topography, but must proceed with our author on his journey to the capital. It took some time to overcome the *vis inertiae* of negro nature, and the vexatious and protracted ceremonies which every occasion necessitated; but British promptness and decision at last prevailed, and the party—described in Captain Burton's half-joking half-sneering way—set out on December 13th, 1863. The mode of conveyance was by hammock, the comforts and discomforts of which are thus described:—

'The hammock in Dahome is not an unpleasant conveyance, especially when the warmed back is at times cooled by walking. These barbarians, however, have not, like the Hindus, invented a regular four-in-hand; two men are easily tired, especially by standing still, which is wearisome to them as to loaded camels. When they reach a rough place, another pair, diving in between the usual number, roughly clutch the cloth at the rider's shoulders and heels, bumping, if possible, his pate against the pole. This explains the old traveller's complaint about being "trussed in a bag and tossed on negroes' heads." They do not carry on the shoulder, but on their skulls; the notably short and sturdy African negro neck dictates the choice, and a thin coil of rags or dry leaves amply suffices for the defence of craniums formed rather for butting than for beauty. Our hammocks are of modest cottons, whereas the old factors used silks and broad-cloths: before appearing in state, however, we shall find something gaudy with red and blue. The cloths are nine feet long by four to five in breadth, and at both ends small lashings draw the conveyance together like the old net purse. A noose passes through these lashings, and the clews are then rove tight to pegs inserted into the frond of a bamboo tree (*Raphia vinifera*). This pole is objectionable; the brittle material often gives way, when a bad fall on the occiput is the result: it is better to send for a good Madeiran article, which is strengthened by iron hooks instead of being weakened by peg-holes. The pole is nine feet long; over it is shipped a fringed or valanced awning, fortified by three cross-laths, and provided with a running line to tilt it down on the side next the sun. The noisier the hammock-men are, and the more they abuse their employer—in their mother tongue—the better for him.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., pp. 127, 128.

Thus carried and equipped, our traveller passed through maize-fields, among bombax and umbrella trees, over 'a rolling open plain fair to view,' relieved here and there by clumps of palms and palmyras, across stagnant creeks and streams, fetid and pestilential, through villages where he was bored with everlasting drinking and dancing, across the Nyin-

swamp, one hundred and fifty feet broad, and waist-deep where he crossed it, but much worse in the rainy season, through lanes of shrubbery, and over long flats and wooded ascents, to Allada, or, as it is called in the maps, Ardrah, a town once said to be nine miles round, but almost destroyed in 1724 by the then king of Dahome, who incorporated it with his dominions. It is now a somewhat large and important village market, but nothing more. This part of our author's narrative is plentifully sprinkled with French words; and in a note to one of these,—‘the melodious *gazouillement* of birds in the brake,’—he apologizes for their use, or rather flings defiance at all who disapprove of it, as follows:—

‘This is a French word, but I cannot help it, let reviewers say what they will; the sound of z in the song of West African birds is salient; our insipid “warbling” is tolerable, and not to be endured. I distinctly deny that English or any other language contains all the desirable shades of expression; and I cannot see why, in these days, when French is familiar to us as in the times of William the Conqueror, we should be condemned for borrowing from it. “Rot your Italianos; I loves a simple English ballad,” appears to underlie the feeling.’—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., p. 165.

Well, vulgar and ignorant as it may seem to this superfine gentleman, we are very much of the same mind: at least, when a man professes to write English, we ‘loves’ to have it simple, and not dotted everywhere with words and phrases in ‘a tongue not understood of the people.’

At Hen-vi, the ceremony of reception was enlivened by the appearance and performances of the first ‘Amazon’ warriors whom our author saw:—

‘We placed our stools next a tree opposite the large gateway of the royal abode, and were entertained with the usual dance. Here, however, there was something of novelty—the first of the “Amazons” made their appearance. The four soldieresses were armed with muskets, and habited in tunics and white clothes, with two blue patches, meant for crocodiles. They were commanded by an old woman in a man’s straw hat, a green waistcoat, a white shirt, put on like the breeches of the good king Dagobert,—à l’envers,—a blue waistcloth, and a sash of white calico. The virago directed the dance and song with an iron ferule, and her head was shaded, by way of umbrella, with a peculiar shrub, called on the Gold Coast “God’s tree.” The few men showed us some attempts at tumbling and walking on their hands. Two of the women-dancers were of abnormal size, nearly six feet tall, and of proportional breadth, whilst generally the men were smooth, full-breasted, round-limbed, and effeminate-looking. Such, on the other hand, was the size of the female skeleton, and the muscular development of the frame, that in

many cases femineity could be detected only by the bosom. I have no doubt that this physical superiority of the "working sex" led in the Popo and Dahoman race to the employment of women as fighters. They are the domestic servants, the ploughboys, and the porters, and gallegos, the field-hands, and market-cattle of the nation,—why should they not also be soldiers? In other matters, they are by no means companions meet for men: the latter show a dawn of the intellectual, whilst the former is purely animal—bestial. Hence, according to some, the inordinate polygamy of the race.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., pp. 169, 170.

This is as suitable a place as any other to say a word respecting that curious Amazonian army, of which we have heard so much, and which is, almost exclusively in modern times, a Dahoman institution. It would appear that they originated at the beginning of the last century, and that they were intended to supply the place of the male forces, which had been much reduced by war. In 1728 the then king of Dahome attacked and defeated with this corps of women-soldiers the combined troops of the Whydahs and Popos; and since that time the Amazons have ever been a power in the empire. The father of the present king paid great attention to this part of his army. He ordered every Dahoman of note in the kingdom to present his daughters, of whom the most promising were chosen, and he kept the corps clear of the servile and the captive. The present monarch himself carefully chooses his forces from the finest girls in the kingdom. They are regarded as royal wives, and cannot be touched without danger of death. Captain Burton's statements, however, show that, as might be expected, there is a great amount of licentiousness among them. Unfaithful wives and proved viragos are also 'dashed to the king,' and duly enlisted. They are 'savage as wounded gorillas, more cruel far than their brethren in arms,' a fact attributed by some to the enforced celibacy in which they live. But that is to a great degree a myth. The true reason is that the woman is unsexed by the cultivation of the military passion; and history is full of examples showing what a fierce and terrible creature she can become when such violence is done to her nature. The following remarks are very just:—

'The existence of the Amazons is the second great evil of the empire. The first is, or rather was, a thirst for conquest, which, unlike the projections of civilised lands, impoverishes and debilitates the country. The object of Dahoman wars and invasions has always been to lay waste and to destroy, not to aggrandize the empire by conquest and annexation. As the history puts it, the rulers have ever followed the example of Agaja, the second founder of the kingdom;

aiming at conquest and at striking terror, rather than at accretion and consolidation. Hence there has been a decrease of population, with an increase of territory, which is to nations the surest road to ruin. In the present days the wars have dwindled to mere slave hunts,—a fact which it is well to remember. The women troops, assumed to number two thousand five hundred, should represent seven thousand five hundred children; the waste of reproduction, and the necessary casualties of service, in a region so depopulated, are as detrimental to the body politic as a proportionate loss of blood would be to the frame personal. Thus the land is desert, and the raw material of all industry, man, is everywhere wanting. Finally, as regards the Amazons, nothing so outrageously insults manly pride in the adjoining nations than [*sic*] to find that the warriors who attacked them so stoutly are women, and some of them old women.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii., pp. 74, 75.

What a comfort it is, that, in the merciful Providence of God, the evil passions and institutions of such a country as Dahome contain the elements of their own retribution, and insure the exhaustion of a power which would otherwise become an intolerable scourge!

The Amazonian corps, or 'Household Brigade,' is arranged in three divisions:—the central, or Fanti company, representing the king's body-guard, and wearing round the hair narrow white fillets, with rude crocodiles of blue cloth sewn on to the band; the right wing, under the command of two female officers; and the left wing. The latter two are not distinguished by any peculiar costume.

The three corps consist of five arms:—1. The blunderbuss-women, the biggest and strongest of the force, answering say to our grenadiers; and ranking with them the carbineers and bayoneteers. 2. The elephant-huntresses, held to be the bravest; twenty of whom have been known to bring down seven elephants out of a herd. 3. The razor-women. 4. The infantry; the staple of the force, armed with Tower muskets, and well supplied with bad ammunition. 5. The archeresses; in the late king's time all young girls, 'the parade-corps, the pick of the army, and the pink of dancers.' Now they are never seen on parade, but in the field act as scouts and porters, and convey the wounded to the rear. Here is our author's description of the corps on the march:—

'In 1863, I saw all these women-troops marching, on service, out of Kana. The officers, distinguished by their white head-cloths, and by an esquires-at-arms, generally a small slave-girl, carrying the musket, led their commands. They were mostly remarkable for a stupendous stratopyga, (!) and for a development of adipose tissue

which suggested anything but ancient virginity—man does not readily believe in fat “old maids.” I expected to see Penthesileas, Thalestrises, Dianas,—lovely names! I saw old, ugly, and square-built frows, trudging “grumpily” along, with the face of “cook,” after being much “knagg’d” by “the missus.” The privates carried packs in cradles, like those of the male soldiery, containing their bed-mats, clothes, and food for a week or a fortnight: mostly toasted grains and bean-cakes, hot with peppers. Cartridge-pouches of two different shapes were girt round their waists; and slung to their sides were water-gourds, fetish-sacks, bullet-wallets, powder-calabashes, fans, little cutlasses, wooden pipe-cases, enveloped in leather, tobacco-bags, flint, steel, and tinder, and Lilliputian stools, with three or four legs, cut out of single blocks. Their weapons were slung; and behind their backs dangled their hats, scarecrow felts, “extinguishers” of white cotton, useful as *sacs de nuit*, umbrellas of plaited palm-leaf, and low-crowned broad-brimmed home-made straws, covered with baft more or less blue.—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii., pp. 79, 80.

This singular body of troops, once estimated at 10,000, is now found not to exceed one fourth of that number; the flower of the force having fallen under the walls of Abeokuta in the late king’s time. They play a very important part on all occasions of royal state, and are quite as serviceable, to say the least, when on field duty, as the male troops.

We may now turn our attention to the two capitals of the kingdoms visited by our author, and to his account of the monarchs of Egba-Land and Dahome respectively. He found that the males in Abeokuta compared favourably with the other sex, in this contrasting, as we have seen, with the Dahomans. He acknowledges that the Abeokutan, taken at his best, is ‘black, but comely;’ an important admission, viewed in connexion with our author’s theories about the negro race, to be presently considered:—

‘The male figure here, as all the world over, is notably superior, as amongst the lower mammals, to that of the female. The latter is a system of soft, curved, and rounded lines, graceful, but meaningless and monotonous. The former far excels it in variety of form and in nobility of make, in strength of bone, and in suppleness of muscle and sinew. In these lands, where all figures are semi-nude, the exceeding difference between the sexes strikes the eye at once.’—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., p. 110.

Arrived at the capital, the party found business lively and flourishing in the bazaar; multitudes of black women sitting under the long rows of umbrella-trees, selling provisions for

present consumption, hardware, dry goods, earthenware, and 'notions.' Our author's description of the scene is neither beautiful nor fragrant, but it is very lively. What with the aroma and the noises,—in other words, the stench and the swearings, in which latter phenomenon the women were conspicuous,—our travellers made the best of their way out of the market, and sent forward a messenger to the king, requesting an early interview. His Majesty appointed ten A.M. on the next day; but it was not till late in the afternoon that he condescended to show himself. Our space will not allow us to transcribe the absurd and ludicrous picture of court manners, drawn by our author. It reads like an outrageous caricature of royalty. While the embassy was kept waiting in front of a hanging, more like the curtain of a bed than anything else, a dirty table of plain deal was set; by-and-bye covered with an unwashed native cloth, and, after another interval, 'richly spread with two wash-hand basins,' one of blue mandarin, the other of the coarsest French pottery, each containing two wine-glasses. Trade maraschino, a big gin-bottle, filled with a compound worthy of a London gin-shop, two case-bottles of execrable Brazilian rum, and water in such a jug as was common thirty years ago in English farm-houses, were produced; proclaiming that the curtain would presently be drawn, and the show begin. And what a show it was! Here is Captain Burton's account of it:—

'At length, the confidential young slave who had drawn the corks, and who bore a bunch of keys, European and country-made, and large enough for half-a-dozen chatelaines, drew back the old brocade bed-hanging. Thereupon H. M. appeared, encaged, like Clapperton's portrait of the Bornese sultan; or, to choose a comparison nearer home, like a denizen of one of the larger dens of wild beasts in the Zoological Gardens. The shape and appearance of the apartment was exactly that of Mr. Punch, magnified perhaps a score of times; and it was a hole in the wall, under whose outside verandah we were sitting. The loose box was full of women and children, probably part of H. M.'s fine family. He is said to have twelve young and fifty old wives; but lately he has ceased to be a father, and is disposed, it is whispered, to resent any symptoms of impending paternity. One of the spouses sat before him, fanning him with a circle of hairy cow-hide, rudely set in a bairy handle, differing from the flag-shaped instrument of the further east. She wore a strand of red coral, and an indigo-dyed loin-wrap, about which she was needlessly coquettish. In the verandah, dangling over the Alake's head, were two Moslem charm calabashes, covered apparently with many-coloured threads, white and red, light-blue and dark-blue, with hangings of written characters and talismans,—their appearance was not familiar to me. The right arm

of majesty reposed upon a long bolster, covered with crimson silk velvet; and two mats, whose ends projected into the verandah, supported the portly person, which was disposed in a free and easy way upon the dexter side, with the limbs lazily drawn up.....Okukeno, Alake of Abeokuta, is said to be between sixty and seventy years old; and his contemporary, Ogubonna, had been a balognu, or high military officer, which implies an elderly man, during the Egba dispersion, some forty-five years ago. His head, partially shaven, and his beard, were grizzled; but, judging from the plumpness of his arms, and the absence of wrinkles, Dr. Eales and I concluded that he was not much beyond fifty. He was a large and massive man, blind of one eye, which imprudently encountered a stone, when attempting to arrest a faction-fight; heavy-featured, coarse, and unprepossessing. The loss of his upper teeth, except the canines, which recalled the wild boar of Ardennes' fangs, caused a disagreeable indentation of the upper lip; the lower incisors have been destroyed by snuff, and the tongue-tip habitually protruded in a manner the reverse of kingly. Altogether, he suggested the idea of an old, very damaged, and very rickety lion. His dress was a tall fez-like cap of crimson velvet, disfigured by a pendent fringe of small blue porcelain beads round the upper third. A necklace of red coral, (pink is little valued by these lovers of the gorgeous,) and a double string of the same material round each wrist, were the regal ornaments. This fondness for coral seems to have been borrowed from Benin, where even in Bosman's day it was a decoration of state. His only body-cloth which appeared in view was a toga, of white watered silk, striped with broad cotton bands; and it sat on him incongruously enough. His manner was as peculiar as his audience-chamber and his appearance. He seemed more than three parts asleep, and we could never decide whether the cause was old age, affectation of dignity, or the two greenish glasses of strong waters placed before him on a silver tray, now lead-coloured for want of plate-powder.'—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., pp. 140-143.

A Dahoman royal reception seems to be a much more intricate and ceremonious affair than that of Abeokuta. The native functionaries were astir about ten A.M., and were anxious to hurry our author and his party. But he knew the tedium of African ceremony too well, and took it coolly for some hours after he had received notice to prepare. His account of the preparatory ceremonies—the dancing, marching and counter-marching, drinking, speechifying, jesting, firing, &c.—occupies more than thirty pages; and if the ceremony were as monotonous as the description of it, he is much to be pitied. At last, however, His Majesty made his appearance, and, considering the prominent figure he has lately cut with our Foreign Office, and the infamous renown acquired by his cruelties, he certainly, as the author says, merits description:—

'Gelele, also known as Dahome-Dadda, "the grandfather of Dahome," is in the full vigour of life, from forty to forty-five, before the days of increasing belly and decreasing leg. He looks a king of (negro) men, [in that respect, surely, contrasting favourably with the gentleman just described,] without tenderness of heart, or weakness of head; and he appears in form and complexion the καλλιστος ἀνὴρ of this black Iliad. His person is athletic, upwards of six feet high, lithe, agile, thin-flanked, and broad-shouldered, with muscular limbs, well-turned wrists, and neat ankles, but a distinctly cucumber-shaped shin. The skull is rounded and well set on: the organs of locality stand prominently out; a slight baldness appears upon the poll, and the "regions of cautiousness" are covered by two cockade-like tufts of hair, mostly worn in Dahome for the purpose of attaching coral, Popo-heads, or brass and silver corselets. His hair, generally close shaven, is of the peppercorn variety; the eyebrows are scant, the beard is thin, and the moustachios are thinner. He has not his father's receding forehead, nor the vanishing chin, which distinguishes the multitude: his strong jaw renders the face indeed "jowly" rather than oval; consequently the expression is normally hard, though open, and not ill-humoured, whilst the smile which comes out of it is pleasant. His nails are allowed to attain mandarin length; the African king must show that he is an eater of meat, not of "monkey's food,"—fruits and vegetables. Moreover, talons are useful amongst ragoûts, in lands where no man has yet been called *furcifer*. His sub-tumid lips disclose white, strong, and sound teeth, the inner surfaces being somewhat blackened by tobacco. His eyes are red, bleared, and inflamed, betraying an opacity of the cornea which may end in blindness. An ophthalmist might here thrive upon the smallest display of skill. This complaint is not the gift of rum, for the king is a very moderate drinker, and prefers wines and beer, of which he has an ample store, to rum and gin. The glare of the country, the Harmattan winds, the exposure during the long reception hours, perpetual smoking, and, lastly, a somewhat excessive devotion to Venus, are the causes. The nose is distinctly *retroussé*, quasi-negro, anti-aquiline, looking, in fact, as if all the lines had been turned the wrong way,—this mean and hideous concave is the African substitute for the beautiful, the sympathetic, and the noble convexity of the Caucasian,—but it is not much flattened, nor does it wholly want bridge. The lines of wrinkle subtending the corners of the mouth are deeply but not viciously marked: and the same may be said concerning the crumpling of the forehead during momentary excitement. According to some, he is afflicted with chronic renal disease. He has suffered severely from the small-pox—the national scourge—which has by no means spared his race. The only vestige of tattoo is the usual Dahoman mark, three short parallel and perpendicular lancet cuts, situated nearer the scalp than the eye-brows, a little above the place where the latter meet the zygomata.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., pp. 232–235.

His Majesty's skin is of a pure reddish brown, which is supposed to be due to the fact that his mother was a slave girl from the northern Makhi, a comparatively light-complexioned people, inhabiting the mountains north of Dahome. He affects extreme simplicity in dress, often going bareheaded. As now seen by our author, he wore a short cylindrical straw cap, with a ribbon band of purple velvet round the middle. He carried a charm against sickness, in the shape of a human incisor, had a narrow armillary arm-ring of iron on his right arm, and five similar bracelets below his left elbow. A body-cloth of white stuff, edged with narrow green silk border, drawers of purple-flowered silk, hardly reaching down to mid-thigh, sandals of Moorish shape, scarlet colour, and gold embroidery, completed the not untasteful or ineffective costume of this remarkable and powerful savage. The royal spouses, the soldieresses, and the slave girls were ranged in a semicircle behind him, with 'not a pretty face' among them. Gentle hands wiped the perspiration from the royal brow with softest cloth, or adjusted his dress when disarranged, or moved a gold-plated spittoon within convenient distance, when necessary. A royal sneeze made every head bend to the ground; and when majesty condescended to drink, a murmur of benediction ran through the throng. Evidently, the Dahoman monarch is well cared for by those around him; and perhaps to this is owing the fact, that the average duration of each reign of the present dynasty has been upwards of thirty-one years. The following account of his behaviour places this 'man of blood' in a not unfavourable light:—

'After the usual quadruple bowings and hand-wavings, the king arose, tucked in his toga, descended from his *estrade*, donned his slippers,—each act being aided by some dozen nimble female fingers, [we suppose our author means pairs of hands,]—and, advancing, greeted me with sundry vigorous wrings, *à la John Bull*. Still grasping my hand, he inquired after the health of the sovereign, the ministers, and the people of England; which he and his naturally suppose to be a little larger and much richer Dahome, surrounded by water. He then asked more particularly concerning the To-ji-'khosa, or commodore, the Gau, or Captain Leve, and the Amma-sinblu-to, or Dr. Haran, his last year's visitors. Gelele is said to have a right royal recollection of faces, names, and histories. A long compliment was paid to me upon my having kept word in returning: I had promised on a previous occasion to apply for permission to revisit Dahome, and here to redeem a promise is a thing unknown. The king frequently afterwards referred to this trifle, attaching great importance to truth-telling, and assuring me that it made me his good friend. It reminded me of

"Beholde the manne! he spake the truthe,
Hee's greater than a kynge!"

He then finally snapped fingers with a will. Mr. Cruikshank wore a naval frock, which looked dull near a scarlet uniform, having no epaulettes; his *accueil* was less ceremonious. Lastly, the Reverend received the greeting of a friend, and the king, before returning to his seat, kindly noticed the boy Tom.—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., pp. 242, 243.

Then follows a very lively and interesting account of the king's levee, for which we have no space; but one ghastly feature of the scene was a row of three large calabashes close by the king, containing the skulls of three chief amongst forty kings said to have been killed by Gelele. These skulls were variously ornamented, and treated with great respect; the monarch hereby setting an example which he would wish to be followed by any enemy into whose hands he might fall,—a curious application of the golden rule, indeed! In the various speeches which the king made during the ceremonies of reception, the intention to destroy Abeokuta, to make it 'as a mouse before the cat,' was the staple topic; and it furnished the refrain to all the orations and songs to which the embassy was compelled to listen during its protracted and tiresome stay in Dahome. The account of the royal levee and reception is thus summed up:—

'From the above description it is evident that the Dahoman possesses, to some extent, the ceremonial faculty. On such occasions the pageantry of African courts is to be compared with that of Europe proportionately with the national state of progress. But it is evidently the result of long and studious practice. Everything goes by clockwork; the most intricate etiquette proceeds without halt or mistake, and it ever superadds the element terror, whose absence in civilised countries often converts ceremonial to a something silly. As, however, the reader has been warned, he has seen the best. The outside displays are wretched. Misery mixes with magnificence, ragged beggars and naked boys jostle jewelled chiefs and velvet-clad amazons; whilst the real negro grotesqueness, like bad perspective, infuses the whole picture.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. i., pp. 274, 275.

Abeokuta proper is a town of four miles by two; but the defences of the place, which have played a conspicuous part in Yoruban history, are not less than eighteen, and, reckoning outlying bulwarks, not less than twenty, miles in circumference. The streets are very narrow and irregular, intersecting each other at every possible angle, with occasional broad and shady

places that serve as markets. The sun, the vulture, and the pig, are the only scavengers. The walls of the houses are of tamped mud, and the tall, flying, and very combustible roofs are of thatch. The form is that of a hollow square, and at each angle there is a high, sharp gable, to throw off the heavy rain. There are, as in the case of most polygamous communities, numerous courts and subdivisions, in which goats and sheep are staked down. The fires are lighted in verandahs opening into central courts, and the cooking is performed in the open air. There are from ten to twenty windowless rooms in each house, from ten to fifteen feet long by from seven to eight feet broad. 'Rude cots and settees, earthen pots and coarse plates, grass bags for clothes and cowries, and almost invariably weapons, especially an old musket, and its leather cases for ammunition,' form the furniture. The number of inhabitants may vary from ten to five hundred, and even more in the largest. One outer door gives ingress and egress to the whole establishment. The population of the city has increased with amazing rapidity during the last twenty years. In 1842 Mr. Freeman estimated it at 45,000; in 1858 Mr. Bowen, an American missionary, set it down at 80,000. It has subsequently been computed to be 100,000; and Captain Burton thinks it likely that, when the soldiers are at home, the population will reach 150,000, about equal to the entire population of the kingdom of Dahome, of which the Abeokutans have stood in so much dread.

That kingdom is ridiculously small in comparison with the noise it has made in the world. It extends about 100 miles from south to north, and its mean breadth is about 40, giving an area of not more than 4,000 square miles. With such a contracted territory and limited population, we are ready to wonder at the amount of attention which the little 'black Sparta' has contrived to attract to itself. But the mixture of oddity and fiendish cruelty in its institutions and ceremonies will perhaps account for this. Agbome, the capital, is situated on a rolling plain, ending towards the north-west in short bluffs, and bounded in that direction by a deep depression, wherein lie the pans or ponds on which the chief water supply of the city depends. As may be supposed, the water is defective and bad, especially in the dry seasons. The outer *enceinte* is about five miles, the inner about four miles in circumference. The ground between is frequently pitted with deep holes, full of offals, foul vegetation, mud, &c.; and, as there are no *latrineæ*, and 'the Mosaic precept is not observed,' it must be almost as odoriferous as that 'body-and-soul-stinking town of Cologne,' wherein Coleridge declares he 'counted two-and-seventy

stenches.' It is, in fact, only a shapeless mass of villages, or rather an aggregation of 'palace carcasses,' and a few large establishments of the chief officers and their retainers. The principal feature is the Agbome House, 'a rude circle, measuring, if we cut off the various angles, 2,560 paces in circumference.' The population of Agbome is very fluctuating. Our author thinks it may, at times, have been 20,000, but that it is much less than that at present. The following is his estimate of the Dahoman character :—

'The modern Dahomans, I have said, are a mongrel breed, and a bad. They are Cretan liars, *Cretins* at learning, cowardly, and therefore cruel and bloodthirsty; gamblers, and consequently cheaters; brutal, noisy, boisterous, unvenerative, and disobedient, dipsas-bitten things, who deem it a "duty to the gods to be drunk;" a "flatulent self-conceited herd of barbarians," who endeavour to humiliate all those with whom they deal; in fact a slave race,—vermin, with a soul apiece.

"*Furca, furax, infamis, iners, furiosa ruina,*"

describes the race. They pride themselves on not being like the Popos, addicted to "the dark and dirty crime of poison;" the fact is, they have been able hitherto to carry everything with a high and violent hand. They are dark in skin, the browns being of xanthous temperament, middle-sized, slight, and very lightly made,—my Krumen looked like Englishmen among them,—agile, good walkers, and hard dancers, that carry little weight. Their dress is a godo or T-bandage, a nun-pwe, (undercloth,) or a Ffon chokoto, (pair of short drawers,) and an owu-chyon, or body-cloth, twelve feet long by four to six broad, worn like the Roman toga, from which it may possibly be derived.

'The women are of the Hastini, or elephant-order, described by the Rev. Koka Pandit, dark, plain, masculine, and, comparatively speaking, of large, strong, and square build. They are the reapers as well as the sowers of the field, and can claim the merits of laboriousness, if of no other quality. They tattoo their skins, especially their stomach, with alto-relievo patterns; their dress is a zone of beads, supporting a bandage beneath the do'vo, or scanty loin-cloth, which suffices for the poor and for young girls; the upper classes add an aga-vo, or over-cloth, two fathoms long, passed under the arms, and covering all from the bosom to the ankles.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii, pp. 250, 251.

But it is time that we attempt to give some account of the mythology and religious ceremonies of the two kindred yet hostile peoples to whom these volumes relate. It is difficult to present any clear view of what is essentially vague and crude; but the following outline will perhaps suggest comparisons of a not uninteresting kind.

The Egbas and Dahomans are not, like the races of Southern Africa, atheistic. It seems to be pretty clearly shown that the latter were literally 'without God.' Mr. Moffat, for instance, testifies of the Bechuanas, that to tell them, the greatest of them, that there was a Creator, the Governor of the heavens and the earth,—of the fall of man, or the redemption of the world, the resurrection of the dead, and immortality beyond the grave,—is to tell them what appeared to be more fabulous, extravagant, and ludicrous than their own vain stories about lions, hyænas, and jackals. The Egbas, on the contrary, have a distinct name for the Creator, whom they call Olorum, Lord or Owner of the sky or firmament. 'He is also known as Eleda,—the Creator; Olo-Dumene,—the Ever-Righteous; Oluwa,—the Lord; and Oga-Ogo,—the Glorious High One.' These are striking conceptions for a heathen people, but they are only 'attributes of a vague being without personality and without objectivity.' This supreme divinity is supposed 'to have retired from business, and to have deputed his functions to inferior officers; on which account men do not pray to him, but to a crowd of demons, gods many, and lords many, whom they call Orisha or idols. Of these there are *three* principal ones: 1. Obatala, king of Greatness or Whiteness, owner of the Good Clay, and Idol of the Gate, who is the first and greatest of created things, represented variously. He made the first man, and his wife, Iye, or Life, from 'ye,' to live; 'in sound and sense curiously resembling Hawwa or Eve.' 2. Shango,—'at once Vulcan, Tubal Cain, Thor, and Jupiter Tonans; and, 3. Ifa,—a myth, the revealer of futurity, and the patron of marriage and childbirth. He has a large following of priests and their families. There is, besides these three, quite a crowd of *Dii minorum gentium*, the most remarkable being Ori, the worshipper's own head:—the symbol of Ori is half a calabash stuck with almonds, like a pudding, till the substance can hardly be seen, and hung about with long strings of the same shell. This is placed upon the ground, and duly adored.' There are tutelary deities, patrons of farms, blacksmiths, new-born children, and so on. To the demon-worship of Egba belongs also the worship of the bad god,—Eshu,—from 'shu,' to cast out, vestiges of whose worship are to be seen everywhere in Abeokuta. He is propitiated by small offerings, and by the pouring of palm oil upon his symbol,—'a rude conglomerate of pebbles set in clay, and tinged with oxide.'

There is also a third class of deities, having the functions of a kind of spiritual policemen. The two chief are Egugun, or 'Bones,' and Oro. The former is personated by a living man, hideously disguised. Our author says:—

'I once met this "party" in the streets. He was a tall fellow, without the drawn sword mentioned by Mr. Bowen, but otherwise most fantastically clad. His face was covered with a plaiting of network, like a mask, and his head with a hood, whose streamers of red, scarlet, crimson, and dirty white, hung down and mixed with the similar tatters and patches of his lower dress. To his back, between the shoulders, was suspended a German penny mirror, and his shoes, like mocassins, completely hid his feet. The latter members he is not supposed to possess; and the same was thought of Europeans before they were seen to remove their boots and stockings. Egugun replied with a curious and studied grunting to our facetious salutations, and moved out of the way of the horses. It is said that if any one—even the king—touches him, the man must die.'—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., pp. 195, 196.

He is in short the 'old Bogey' of Egba-land, extremely useful for terrifying women, children, and slaves. Oro personifies the public as distinguished from the domestic police, and is explained as 'the executive or vindictive power of civil government deified.' The word means 'punishment,' and 'represents to the Egba what Nemesis did to the Greek and Roman.' Oro is very terrible to women, who fly at the supposed sound of his voice; but he does not visit the market-places, and disappears before a party of men with lanterns. When a great palaver is at hand, a town is 'given to Oro,' apparently an expedient to keep the women within doors, lest they should interfere with the freedom and success of debate.

Of course superstition in all its forms is rife among this people. The usual herd of wizards, witches, ghosts, charms, (here called *grigris*,) attendant upon all pagan religions, is to be found here; and the Egbans have great faith in dreams, which they believe to be 'so many revelations brought by the manes of the departed.' They believe also in a physical metamorphosis, which Captain Burton says Europeans confound with metempsychosis. But his lucubration on this subject is worth quoting as a specimen of that shallow materialism which passes with such men as he for profound philosophy:—

'The former [metamorphosis] is simple and purely natural; the latter [metempsychosis] is a complex and contradictory system, postulating the existence of what is proofless; an immortal nonentity called spirit, created out of nothing—despite "*Ex nihilo nihil fit*"—in a limited number for an unlimited number of human beings, destined to end where it began, and whence its beginning was consequently uncalled for. But Europe cannot deride Asia in this particular. He who denies or demands proof that a soul or spirit exists, who considers "Mind" to be the working of the brain, and who holds "Matter," as it is popularly understood, sufficient for all

human phenomena, is held in a holy horror. To me it appears that he rather honours the Omnipotent who can, out of so vile a body, produce effects which others must attribute to their mysterious "dweller in the temple," must in fact solve their difficulties by adding a supplement to the Book of Creation.'—*Abeokuta*, vol. i., pp. 204, 205.

After that, we are almost disposed to withdraw our question as to whether our author is a Mohammedan. He seems hardly to have got so far as even that. El Islam itself would have taught him better. But his flippancy and presumption on all questions of religion are truly amazing. For instance, in a note on devil-worship, he says, 'Europeans, as has been said, call all the native objects of worship "devils" indiscriminately. The practice is incorrect, but dates of old. "All the gods of the Gentiles are devils," says the Psalmist.'

There is a very strong analogy, as might be supposed, between the Dahoman and the Egba superstition; but our decreasing space warns us that we must not occupy any more of it in describing the crude and unformed notions of these barbarous people. Captain Burton has laboured to make the Dahoman system intelligible; but we doubt whether he understands it himself. It has been said that he is without theological or missionary prejudices. If this means that he is not pre-occupied with notions fatal to any right or true perception on questions of religion or theology, we do not agree with the saying. Let the following paragraph speak for itself:—

'Fetishism, according to the older opinion, is, like the Negro's personal conformation, a fall from the primitive inspired and spiritual belief of mankind. The researches of our modern day tend to establish the fact of a fossil ancestry, of immeasurable inferiority to the present *Homo sapiens*, the effect of a selection ever active throughout a course of ages. Consequently anthropologists will substitute, even in the Hamite, a rise above instead of a fall from the philosophic Adam: they will consider his superstitions as the dawnings of belief struggling to attain the brightness of day, equally inferior in the moral or sentimental qualities to the Asiatic, and to the European in the reflectives and the perceptive.'—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii., p. 134.

We adduce this passage simply as a proof that our author has brought to his inquiries into this subject, not indeed a superstitious prejudice. He may call it a philosophical one, if he likes. It involves simply the cool and contemptuous rejection of the scriptural account of man's origin and early history; and after that our readers will know how much discount must be allowed to his reflections and reasonings.

A large space is devoted, in the *Mission to Gelele*, to a detail of the notorious 'customs' by which His Majesty has won so infamous a renown. Anything like a detailed analysis of these tiresome, degrading, and cruel orgies is out of the question, seeing that the narrative occupies more than a hundred pages. They are of two kinds, the Grand Customs, and the Annual Customs; besides which, so far as we can make out, there are certain supplementary ceremonies bearing the same general name. The word is used to signify the cost or charges paid to the king at a certain season in the year, and denotes habit or usage. The offering of human sacrifices is the prominent feature in all. The Grand Customs are performed only after the death of a king, and are generally deferred until his successor has become sufficiently wealthy, and has collected a sufficient number of captives or criminals for their celebration. In the first three months of the year 1791 five hundred men, women, and children, 'fell victims to revenge and ostentation, under the show of piety.' The number would have been much larger but for a sudden demand for slaves, by which the cupidity of the king became interested in the preservation of life. Mr. Bernasko, the Wesleyan Missionary, was present during the Grand Customs held by the present king in 1860, and he estimates the number of human beings then murdered in cold blood at more than two thousand.

The Annual Customs are of two kinds,—the first called the Atto Custom, from the Atto, or platform, in the Ajyahi market, whence the victims are precipitated. The second is the So-siu Custom, the 'Horse-Tie Year.' Our author witnessed the ceremonies attendant on this, though, according to his instructions, he protested against the human sacrifices, and refused to sanction them by his presence. The Customs lasted over five or six days, and we have a minute account of the wretched ceremonial of each day in these volumes. Marching, counter-marching, dancing, singing, drumming, tall talk, and hard drinking seem to have been the principal employments of the performers. There was a plentiful display of shabby-genteel barbaric splendour, inferior to what 'any petty hill rajah in India' could have commanded,—'a barren barbarism, whose only "sensation" was produced by a score of men looking on and hearing that they are about to die.' Skulls were freely exhibited, and Abeokuta was threatened with immediate and complete destruction in every form of objurgation that barbaric ingenuity and rage could invent. There are at least two Evil Nights during the Annual Customs, and there may be more. Captain Burton thinks that about eighty lives were sacrificed

during the So-sin Customs which he attended. Of the reason and motive of this frightful slaughter, he says,—

‘Human sacrifice in Dahome is founded upon a purely religious basis, which not only strengthens but perpetuates the custom. It is a touching instance of the king’s filial piety, deplorably mistaken, but perfectly sincere. The Dahoman sovereign must, I have said, enter Deadland with royal state, accompanied by a ghostly court of leopard wives, head wives, birth-day wives, eunuchs,—especially the chief eunuch,—singers and drummers, king’s “Joto si,” and “king’s devils,” bards, and soldiers.’—*Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii., p. 20.

But, whatever may be the reason, and however some may try to palliate them, these horrible observances involve, even according to our author’s computation, the slaughter of at least five hundred human beings annually, and somewhat less than a thousand during the year of the Grand Customs. Verily ‘the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.’ The Dahoman monarch is king both of the city and the bush, or farmer folk and country as opposed to the city. It is supposed that the latter claim was invented to enable the king to monopolise agriculture and commerce. At any rate, he keeps Custom in his rural as well as in his civic capacity; his country palace of Akpwe-ho, about six miles to the south-west of Agbome, being the scene of the bush-king’s Customs. Five days are devoted to these ceremonies, which are the old thing over again, ‘with a difference;’ and the narrative of which leaves a sense of weariness, disgust, and sickening horror on the mind. And there is yet another, called the Sin-Kwain, or Water-Sprinkling Custom. All these orgies are baptized with human blood.

We have left ourselves hardly any room to speak of our author’s chapter on ‘the Negro’s place in Nature,’ a chapter which does him infinite discredit. It is an elaborate attempt to prove, chiefly from physiological considerations, ‘the innate and enduring inferiority of a race which has had so many an opportunity of acquiring civilisation, but which has ever deliberately rejected improvement.’ We wish Captain Burton had explained the nature of these ‘many opportunities of acquiring civilisation.’ When and where have they been presented to the negro? Was it in the barracoons of the slave coast, or during the horrors of the middle passage, or on the auctioneer’s block in America and the West Indies? Was it under the enforced labour, the bloody cowhide, the frightful chains and gaols of the West Indies? Was it under the mild and gentle rule of the Legrees in the Southern States of America? Did the slave

laws of Louisiana, for instance,—laws which made it a capital offence to teach the negro to read,—present him with the opportunity of acquiring civilisation? Has he had any very splendid opportunity in the cities of the free North, where he is shunned and hated as an outcast, and every conceivable indignity is systematically heaped upon him? Historically, this assertion is false. We fearlessly assert that, as a rule, the negro's contact with the white man, except in the British West Indies since Emancipation, has been far more likely to retard than to advance his civilisation. And what are the physical grounds of our author's degrading conclusion? 'The unpermanency of the half-breed, and the frequency of sterile marriages amongst mulattos, showing an approach to specific difference;' the smaller number and size of the convolutions of the negro's brain; his savage want of veneration for God or man; the fine development of his propensities and passions, with the weak development of the perceptive, reflective, and sentimental or moral regions, and so forth. Now, we know that the negro is singularly open to religious impressions; and we doubt whether 'the short and simple annals of the poor' in any land contain more, or more touching, records of simple, fervent, and consistent piety than can be gathered from negro huts both in Africa and America. But to what does all this amount? Whence come many of the physical, intellectual, and moral defects of which our author speaks, but from barbarism on the one hand, or from infamous and cruel tyranny, and hopeless bondage, inflicted on him in the name of the God of mercy, on the other? When the negro race shall have enjoyed centuries of religious light and privilege; when it shall have been subject to those innumerable noble, refining, and civilising influences, which for long ages have wrought upon the English mind and character, to make it what it is, the time will have come for a fair comparison; but not till then. We have no words to express our impatience at the supercilious pride of our modern 'anthropologists,' who discard the teachings of Scripture, and pervert their science, if such it be, to the foregone purpose of libelling 'God's image carved in ebony.' The annals of missionary toil and triumph, much as Captain Burton pooh-poohs them, are replete with proofs, that under the quickening influence of the Gospel the negro's long dormant manhood awakens, and he begins to assert his 'true place in nature.' Our author himself speaks more respectfully, than is his wont when dealing with Christians or Missionaries, of the Rev. Mr. Crowther, whom he calls the first full-blooded negro who ever 'wagged his pow' in a Church of England pulpit. That

gentleman has lately been consecrated a bishop, and most worthy has he proved himself, by a long course of evangelizing labour, of the honour thus conferred upon him. We remember seeing and hearing him, under most affecting circumstances, just after his ordination. It was at a public meeting where an eminent clergyman had sought to prove, by deduction from the Noachic curse on Ham, and other Scriptures, something not quite so bad as the inferiority for which Captain Burton contends. Never shall we forget the sensation, when, immediately after the address of the clergyman in question, 'the Rev. Mr. Crowther' was announced, and there stepped forward 'a full-blooded negro,' indeed, 'black but comely.' With what grace of gesture, classic purity of diction, strength of argument, and power of appeal, did he resent the indignity which had been uttered against his race! He met one of the most polished and elegant pulpit-orators in all England on equal terms, and utterly vanquished him in a fair fight before three thousand enraptured and applauding listeners. But, had he refused to argue the point; had he but dilated on the general missionary question in the same wonderful and winning way, taking no notice of his reverend libeller; he would have nobly and completely vindicated his manhood. And we say, that one single instance of this kind is an overwhelming answer to all the philosophical and physiological rubbish shot into this chapter of Captain Burton's book. The progress of the Gospel in Africa will put to silence the ignorance of the foolish men who, from interested motives, deny or question the manhood of the negro; and in the day when 'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God,' she shall be welcomed into the common brotherhood of humanity, and her outrageous and unspeakable wrongs shall be completely and for ever avenged.

ART. VII.—*Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin.* By JAMES PARTON. New York. 1864.

It is more than strange that, until the publication of Mr. Parton's volumes, we have had no complete record of Benjamin Franklin's life. The autobiographical fragment which he left behind him, though very valuable, is necessarily incomplete. The three portly volumes published by his grandson in the year 1818 contribute little which may not be found in the autobiography; and they lie open to the suspicion of having been tampered with for political purposes. The great work of Dr. Jared Sparkes, though dealing comprehensively with Franklin's literary

remains, does not add much to our knowledge of his personal and political history. Mr. Parton supplies the deficiency. His volumes are a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of Franklin's political career. They are indeed full of faults; they are intensely and painfully American; their tone is often bitter and ungenerous; they contain many mistakes and much *bunkum*; they might be condensed to half their size without any loss of real matter; but, as a painstaking endeavour to exhibit the true character and worth of a distinguished man, we give them a hearty welcome. Though an ardent partisan, Mr. Parton is honest. He tells the whole truth. He does not disguise those phases of his hero's character which lie open to criticism. But we think that he will have some difficulty in inducing the public to accept all his well-meant, but often meagre explanations.

The ancestors of Franklin, like those of Washington, lived for many generations in the county of Northampton. Washington was of gentle lineage, whereas Franklin was the descendant of a long line of blacksmiths. The smith of an earlier age, however, was no unimportant personage. He was often an artist and an inventor. The kind of work which is now done by machinery, and which has created such towns as Sheffield and Birmingham, was wrought at the village forge. So that, although we cannot claim for Franklin a very illustrious descent, we are not to think lightly of the family which, through many generations, held the farm and forge in the little village of Ecton. Tracing the line back to a more distant age, we find some tokens of a French descent. The name was once common in Picardy, whence, in times of persecution, many refugees fled to England. Franklin's type of character was never English. There was a certain gaiety about him, even in times when sadness should have affected him, which may be attributed to his French extraction. Of his more immediate ancestors we have many a suggestive glimpse. One, who lived in the days of Mary, was a staunch Protestant, and kept a Bible under the lid of a stool, which was shut down on the approach of a spy. Another of the heirs of the Ecton forge, who was a poet as well as a blacksmith, was luckless enough to be imprisoned for a year and a day, on suspicion of having written certain verses reflecting on the character of one of the higher powers. The son of this martyr to the Muses—Franklin's grandfather—was a man of great worth and piety, much given to devout ejaculations. So highly was he esteemed by the parson of the village, that in a tithes'-book still extant he is styled 'Mr. Franklin,'—no small compliment in that age.

The father of Franklin, Josiah by name, had the misfortune to be the youngest son. Shut out from the heritage of the family forge, he followed the business of a dyer in the town of Banbury. It was the era of the Conventicles; and Josiah, having espoused the cause of the ejected ministers, gradually lost his trade. In or about the year 1685, he bade farewell to his native land, and, with his wife and three children, accompanied by many of his fellow Dissenters, he sailed for Boston. In this then unpretending town he found little encouragement for a dyer. He therefore set up as a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler, at the sign of the 'Blue Ball,'—the very ball which now hangs at the corner of one of the streets of Boston. He prospered in business, and his family increased. Soon after the birth of her seventh child, his wife died; and in less than a year the disconsolate widower was united to the daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers in Nantucket, a man of considerable learning, and a strong advocate of religious liberty. Ten children were the fruit of this union, the eighth being Benjamin, who was born on Sunday morning, January 6th, (O. S.,) 1706, and carried forthwith by his father to the Old South Church to be baptized.

It was the long-cherished desire of Josiah Franklin to dedicate his youngest son to the service of the Church; and with that idea he sent him, when eight years old, to the Boston Grammar School. But the good soap-boiler had an ambition beyond his means:—a professional education was scarcely possible to a lad with sixteen brothers and sisters:—and so, after two years of schooling, his father took him to assist in his business, 'to cut candle-wicks, fill candle-moulds, attend the shop, and run errands,' to the poor boy's infinite disgust. What effect a long and liberal education would have had upon him it is difficult to guess. He did remarkably well without it; and his case is but one among many others which give some countenance to Lord Jeffrey's theory that an ample education is prejudicial to originality. Some of the boldest thinkers of all ages have been men whom circumstances have compelled to self-culture.

Young Franklin was disgusted with the soap-boiling business. And truly there was but little inspiration in it for a lad who had tasted the sweets of learning. He longed to escape from the tallow-laden atmosphere. One brother had gone to sea; another had crossed over to England to learn the business of a printer; a sister had married the captain of a coasting vessel; and Benjamin was bent on a sailor's life. The timely

arrival of an uncle from England, who brought with him many volumes of wonderful doggrel, and sermons in short-hand, and who took much notice of his nephew, gave some check to the sea-faring tendency. But nothing would induce him to remain with his father. After trying various places throughout the city, he finally settled down in the office of his brother James, who, having returned from England, had commenced business as a printer. This new occupation was favourable to his literary tastes, and he began to read. His father's library was limited, and mainly theological. To young Franklin's mind its most precious volumes were the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Defoe's *Essay upon Projects*, and Cotton Mather's *Essays to do Good*. The last work, according to his own testimony, gave him such a turn of thinking as to have an influence on his conduct through life. A kind merchant in the city allowed him the run of his library. With such a chance before him, Franklin, in order to save money and time, turned vegetarian. His brother agreed to allow him half the money which he had been accustomed to pay for his board. Out of this, Benjamin managed not only to buy his dinner, which consisted of a biscuit and a bunch of raisins, but also to save a small sum for books. Two or three hours a day were stolen for reading, and the whole of Sunday was devoted to the same work. For already was that process beginning in Franklin's mind which led him to abandon the faith of his fathers, with all its restraints.

Franklin lived and died a Deist. Nor is it difficult to discover the footsteps by which he passed over from the teachings of a pious home to an avowed unbelief. He was not naturally reverent. The quality of veneration was utterly strange to him, and it never cost him a pang to renounce the creed of his childhood. When quite a boy, we find him satirising his father's custom of asking a blessing over meals, and suggesting that grace should be said over a cask of pickled meat once for all. The religion of his native town was not of the most attractive order to a mind of his type. It was an intolerant Puritanism. The day of nose-slitting had gone by, but the spirit of it had not yet been exorcised. Men and women were 'obliged to confess before the congregation; no man could hold office who was not a member of the Established Church; it was a criminal offence for people to ride, or children to play, on Sundays; and to worship according to the rites of the Catholic Church' was a capital crime. Some who found it irksome to remain in England under the rule of the 'lord bishops' were unable to join themselves to the church at

Boston because of the intolerance of the 'lord brethren.' Among influences of this kind Franklin spent his childhood. When he was fifteen years old, some of the Lectures delivered on the foundation of Robert Boyle fell into his hands. These Lectures, which were designed to prove the truth of the Christian religion among infidels, first suggested to his mind the objections which in his case they failed to solve.

From the Boyle Lectures to Collins and Shaftesbury was, in Franklin's case, a very natural transition. He revelled in the fearless freedom of thought displayed by those writers, offering such a contrast as it did to the dry, stern dogmatism of such men as Increase and Cotton Mather, whose ministry he had been accustomed to attend. These new fountains of inspiration shed their influence over his religious creed to the last; for, though in after days his views underwent some modification, passing over from mere negations to positive principles, he was to the end of life substantially a Deist. There is a very curious and interesting relic in the hands of an American gentleman in London,—a pocket Prayer-book, in which are a creed and liturgy, prepared by Franklin, and in his own handwriting. The book opens with a formal statement of his belief; the first article of which is, 'that there is one supreme, most perfect Being, Author and Father of the gods themselves.' This Being does not desire or expect the worship of man, though He allows it. From a race of gods vastly superior to man He receives a praise more adequate than man can offer. He is not above caring for man, and is not offended when His children solace themselves with pleasant exercises and innocent delights. Then follows a grandiloquent liturgy; which being pronounced, 'the worshipper was next to read a passage from Ray's *Wisdom of God in the Creation*, or Blackmore *On the Creation*, or Cambray's *Demonstration of the Being of a God*;' or, if he chose, to spend some minutes in silent contemplation of those subjects. Then follows a litany, which certainly does credit to the head and heart of its composer. The whole service ends with a general thanksgiving. It is believed that Franklin used this liturgy for twenty years. Afterwards he abandoned many of his more fantastical theories, and settled down into the belief of six articles: 'There is one God, the Creator of all things. God governs the world by His providence. God ought to be worshipped. Doing good to men is the service most acceptable to God. Man is immortal. In the future world, the disembodied souls of men will be dealt with justly.' He seldom attended a place of worship, though he believed in the propriety and utility of public devotion. He was once induced

to attend the ministry of a Presbyterian clergyman; 'but,' says Franklin, 'his discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of one sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced; their aim seeming to be to make us Presbyterians, rather than good citizens. At length he took for his text that verse of the fourth chapter to the Philippians: *Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, &c., &c., think on those things.* And I imagined, in a sermon on such a text, we could not miss of having some morality. But he confined himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle: 1. Keeping holy the Sabbath day. 2. Being diligent in reading the Scriptures. 3. Attending duly the public worship. 4. Partaking of the Sacrament. 5. Paying a due respect to God's ministers. These might be all good things; but as they were not the kind of good things that I expected from that text, I despaired of ever meeting with them from any other, was disgusted, and attended his preaching no more.' Poor Franklin! By no means the only one who has gone to the house of God, asking for bread, and receiving a stone.

The world is generally familiar with the story of Franklin's early adventures and struggles. His life in the printing office, his first literary essay in the *New England Courant*, his quarrel with his brother, his engagement with Keimer at Philadelphia, his interview with Governor Keith, and the Governor's proposal to send him to England and provide him with the means of establishing himself as printer for the government in Philadelphia, are all well-known. The Keith episode is very curious, and is very fully detailed by Mr. Parton. When Franklin ran away from his brother's service, Captain Holmes, his sister's husband, wrote to the renegade, and urged his return. Franklin wrote a civil and elaborate reply, which fully convinced his brother-in-law that he had good reason for the course he had taken. When this letter reached Captain Holmes, he was in company with Sir William Keith, to whom he showed it. The governor was astonished at the ability which it displayed; and soon after called upon the young printer, and proposed that he should establish himself in Philadelphia. He also wrote a long letter to Franklin's father, in which he highly extolled the young man, and predicted his complete success. Josiah Franklin, wary and sagacious, questioned the governor's discretion in proposing to set up a young man of eighteen, and flatly refused to sanction the project by advancing any money. When the father's answer was given to Sir William, he at once volunteered

to furnish Franklin with the needful help, and proposed that he should go to England, in order to select the needful materials. He further promised to give him letters of introduction to friends in London, as well as the necessary letter of credit. A bag of letters from the governor was put on board, and the hopeful printer sailed for England. On his arrival he found that he had been completely duped. There were no letters of introduction, and there was no letter of credit. Indeed, Sir William had no credit at all. With ten pounds in his pocket young Franklin found himself in the wilderness of London, a perfect stranger and the victim of a heartless deception. What could have been the governor's motive in the matter it is impossible to divine. He was a great popularity-hunter, and had a fascinating way with him which always won the people; but how such a proceeding as this could advance his interests it would be difficult to show. It is evident that he could not have meant any harm to the young man; and therefore the terms 'perfidious' and 'atrocious,' which Mr. Parton liberally uses, are inappropriate. Franklin's own comment upon the business is perhaps the best interpretation of the mystery, while it exhibits a fine spirit of charity and forgiveness. 'What,' says he, 'shall we think of a governor playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly upon a poor, ignorant boy? It was a habit he had acquired: he wished to please everybody, and having little to give, he gave expectations.' Such a comment Franklin would not have written while smarting under the mortification of the governor's deception. It was penned a long time after Keith had bitterly expiated his errors. Deposed from office, the once popular governor hung upon society for a quarter of a century, poor and neglected, 'striving to earn a little money by writing histories of the colonies.' Franklin could the better afford to pity and speak kindly of the man who had once deceived him, because to him, indirectly, he owed his future advancement. It was through Keith that he was induced to visit England, and to his residence in England he owed an introduction to many eminent men, the acquiring of a broader knowledge of business, and the position which he afterwards gained in Philadelphia.

'If he had stayed in London,' says his biographer, 'he would have been a leading publisher and member of Parliament before he was forty-five.' Such conjectures are perfectly gratuitous and innocent. Our own opinion is that he would not have risen to any particular eminence in England. He would have succeeded as a tradesman anywhere. He had just the push and thriftiness which invariably secure wealth. But he owed

his political elevation solely to circumstances. His stay in London was short. In 1726, he sailed for his native land; and we find him, in 1728, after many adventures, fairly established in business in Philadelphia. His business was of the composite order. 'He was printer, publisher, bookbinder, and stationer. He made lamp-black and ink; he dealt in rags; he sold soap and live-geese feathers.' In one of his advertisements he offered 'very good sack at six shillings a gallon.' He dealt also in coffee, and other articles of home consumption. Moreover, his shop was the head-quarters of Philadelphian gossip. He was a great advertiser. Indeed, Mr. Parton goes so far as to assert, that 'it was Franklin who originated the modern system of business advertising.' It is a wonder that Mr. Parton does not credit him with the invention of the steam-engine and the electric telegraph. He must be totally ignorant of history, or he would remember that in the days of Queen Anne, and as far back as the reign of Charles II., public advertisements were largely used by tradespeople and quack-doctors for commending their wares. We believe, however, that he is right in saying that Franklin 'invented the plan of distinguishing advertisements by means of little pictures, which he cut with his own hands.' The credit of this wonderful discovery no one will be inclined to refuse him. By dint of advertisements and personal industry, he soon found himself the master of a flourishing business. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of which he was the editor and proprietor, was incomparably the best paper published in the colonies. *Poor Richard's Almanack* reached an average sale of ten thousand copies annually. In a day when sectarian tracts poured in torrents from the press, he was the favourite publisher for the clergy. Every work of interest that was published in England, he imported; and many of the more popular works he reprinted. The public printing of the provinces of New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, fell to his office; and he had some share in that of Virginia, New York, the Carolinas, and Georgia. His school-books, his hand-books of farming, agriculture, and medicine, his numberless small pamphlets, all contributed to swell his gains. So that, after spending twenty years in business, he found himself the owner of an estate which brought him seven hundred a year, and a printing establishment, the annual profits of which were two thousand pounds.

He was then in a position to devote some time to self-improvement. He had already devoted some time to the study of French, Italian, and Spanish; his theory being that 'the true order of acquiring languages is, the modern first, and the

ancient afterwards,'—a theory which Mr. Parton regards as most valuable, but which we accept rather as a fruit and illustration of the superficiality of Franklin's acquirements. His bigoted adherence to this theory led him to discountenance the teaching of Greek and Latin in the high school of Pennsylvania, of which he was the principal founder. Happily for the *alumni* of the school, Franklin's influence was not so powerful as to silence the common-sense opposition of those who contended for the good old fashion of an elementary Greek and Latin education. His progress in the Italian tongue was facilitated by his love of the game of chess. 'A friend, who was also learning the Italian, often lured him from his books, by challenging him to play at this game. At length he refused to play any more, except upon condition the victor should impose a task upon the vanquished, such as learning a verb or writing a translation, which task should be performed before the next meeting. As they played about equally, they beat one another into the acquisition of the Italian language.' But his favourite subject of study was Nature. The most common-place phenomena suggested inquiry, and found full occupation for his fertile mind. The bearing of physical science upon domestic comfort was his favourite topic of thought; and it had its fruit in the invention of the Franklin stove, and many other useful appliances.

He was not long allowed to enjoy the delights of well-earned leisure. His exertions to place the province of Pennsylvania in a position for self-defence, had pointed him out as a man on whom the public service might profitably lay hold. He was appointed justice of the peace. The corporation of Philadelphia elected him to the function of alderman. The citizens chose him to represent them in the Assembly. The Assembly of Pennsylvania was in earlier days a very simple and primitive body. The members used to take their dinners with them to the House. Sometimes they would solemnly adjourn to warm themselves. Absentees were fined tenpence, the clerk was paid four shillings a day, and the House itself was a school-room, rented at twenty shillings the session. Laws were passed, forbidding the drinking of healths, and the spreading of false reports. But when Franklin was elected, the Assembly had become a body of considerable dignity, indeed, quite a little parliament; though its main business seems to have been to 'bother, torment, and frustrate' the governor, who was always appointed by the proprietaries, and could be removed only by them. Soon after his election, he was appointed postmaster-general of America, and thus became an officer of the crown.

Into his new department he introduced many reforms. He quite regenerated the postal system of the colonies, and made it a very profitable branch of the public service. But more important work awaited him. It was the eve of the Seven Years' War. It had long been the darling desire of the colonists, and especially of those of New England, to expel the French from North America. 'The French interfered with their fisheries. The French estranged their Indians. The French threatened the Western country. The French were the natural enemies of Britons. The French were Roman Catholics. And, to conclude the list of grievances, the French, by the middle of the last century, had grown to be formidable. They held all Canada, claimed the valley of the Mississippi, and were preparing to hem in the English by a line of forts, from Niagara to the Gulf of Mexico.' As soon as it became clear to the mind of Franklin that the French meant war, he drew up a plan for the union of the colonies; and published an article on the subject, illustrated by 'one of those allegorical woodcuts of which he was so fond. It was the picture of a snake cut into as many pieces as there were colonies, each piece having upon it the first letter of the name of a colony; and, under the whole, in capital letters, appeared the words JOIN OR DIE.' This plan of union, which was remarkably similar to that on which the States were afterwards organized as one nation, was almost universally approved by the colonists. There was some opposition, however; and the home-government rejected it as being too democratic, and as making the colonies too formidable.

Shortly after the defeat and massacre of General Braddock's army, an old dispute between the Assembly of Pennsylvania and the proprietaries of the province reached its crisis. The district of Pennsylvania was confirmed to William Penn and his descendants by royal charter. In return for this magnificent grant of 'twenty-six million acres of the best land in the universe,' the proprietaries were to deliver annually at Windsor Castle 'two beaver skins, pay into the king's treasury one-fifth of the gold and silver which the province might yield, govern the province in conformity with the laws of England, and as became a liege of England's king.' The province was ruled by a governor, whose hopeless task it was to serve three masters,— 'the proprietaries, who could take away his office; the Assembly, who could withhold his salary; and the king of England, who could cut off his head.' Among other things he was strictly enjoined to veto every tax bill which did not expressly exempt from taxation the immense estates of the Penns. This mon-

strous meanness on the part of the proprietaries, especially in relation to those war taxes which were necessitated by the cost of defending Pennsylvania, had often exasperated the Assembly. Several respectful remonstrances had only called forth insulting replies; and, goaded by the obstinacy and arrogance of the Penns, the House passed a resolution to the effect 'that a remonstrance should be drawn up and sent home, setting forth the true state of Pennsylvania, and representing the pernicious consequences to the British interest, and to the inhabitants of that province, if, contrary to their charters and laws, they were to be governed by proprietary instructions.' The Assembly further resolved that Benjamin Franklin should be requested to go to England, to urge and procure the redress of their grievances. The sum of fifteen hundred pounds was voted for his expenses, and he prepared to sail. Owing, however, to the strange dilatoriness of Lord Loudoun, the commander-in-chief, the vessel in which he had booked his passage was not able to sail for five months after the specified time. On the evening of July 26th, 1757, Franklin found himself again in London.

His first business was to see the proprietaries. He found them sententious, haughty, and totally disinclined to acquiesce in the views of the agent. He then tried to procure an audience with William Pitt, but it could not be done. 'The first man of America,' says Mr. Parton, 'could not get access to the first man in Europe. The only man in the British Empire fit to be Mr. Pitt's king or colleague, was unable to approach his person.' His was almost a hopeless case. During two years he laboured without advancing a single step, such was the influence of the proprietaries, and the popular prejudice on the side of prerogative. The project of converting Pennsylvania into a royal province was abandoned, and Franklin devoted himself to the gaining of two points:—'the equal taxation of the proprietary estates, and the deliverance of the Assembly from proprietary instructions.' The passing of a bill in the Assembly for granting to his Majesty the sum of £100,000, *by a tax on all estates*, stirred up the Penns to appeal to the king in council. A preliminary report, drawn up by a committee of the council, recommended that as this bill was 'manifestly offensive to natural justice, to the laws of England, and to the royal prerogative,' it should be repealed. This most ominous report threatened to spoil all the agent's diplomacy. By a clever compromise he obtained a modification of it, which was sanctioned by the king. This compromise was equivalent to a victory; for by it he established 'the

principle that the proprietary estates were to contribute their just proportion of the public revenue.' The Penns were shorn of their prerogative; and though they continued to annoy the province down to the time of the revolution, a limit was put to their misgovernment. When the revolution broke out, they sold their chartered rights for one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, the British government settled upon the head of the family four thousand a year, and they vanished from history.

The tedium of his diplomatic business was relieved by many a pleasant jaunt, and by the society of the wit and intelligence of the metropolis. 'I find,' writes Franklin, about this time, 'that I love company, chat, a laugh, a glass, and even a song, as well as ever; and at the same time relish better than I used to do the grave observations and wise sentences of old men's conversations.' Those were the days when a second bottle was almost the *sine quâ non* of a gentleman's meal; and Franklin, though better pleased with a moderate allowance, was quite equal to the responsibilities of the times. His diary tells of a pleasant visit to Cambridge, where he was fêted by the dons; another to the home of his ancestors; another to the University of St. Andrews, which conferred on him the Doctor's degree which is now invariably associated with his name. The corporation of Edinburgh gave him the freedom of their city. Hume, Robertson, and Lord Kames sought his society. Leisure hours were spent in experiments in natural philosophy, the study of music, penetrating glances into the 'chaos of geology,' and the like. Nor was his pen entirely idle. Many articles and pamphlets, on all sorts of subjects, were published during his residence in England.

In the spring of 1762 he prepared to return to Philadelphia. Oxford, as a parting compliment, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. A still greater compliment was paid to him by Lord Bute, the favourite of the king. Through his influence, the governorship of New Jersey was given to William Franklin, the doctor's son. This piece of patronage seems to have been unsolicited and unexpected. Nor was his own country behindhand in recognising his services. The Assembly of Pennsylvania voted him three thousand pounds, and their thanks. But trouble was brooding. The peace of Paris was signed in February, 1763. In making this peace, one of the great belligerent powers had not been consulted, the North American Indians. They knew nothing about European diplomacy, and therefore continued to ravage the colonies as they had done during the Seven Years' War. So ruthless were their barbarities that the name of Indian was loathed

and execrated by every white man on the continent. Fanaticism suggested that the example of the Israelites should be followed, and that the bloody race should be destroyed. A party of horsemen surrounded a small village of Indians, who were living in perfect peace with the white man. There were but twenty of them left,—seven men, five women, and eight children. It happened that only six of these were at home. They were killed and scalped, and their village burned to the ground. The other fourteen were collected by the magistrates, and lodged in a place of safety. But an entrance was forced, and the unhappy creatures, clinging to the knees of their murderers, and protesting their love of the English, were butchered in cold blood. This atrocious deed was but coldly disapproved by the people of the province, and a powerful party applauded it. Franklin wrote an indignant and eloquent protest, and appealed to the better feelings of his countrymen. But to no purpose. A party of some hundreds of fanatics, armed with hatchets and rifles, set out for Philadelphia, sworn to destroy one hundred and forty Moravian Indians who had sought refuge in the city. The governor, John Penn, in the utmost straits, appealed to Franklin for advice and help. Franklin at once formed an association for the defence of the city, and put himself at the head of an extemporised regiment of a thousand men. Riding out to confer with the insurgents, he showed them the impossibility of their success. Even the Quakers, who would not bear arms, had been working day and night in the trenches, for the protection of the Indians. The insurgents were convinced, and retired. But the governor resented his obligation to Franklin, set at nought his advice that the ringleaders of the murderous band should be brought to justice, truckled to their party, and positively put his hand to a proclamation offering the following bounties:—For every captive male Indian, of any hostile tribe, one hundred and fifty dollars; for every female captive, one hundred and thirty-eight dollars; for the scalp of a male Indian, one hundred and thirty-four dollars; *for the scalp of a female Indian*, fifty dollars! This atrocious proclamation was approved, and a powerful coalition, with the governor at its head, was formed against Franklin. The effect of this coalition was soon felt. At the election in October, 1764, he lost his seat in the Assembly, by a majority of twenty-five against him.

But he lost none of his power. The first business of the new Assembly was to appoint him to the office of agent of the Assembly, that he might manage the affair of the petition to the king in favour of constituting Pennsylvania a royal pro-

vince, and convey to the ministry in England the views of the Assembly on the proposed Stamp Act. The nomination was strongly opposed,—all the energies of the proprietaries were taxed to prevent the appointment,—but in vain. Franklin was appointed agent; the capitalists of the city subscribed £1,100 for his expenses; and within twelve days after his election, escorted by three hundred citizens on horseback, he left Philadelphia, and took passage for England. On his arrival he found that the impending Stamp Act was the all-absorbing topic with the colonial agents. This Act, which was ‘the wedge that rent an Empire asunder,’ and which, as Mr. Parton justly observes, ‘was curiously adapted to puzzle and disgust a people accustomed to simple modes of procedure,’ contained fifty-five articles. The following is a summary of it:

‘It laid a tax of threepence upon every piece of parchment or paper on which should be printed or written a legal declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading usual in any common court of the colonies. Upon a special bail bond, the duty was two shillings. Upon any chancery pleading, one shilling and sixpence. Upon each copy of the same, threepence. Upon every document relating to proceedings in ecclesiastical courts, one shilling. Copy of the same, sixpence. Upon every presentment to a benefice, two pounds. Upon a college degree, two pounds. Upon Admiralty court documents, one shilling. Copies, sixpence. Upon appeals, writs of error, and similar papers, ten shillings. Upon various other writs, no longer in use, five shillings. Upon judgments and decrees of court, four shillings. Upon a common affidavit, summons, or subpœna, one shilling. Bill of lading, fourpence. Letters of marque, one pound. Upon an appointment to an office worth twenty pounds a year, ten shillings; if worth more than twenty pounds a year, four pounds. Upon every grant or privilege bearing the seal or sign manual of a governor, six pounds. Liquor licences, four pounds. Wine licences, four pounds. A licence to sell both wine and liquor, three pounds. Letters of administration, five shillings. Bond to secure payment of ten pounds or less, sixpence; twenty pounds, one shilling; forty pounds, one shilling and sixpence. Warrant for surveying one hundred acres of land, sixpence; two hundred acres, one shilling; three hundred and twenty acres, one shilling and sixpence. Deeds and conveyances, from one shilling and sixpence to five shillings. Leases, contracts, and covenants, two shillings and sixpence. Warrant for auditing a public account, five shillings. Mortgage, two shillings and threepence. Pack of cards, one shilling. Pair of dice, ten shillings. Newspaper, on half a sheet of paper, one halfpenny; whole sheet, one penny. Pamphlets, equal to six sheets octavo, one shilling. Advertisements, two shillings each. Almanacs, twopence. Translations of any document, twice the duty charged upon the original. Upon premiums paid by

apprentices for learning their trade, sixpence in the pound, if the premium did not exceed fifty pounds; if more than fifty pounds, one shilling in the pound.'

All Franklin's efforts to prevent the introduction of this measure were unavailing. He sought an interview with Mr. Grenville, the head of the administration, and, in company with three other colonial agents, was introduced to that statesman. In this interview the agents pleaded the principle, that there should be no taxation where there was no representation; and that if the colonies were to be taxed, the tax should be levied by their own parliaments. The minister was inexorable, the bill passed the House of Commons by an immense majority, and there was not even a division upon it in the Lords. Nobody, not even Franklin, seems to have had any idea that the colonies would resent the measure. The sum likely to be raised was but one hundred thousand a year, and seemed too trifling to create any strong feeling. In writing to a friend a few weeks after the passing of the Act, Franklin clearly shows that he did not expect or desire any resistance on the part of his countrymen: 'I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act; but the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of legislative independence, and all parties joined in resolving by this Act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us. Idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments.' But the effect in America was tremendous. The colonists resolved to consume no British manufactures, to wear home-spun, to live with the ancient frugality. On the arrival of the English commissioner, the bells were muffled and tolled, his house was threatened, and he was compelled to resign. The enemies of Franklin lampooned him, as though he were responsible for the Act. Caricatures appeared, representing the devil whispering into Franklin's ear, 'Thee shall be agent, Ben, for all my dominions.' The new house to which Mrs. Franklin had just removed was in danger from the mob; and Governor Franklin hastened to Philadelphia, to persuade the inmates to take refuge in his house at Burlington. The news of this disaffection produced great excitement in England. Edmund Burke, the newly appointed secretary to Lord Rockingham, the Prime Minister, threw himself into the question. Six weeks of the parliamentary session were spent in hearing evidence at the bar, in committee

of the whole House. The most prominent among those examined was Dr. Franklin. For many hours he faced the most searching inquiries, and acquitted himself with great distinction. 'What,' said one of the questioners, 'used to be the pride of the Americans?' 'To indulge,' said Franklin, 'in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.' 'What is now their pride?' 'To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.' This was the last question; the committee rose, and the question was virtually settled. 'The ministry,' says Franklin, 'were ready to hug me for the assistance I had given them.' Burke spoke of Franklin's examination in the warmest terms, and the Rev. George Whitefield wrote: 'Our worthy friend, Dr. Franklin, has gained immortal honour by his behaviour at the bar of the House. The answer was always found equal, if not superior, to the questioner. He stood unappalled, gave pleasure to his friends, and did honour to his country.'

The king was notoriously opposed to any repeal of the obnoxious Act. But there was no avoiding it. A motion for repeal was brought on by Mr. Conway, and seconded by Mr. Grey Cooper. Pitt spoke with the brilliance of former days, and Burke was never so eloquent. The House sat till four in the morning, and the motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and eight. Thirty-three of the Lords opposed the repeal, but it passed their House by a majority of thirty-four. The news was greeted in America with almost frantic delight. The captain of the ship that brought it was presented by the citizens of Philadelphia with a gold-laced hat; a punch-bowl was kept replenished all day, that every passer-by might drink to the health of the king; the city was illuminated; and three hundred gentlemen resolved that on the next birth-day of His Majesty they would array themselves in a new suit of English manufacture. In his absence Franklin was elected as one of the representatives of the city by a majority of thirty-four votes. The king himself was personally aggrieved by the repeal. No secret was made of his mortification. A Declaratory Act was passed, by way of propitiation, the purport of which was to claim the absolute supremacy of Parliament over the colonies. But it failed to satisfy; and in a few months after the repeal the Rockingham cabinet was ousted by the Court party. In the very next session, Mr. Charles Townsend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, driven on by the courtiers, and encouraged probably by the king, declared that a revenue must be had out of America. He prepared a scheme of taxation, remarkable for its finely-spun ingenuity, and its evident purpose to please

all parties. The colonies instantly resented the new scheme, and America was again thrown into ferment. Franklin did all in his power to represent the case of his country in a true light to the people of England, and by counsels of moderation and forbearance to soothe the angry spirit of the colonists, and heal the breach. His exertions were appreciated by his countrymen. The provinces of Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts appointed him their London agent.

Up to this time Franklin was loyal to his king. He had no desire for the severance of the colonies from England, and no expectation of such an issue. He deplored the misunderstandings which had arisen, and hoped for better days. But an event occurred, which opened his eyes to the true state of things, and drove him to measures which ended in revolution. This was the celebrated business of the Hutchinson letters. Mr. Parton's details on this point are full; and they supply much interesting information. It appears that at the latter end of 1773 Franklin, in conversation with a member of Parliament, severely condemned the king's ministry, for having quartered troops in the town of Boston, for the purpose of compelling obedience to hateful measures. The member replied that the offensive policy did not originate with the ministry in England, but with the Americans themselves; some of the most respectable of them having suggested and solicited the employment of force. By way of confirming a statement which excited the total disbelief of Franklin, his friend brought to him in a few days a packet of letters, from influential persons in New England, urging the home government to repressive measures. Six of these letters were from the pen of Thomas Hutchinson, who was then the governor of Massachusetts, a native of the colony, and a graduate of Harvard. Four of the letters were written by Andrew Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, and the rest by other officers of the crown. On reading these letters, Franklin was dismayed to find that they urged the two measures most offensive to the people of Massachusetts,—the quartering of British troops in Boston, and the dependence of the principal officers of the crown upon the home government for their salaries. He at once asked permission to forward the letters to Boston; and they were enclosed in his regular official letter to the Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of the Massachusetts Assembly. They were circulated very freely for some months, and excited universal indignation and disgust. In the following June they were read to the House in secret session, amid breathless silence; and the result was a formal petition, praying the king to remove the governor and his lieu-

tenant from office. This petition was at once forwarded to Franklin, who sent it to Lord Dartmouth. With the exception of a courteous letter from his lordship acknowledging its receipt, no notice was taken of it for five months.

In the meanwhile, the question began to be mooted in the newspapers, 'How were these letters obtained?' They had been written to Mr. Whateley, a member of Parliament, recently deceased. Suspicion fell upon Mr. Whateley's brother and executor. He in his turn suspected Mr. Temple, an officer of the customs, 'who had sought and obtained access to the papers of the deceased, for the purpose of taking therefrom certain letters of his own and of his brother's.' As the result of this suspicion, a duel was fought between Whateley and Temple, in which the former was wounded. Franklin was out of town at the time. On his return, hearing that a second duel was probable, he wrote to the *Public Advertiser*, declaring that he alone had obtained and transmitted the letters to Boston. This declaration he hoped would end the affair. But he was mistaken. A fortnight after, he received official notice that the Lords of the Committee for plantation affairs would meet on the Tuesday following, to consider the petition for the deposition of Hutchinson and Oliver, and that the attendance of the agent of the Assembly of Massachusetts was required. The council met. The agent of the governor and lieutenant-governor gave notice to Franklin, the day before, that he had obtained leave to be heard by counsel before the Lords of the Committee. It was too late then for Franklin to engage counsel, and further proceedings were therefore postponed for three weeks. The interval was spent by both parties in marshalling their forces. Franklin retained the services of John Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, who had the reputation of being the most distinguished and the ugliest member of the English bar. Of consummate ability as a reasoner, his success was marred by a voice 'so husky and choked with phlegm, that it refused utterance to the sentiments which were dictated by his superior intelligence.' Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, a man with 'a talent for invective,' was retained on the other side.

'On the morning of the appointed day, the official world at the west-end of London was all astir. Never before had there been such a concourse of lords in the Chamber. Thirty-five members of the Privy Council attended, a number which Mr. Burke said was without precedent in his recollection. The Lord President Gower was in his place. Lord North, the premier, was there; with most of his colleagues. The Archbishop of Canterbury attended. Americans, and members of the Opposition, were present in considerable num-

bers: Lord Shelburne, Mr. Burke, Arthur Lee, Ralph Izard, Dr. Bancroft, and the barristers, Mr. Dunning and John Lee. Israel Manduit attended on behalf of his friends, Hutchinson and Oliver. Jeremy Bentham, not yet the absent, short-sighted, shambling old man we read of, but young, alert, and eager, contrived to get into the room. Chance procured admission for Dr. Priestley also.....Dr. Franklin stood in one of the recesses formed by the chimney, where he remained during the session, motionless and silent. He wore the flowing wig, which was still the mode among elderly gentlemen. His dress was a uniform suit of the material then called Manchester velvet, spotted.'

Mr. Dunning opened the case. His business, he said, was simply to present the petition of the Assembly. He had no charge to make, and no evidence to adduce. The Assembly did not demand justice at the hands of the king. They simply asked a favour. Then followed Wedderburn. For about a quarter of an hour he dwelt upon the abilities and administration of Hutchinson. Three quarters of an hour he devoted to Franklin. His leading points were: 1. That the whole of the misunderstanding between Hutchinson and the Assembly was caused by Dr. Franklin's officious interference; 2. That the letters were, in the fullest sense of the word, private letters; 3. That they must have been stolen by Dr. Franklin; and, 4. That Dr. Franklin's motive was to become himself governor of Massachusetts. With such a programme, and 'a talent for invective,' Wedderburn delivered one of the most indecent and disgraceful harangues that are to be found in the pages of modern history. Burke denounced it as 'beyond all bounds and decency;' Lord Shelburne spoke of it as 'most scurrilous invective;' and Jeremy Bentham likened it to a 'pitiless storm.' The mild Dr. Priestley was so disgusted with it 'that when Wedderburn advanced to speak to him, he turned his back upon him, and hurried out of the room.' The behaviour of the Lords of the Council was as outrageous as that of the solicitor-general. 'No person,' says Dr. Priestley, 'belonging to the council behaved with decent gravity, except Lord North.'

The report of the committee declared that the resolutions of the Assembly were inflammatory and precipitate,—that the Hutchinson letters, which were private and confidential, had been surreptitiously obtained,—that they contained nothing reprehensible,—that the petition was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, calculated only for purposes of sedition,—and that therefore it should be dismissed. It was dismissed accordingly. A few days afterwards Franklin received a letter from the postmaster-general, 'informing him in brief, official lan-

guage, that the king had *found it necessary* to dismiss him from the office of deputy postmaster-general in America.'

There can be but one opinion as to Franklin's conduct in this business. No officer of state can plead the privacy of a letter in which he utters sentiments traitorous to his country, and false. Earl Russell, in his *Memorials of Charles James Fox*, says that it is 'impossible to justify the conduct of Franklin.' We prefer the verdict of Bancroft: 'Had the conspiracy which was thus laid bare aimed at the life of a minister or the king, any honest man must have immediately communicated the discovery to the secretary of state: to conspire to introduce into America a military government, and abridge American liberty, was a more heinous crime, of which irrefragable evidence had now come to light.' But even if Franklin were guilty of a breach of confidence, no government could have been justified in subjecting him to the insolence of Wedderburn and the outrage of an uproarious council. If no respect had been shown to him in his personal character, it should have been remembered that he was the representative of a people as yet loyal and devoted to the crown. We do not wonder that Franklin left the council that day an altered man,—that he put off the suit of spotted Manchester velvet, never to wear it again until as the American plenipotentiary in Paris he signed the treaty of alliance between France and the new Republic of the United States.

America was now lost for ever to the British crown. In looking back upon the events of that day nothing seems so strange as the apathy of the English people. The headstrong obstinacy of the king is intelligible:—he was mad. The conduct of the ministry can be explained:—it was weak, if not venal, and wedded to the throne. There were statesmen of high principle and brilliant talent. But even the magnificent appeals of the Earl of Chatham and Edmund Burke failed to rouse the English mind to anything like interest in the threatened secession of a country numbering some millions of people, and with a trade of upwards of six millions and a half. But whatever the apathy of England, America was alive. The Congress met, and resolved 'to make one united, solemn appeal to the justice of the king, whom from childhood they had been taught to revere.' The documents drawn up were of the utmost dignity, moderation, and pathos. They did not contain a single resentful word. Franklin's last official act in England was the delivery of the petition to Lord Dartmouth, for presentation to the king. It met with no favour. The House received it with contempt, and dismissed it by an immense majority. The magnificent speech of the Earl of Chatham

failed to change the tone of parliament. But though the ministry assumed a bold front, it entered upon a series of secret and subtle negotiations with Franklin, with a view of effecting an amicable arrangement of the dispute with the colonies. Mr. Parton seems to think that the government sought to win over Franklin by tempting offers of remuneration. This does not appear from the history. The remuneration offered was simply the proper compensation for the time and labour likely to be spent by him in conducting the business of reconciliation. But it was impossible to come to terms, and he prepared to embark. Rumours were afloat as to the propriety of arresting him, and to the last he was under apprehension of being prevented from sailing. His fears, however, were groundless. He embarked without molestation, on the twenty-first of March, 1775, and bade farewell to England for ever.

Passing over the history of the next two years, which were devoted to the preliminaries of independence, we find Franklin elected as one of three plenipotentiaries to represent the United States at the court of France. There had been for some time an impression that France was looking with favour on the proceedings of the colonies. This impression was strengthened by a singular circumstance. The Congress received a message to the effect that a foreigner had arrived in Philadelphia, who was anxious to make a confidential communication. A committee was appointed to meet him. To this committee 'a lame, elderly man, of dignified military bearing, whose accent was that of a Frenchman,' was introduced. He delivered a message that the king of France entertained the most friendly feelings towards the American colonies, and that money or ammunition would be supplied as they might need it. When pressed to give his authority for these statements, the mysterious stranger drew his hand across his throat, saying, 'Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head.' Though nothing further could be got from him, the committee concluded that he was really an emissary from the French Government. Acting upon this impression, the secret committee resolved to send an agent to France. Mr. Silas Deane was chosen for this delicate work. He was to assume the character of a merchant, but was also to put himself in communication with M. de Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs. By and bye 'an extensive edifice, called the Hotel de Hollande,' which had been for some time unoccupied, was taken by what was supposed to be a mercantile firm under the name of Roderique Hortalez and Co. In reality, the firm was the French and Spanish government. The plan adopted 'was one of the

most ingenious pieces of statecraft ever devised. The idea of *giving* aid to the colonies was abandoned, and the scheme was formed of founding a great commercial house in Paris, for the sole purpose of *selling* to Congress the warlike stores they needed.' The allied kings of France and Spain were to furnish the capital of the house, each contributing one million francs; and the house was to be permitted to take cannon, muskets, and ammunition from the royal arsenals, to be paid for or replaced at convenience. As the Americans had no money, payment was to be made in tobacco, indigo, and rice. The manager of this house was Beaumarchais, the celebrated adventurer. The whole scheme was organized for the purpose of deceiving the English ambassador, the French court not choosing as yet to risk a war with England. Within twelve months the firm of Hortalez and Co. despatched to the Americans eight shiploads of warlike stores, valued at more than six millions of francs. But at the end of this period American affairs wore a threatening look, the French government began to despair, Lord Stormont, the English ambassador, got wind of the transactions of Hortalez & Co., and the Count de Vergennes was compelled to issue orders to stop all the ships loading for America. The cause of the colonies seemed to be *in extremis*.

At this crisis the envoys of the Congress appeared in France. The fame of Franklin had preceded him, and his appearance created quite a sensation. All Paris turned out to see the old man of seventy, whose rustic dress and antique simplicity seemed to reproduce a sage contemporary with Plato, or a republican of the age of Cato and of Fabius, and who, as it was said, joined to the demeanour of Phocion the spirit of Socrates. France went mad after the new 'sensation.' 'Such was the number of portraits published of him, that one of his great-grandsons in Philadelphia has been able, even at this late day, to collect one hundred and fifty of them, few of which are duplicates.' Several medallions were struck, some for the lids of snuff-boxes, and some so small as to be set in rings. Franklin's first business in Paris was to restore confidence in the American cause among its Parisian friends. Five days after their arrival the envoys had an interview with the Count de Vergennes. The minister gave them but little encouragement. France was not ripe for a war with England; and all that he could do was to offer them, in strict confidence, a loan of two millions of francs, without interest. Their request for a loan of eight ships of the line was at present out of the question. This was not very assuring, especially as the news from the colonies was adverse. The

envoys themselves seem to have been driven to despair. Their appeal to the Spanish government failed, and the Dutch gave no sign. But even at this juncture they met, and 'solemnly and formally agreed that, come what might, they would stand by their cause and by one another.' To this agreement was appended the following note:—'It is further considered that in the present peril of the liberties of our country, it is our duty to hazard everything in their support and defence: therefore, resolved unanimously, that if it should be necessary to the attainment of anything in our best judgment essential to the defence and support of the public cause, that we should pledge our persons, or hazard the censure of the Congress, by exceeding our instructions, we will, for such purpose, most cheerfully resign our liberty or life.'

Then came the news of General Burgoyne's surrender, and Washington's spirited attack on the British forces at Germantown. The effect was electrical. Beaumarchais, like a true Frenchman, 'ordered his carriage, and drove towards Paris at such a furious pace that the vehicle was overturned, and one of his arms dislocated.' The immediate effect of the news was to decide the French court on the question of a treaty with the United States. A long time was spent in tedious preliminaries, the result mainly of the equivocal conduct of Arthur Lee,—one of the envoys, and the evil genius of the American mission in France. However, on the 6th of February, 1778, the envoys met M. Gerard, the agent of the French ministry, and solemnly affixed their signatures to three documents: a treaty of amity and commerce; a treaty of alliance; and a secret article, providing for the admission of Spain to the alliance, if that power should desire it. The treaties were, for a time, to be kept secret. The American envoys, however, urged the French government to avow the alliance. After six weeks they were successful; notice was given to them that they would be presented to the king on the 20th of March. The preparation for this ceremonial discloses a picture which flashes out of the chaos of diplomacy. Dr. Franklin—

'began his preparations by ordering a wig; since no man had yet dared to contemplate the possibility of exhibiting uncovered locks to a monarch of France. Mr. Austin used to say, that not only was the court costume exactly prescribed, but each season had its own costume; and if any one presented himself in lace ruffles, when the time of year demanded cambric, the chamberlain of the palace would refuse him admission. Readers of Madame Campan remember her lively pictures of the intense etiquette which worried the soul of Marie Antoinette in those very years. So Dr. Franklin

ordered a wig. On the appointed day, says tradition, the perruquier himself brought home the work of his hands and tried it on; but the utmost efforts of the great artist could not get it upon the head it was designed to disfigure. After patiently submitting for a long time to the manipulations of the perruquier, Dr. Franklin ventured to hint that, perhaps, the wig was a little too small. "Monsieur, it is impossible." After many more fruitless trials, the perruquier dashed the wig to the floor, in a furious passion, exclaiming, "No, Monsieur; it is not the wig which is too small; it is your head which is too large."

It was too late to procure another; and so Franklin determined to approach the Majesty of France without a wig. He also discarded the sword and the chapeau, and presented himself 'in a suit of plain black velvet, with the usual snowy ruffles at wrist and bosom, white silk stockings, and silver buckles.' The astonished chamberlain hesitated, but only for a moment; and, says Mr. Parton, 'all the court were captivated at the noble well-timed effrontery' of the envoy.

Another story is told of Franklin. There was a session of philosophers at the Academy of Sciences. 'The meeting was attended by Voltaire and Franklin, who sat near each other on the platform in full view of the audience. At a pause in the proceedings, a confused cry arose, in which could be distinguished the names of the two favourites, and which was interpreted to mean that they should be introduced. This was done. They rose, bowed, and spoke to one another. But the clamour did not subside; the people were evidently dissatisfied; something more must be done. They shook hands. Even this was not enough. At length the words of the clamour were distinguished: '*Il faut s'embrasser, à la Française.*' 'You must embrace, French fashion.' Then, says John Adams, who witnessed the spectacle, 'the two aged actors upon this great theatre of philosophy and frivolity embraced each other by hugging one another in their arms, and kissing each other's cheeks; and then the tumult subsided.' Another month, and Voltaire lay dead.

The tone of the English government was now changing. Secret emissaries were sent to Paris to sound Franklin on the subject of the French alliance, and to learn on what terms, short of independence, he was authorised to treat for peace. Their mission was fruitless. Nothing but independence would now meet the case. A strange packet was thrown into the window of his residence at Passy, written in the English language, but dated 'Brussels,' and signed 'Charles de Weissenstein.' But the letter was evidently composed in England,

and with the knowledge of the authorities. It offered a new constitution to America. The judges were to be chosen by the king, and made peers. A congress was to assemble once in seven years, or oftener, and its proceedings were to be transmitted to the British parliament. Offices, pensions, peerages, were to be offered to Franklin, Washington, Adams, and others. The letter further suggested a personal interview with Franklin, or, if that were impracticable, that he should prepare an answer, which should be delivered to the writer, who would be at a certain part of the Church of Notre Dame on a certain day, with a rose in his hat, and who would deliver the said answer into the hands of the king. Franklin prepared an answer; but in conference with the French minister it was decided that it should not be sent. An agent of the police, who was set to watch for the mysterious correspondent at Notre Dame, reported that, at noon, a gentleman appeared at the place appointed, and, finding no one, wandered about the church, looking at the altars and pictures, but never losing sight of the spot, and often returning to it, gazing anxiously about, as if he expected some one.' The grounds on which Franklin concluded that this mysterious letter came from the king are not known; but he affirmed that he *knew* that the king had something to do with it.

However popular the American envoys might be in Paris, they were by no means at peace among themselves. On Mr. Deane's recall the whole truth came out, and it appeared, ultimately, that Arthur Lee had been plotting against his colleagues, and exciting the most unjust suspicion against them. There was much in the mysterious proceedings of Beaumarchais to countenance this suspicion. Deane was so disgusted with his reception in America, that he abandoned the new cause, which he had served faithfully, and accompanied the notorious Arnold to England; where, after some brief sunshine, he died in extreme poverty. Lee went so far as to accuse Deane and Franklin of stealing despatches. But a triumph was at hand for Franklin. The envoys had strongly recommended that only one plenipotentiary should be appointed to each court. Lee fully expected that the post at Paris would be given to him. Congress accepted the suggestion of the envoys, and, to Lee's chagrin, elected Dr. Franklin to represent the United States at the court of France. Lee was made envoy to Spain. This arrangement did not put a stop to the dissensions of the envoys. The case was again brought before Congress. A committee was formed. A strong faction clamoured for the recall of Franklin, and the appointment of

Lee in his stead. This project would have been realised, had it not been for the French ambassador. Owing to his vigorous influence Franklin was confirmed in his post; the other three envoys were recalled.

Unfettered by the dishonourable machinations of Lee, Franklin discharged the onerous and protracted functions of the embassy with great distinction. This is no small praise. Upon his shoulders rested the credit of the young republic. In all emergencies Congress appealed to him. He, in his turn, appealed to the Count de Vergennes, who always came to his rescue. Only on one occasion did the generous minister fail. Franklin was instructed to ask for a loan of *twenty-five millions of francs*. This was too much for the already exhausted treasury of France. But, while unable to lend so large a sum, the minister stated that the king was willing to grant the sum of six millions as a free gift. The total sum obtained from France by Dr. Franklin was twenty-six millions of francs. 'Without knowing it,' says Mr. Parton, 'Franklin helped to bleed the French monarchy to death.'

The plenipotentiary managed to relieve the tedium of diplomacy by a gaiety which even seventy-five years had not diminished. He was enchanted with the French, and enchanted them in turn. Surrounded by a most brilliant literary circle, courted by statesmen, philosophers, and beautiful women, maintaining a correspondence with many of his friends in England, and enjoying the sunshine of a universal popularity, he was not crushed by the labours of his office, or even by the sorrows of his country. At one time we find him reading a paper on the Aurora Borealis before the Royal Academy of Sciences; again, he is playing at chess with the old Duchess of Bourbon, and joking about the taking of kings; again, he is sunning himself in the society of the young and beautiful queen, and showing her some electrical experiments. Nor was the old gentleman quite free from the flirtations which the French society of that age sanctioned. His relations to the celebrated Madame Helvetius were highly ridiculous.

The negotiations which terminated ultimately in peace, and in which Franklin held a prominent position, are affairs of history, and do not call for comment. He was then nearly seventy-eight, and applied to Congress for recall. More than a year elapsed before his resignation was accepted. At length, on March 7th, 1785, a resolution was passed, allowing 'the Honourable Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, to return to America.' His last official act in Europe was the signing of a treaty with Prussia, which Washington designated 'the most original and

the most liberal treaty ever negotiated between independent powers.' He was warmly welcomed on his return to Philadelphia. By a vote of seventy-six out of seventy-seven of the Executive Council and the Assembly, he was elected President of Pennsylvania, and was installed in office with great ceremony and solemnity. He was twice re-elected to the office, and would have been elected a fourth time but for the Constitution of the State. Though on the verge of eighty-four, he busied himself with many benevolent enterprises, plied his pen with the vigour of earlier days, and charmed society with his gaiety and humour. At length, worn down by a terrible disease, but maintaining his serenity to the last, he passed away, casting his dying glance upon a picture of Christ, of which he was wont to say: 'That is the picture of one who came into the world to teach men to love one another.'

Such was the man whom America delights to honour, and to whose memory Mr. Parton has raised these two goodly volumes. It is not to be expected that we should endorse the American estimate of his character. We are not likely to fall into the extravagant adulation which assigns to Franklin some of the most original theories of Adam Smith; which ascribes to him the celebrated fancy of Macaulay respecting the New Zealander, and the no less celebrated sentiment of Warburton, 'Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is your doxy;' which represents him as the only man in England fit to be the great Earl of Chatham's king; and places him on a level with Shakspeare and the world's greatest men. Such extravagances may be pardoned in an American, whose traditions are but recent, and whose household names are necessarily few. An English estimate of Franklin must be sober and comparative, and it can afford to be unprejudiced too. The bitterness with which Franklin regarded the country which once did him honour, and the rancour which prompted him to array France in arms against her people, are faults which may be forgiven in an exasperated patriot, and which no honourable man would allow to prejudice his views. We question whether the name of Franklin ever suggests to an Englishman one bitter memory or one ungenerous thought.

Judged by his own estimate of himself, Franklin should rank with the noblest and best of men. At the beginning of his autobiography he declares that if it were left to his choice, he should have no objection to live his life over again, even if not allowed the author's privilege of correcting in a second edition the faults of the first. This was the calm deliverance of a man of sixty-five years of age. It indicates either an enormous self-

conceit, or an utter insensibility to his many faults. A careful study of the workings of his inner life reveals the fact that Franklin's moral sense was dull. Obliquities of conduct over which a morally sensitive man would shed bitter tears, he pronounces *errata*, and writes of them with perfect indifference. He introduces the story of his faults as one who had little idea of their unworthiness, and seems even to take credit for a frankness which a man of purer type would regard as a bold sanction of sin. Throughout his whole history there is visible the play of the poor proverb: *Honesty is the best policy*. We question whether Franklin ever rose above this. Honour and virtue were to be cultivated, not for their intrinsic beauty,—not as graces of the heavenly,—but as qualities which would pay, giving peace and repose to the mind, and winning the respect of the world. But no life in which virtue is looked upon as a *policy* can ever be great. Nor can that life, the religion of which is made up of negations, be rich in those genial and holy instincts which a positive faith inspires. If society were modelled on the morality of Poor Richard, it would become worthless and reprobate. A pounds-shillings-and-pence morality would be a greater curse to a nation than any which the annals of civilisation disclose.

Many students of his life have noted his lack of deep and generous feeling. A story which he tells himself is a case in point. During his first residence in London, he engaged lodgings at the house of a poor widow, who was a cripple. For the sake of the protection of having a man in the house, she consented to charge him the very small sum of three-and-sixpence a week. 'My always keeping good hours, and giving little trouble in the family, made her unwilling to part with me; so that when I talked of a lodging I had heard of nearer my business, for two shillings a week, which, intent as I was on saving money, made some difference, she bid me not think of it, for she would abate me two shillings a week for the future; so I remained with her at *one shilling and sixpence* as long as I stayed in London.' The complacency with which he quotes the 'always keeping good hours and giving little trouble' is essentially mean. And while we might forgive a struggling youth for one ungenerous fault, what is to be said of an adult who quotes this passage from his history without comment or apology? Another of the *errata* of his life, which he was honest enough to confess, was his neglect of Miss Read, to whom he was engaged before his visit to England, and whom he ultimately married. We should think less seriously of this episode were it not for another. He courted a Miss Godfrey, of whom he speaks as very deserving. When

he had won her affections, he coolly proposed as the condition of her marriage to him that her relations should pay his debt for the printing-house, a matter of about a hundred pounds. This they refused to do, and, regardless of the poor girl's affections and his own vows, he repudiated all further intercourse. The same lack of true and generous feeling appears in another case, which he quotes with evident complacency. A gentleman of fortune and education opposed Franklin's election to the office of clerk to the Assembly. 'Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting that he would do me the favour of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately; and I returned it in about a week after with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the favour.' The gentleman became his friend. But what was Franklin's note upon this transaction? 'This,' says he, 'is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, *He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another than he whom you yourself have obliged.*' In other words, when you want to make a friend of a man, borrow a book of him, about which you do not care a straw, with the plea that you are very anxious to read it! As a final illustration of Franklin's want of heart, we may cite the gaiety of his life in Paris. In peaceful times this gaiety would have excited no remark. But when his compatriots were bleeding for their country, when almost every vessel brought intelligence of rapine and blood, and when his own home was in peril, it is hard to understand how any man with a heart could have sparkled in French circles, charmed the hollow wits of Paris with his fables and epigrams, and danced attendance in the *salons* of the more than questionable Madame Helvetius. There is an infinite difference between the spirit that bears its anxieties with cheerful dignity, and that which carries them off with an unworthy frivolity.

As a public man, Franklin lies open to the charge of an ungenerous self-seeking. To say nothing of his pressing claims upon Congress for compensation and for arrears of salary, his nepotism stands almost unparalleled in the history of public men. To this his admiring biographer bears witness, and even claims some credit for him on the ground of it. 'Franklin,' says he, 'was not one of those austere patriots who think, with Mr. Jefferson, that a public man ought not to appoint to office, or cause to be appointed, his own relations. Franklin took excellent care of his kindred in this respect. If there was a good thing in his gift, he gave it to a Franklin, or

a Folger, to a son, grandson, nephew, or cousin, provided he had a son, grandson, nephew, or cousin, fit to discharge the duties of the place.' This was Franklin's creed, and he was faithful to it. When he vacated the clerkship of the Assembly, he secured the post for his son. When he was made postmaster-general, he conferred the controllership on his son. The postmastership of Philadelphia he gave first to his son, then to a relative of his wife, and afterwards to one of his own brothers. When made postmaster-general by the Congress, he appointed, as his deputy, Mr. Bache, his son-in-law. Being chosen on the committee to get the new money engraved and printed, he obtained the work for the same Mr. Bache. His son and grandson were both chosen as his secretaries when appointed to England and France. And when resigning his place as envoy at Paris, he begs the Congress to 'take under their protection' his grandson, William Temple Franklin, whom he commends as a youth of 'exact probity, genteel address, &c.' Such wholesale nepotism detracts somewhat from the glory of the patriot.

When we examine Franklin's mental endowments, we find little reason for the exaggerated estimate in which he is held as a philosopher on the other side of the water. He had a clear, solid judgment, and strong common sense. Without a grain of the poetic element in his nature, without any interest in the mysterious or the beautiful, he dealt with all things according to their practical value, and their bearing upon the happiness and comfort of men. He was far more at home in the invention of a stove, or the prevention of smoky chimneys, than in the region of metaphysics and poetry. His theories all ring with the chink of the pounds-shillings-and-pence principle by which he was pervaded. In his life there were none of those glorious dreams which anticipate the grander revelations of truth. He had not philosophy enough in his nature for strong faith to be possible. What he could not measure he would not believe. The chemical experiments which gained him notoriety, and the value of which was immensely exaggerated, proved that his mind was ingenious and daring, but not that it was creative. The very circles which compared him to Solon exalted the impostor Mesmer to the pinnacle of fame. So that the notoriety which he gained among his contemporaries does not prove much.

As a public speaker he possessed little weight beyond that of pointed observation and unadorned good sense. His illustrations were not always in good taste. It was almost impossible for him to draw up a state document without some reference

of an undignified character. Able as his pen was, it could never be relied upon. His 'habit of illustrating great truths by grotesque and familiar similes' made his best friends apprehensive of his diplomatic deliverances. The drawing up of the Declaration of Independence would have been committed to him, but that everybody knew that he would 'put a joke' into it. This vivid and humourous faculty, which unfitted him for the preparation of public documents, rendered him the most brilliant of pamphleteers. His pamphlets were his greatest literary successes. Though the interest of many of their subjects has passed away, they are charming reading, even now. There are some passages in his letters and pamphlets which rival the best papers in the *Spectator*. None of his writings, however, secured so great a notoriety as *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Though not entirely comic, it is pervaded by a tone of humour that is often rare and exquisite. Its 'proverbial philosophy' which has found its way into all the copy-books is not of nearly so high an order as its wit. Many of the 'wise sayings' are the mere platitudes, many commend a very questionable morality, and many are grossly indecent. The best of them are from Lord Bacon and Rochefoucauld. Many of the jokes, too, are revised but not improved editions of the sayings of Rabelais. But the humour throughout is unique.

The secret of Franklin's fame lies unquestionably in the many-sidedness of his character. His singularly versatile genius opened to him almost every sphere of popular distinction. He was a shrewd and clever tradesman, an ingenious thinker, a philanthropist, a moralist, a wit, a clever pamphleteer, a political economist, a social 'lion,' and a diplomatist. Each of these characters he sustained in such a manner, that it would be difficult to conceive of his excelling in one more than in another. But it is not likely that in any one of them he would have succeeded in establishing an enduring name. The memory of Franklin the printer, or the sage, or the patriot, would have been but short-lived. And this would be sufficient reason for not ranking him among the great men of history. All true greatness has some bold, projecting characteristic. A combination of respectable qualities does not make a man great. There must be some towering distinction, around which other qualities are grouped, as statuary at the base of an obelisk, subordinate to the grand effect. Franklin had no such distinction. But if we cannot accord to his memory the homage which the American mind renders so lavishly; and if we ascribe the notoriety which he has gained to a singular combination of talents, and more especially to the times in which he

lived,—times remarkably favourable to the development of such qualities as Franklin possessed,—we are bound to admit that he was no ordinary man, and that his history is worthy of the gravest study. Such a study is the more appropriate, at the present day, because of Franklin's share in the origin of that great Republic, the rapid growth of which must be regarded as one of the most wonderful trophies of civilisation, while the process of its disintegration throws us back again among the cruelties and horrors of the dark ages.

ART. VIII.—*The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ: a complete Critical Examination of the Origin, Contents, and Connexions of the Gospels.* Translated from the German of J. P. LANGE, D.D. Six Volumes. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1864.

ONE of the many excellences which distinguish Lange's *Life of Jesus* is, the care which has been taken to exhibit systematically the contribution of each of the four evangelists to the consummate whole of the Gospels. After having pursued the one sacred narrative which runs through the four to its glorious issue, and done such justice as the fallible human historian may do to the infallible Divine, he takes up the thread again, and traces it through the several evangelists in order, marking the principles which guided each in the selection of facts, and giving a complete account, as he proceeds, of the characteristic differences of each writer, whether as seen in the broader features or in the minuter details of his narrative. The commentary which Dr. Lange is writing and editing, keeps in view the same design to throw into relief the peculiarities of the respective narratives; and that, not by glancing here and there at the differences which mark the several accounts, but by summing them up at the close of every section, in a manner of which we know no other example. Thus, these two works—written on the same principles and mutually complementary—will, if we mistake not, help to render the harmony of the Gospels a more attractive field of study than it has yet been to the English student.

The interest which this method imparts to the Gospel narrative is inexpressible; and it is as instructive as it is interesting. Let any one take the harmonized Gospels in his hand (the Greek, of course; the Greek and English combined on the same page is an advantage not yet afforded by any enter-

prising publisher) ; let him carefully run down the columns, noting only the *singularia*, the specific contributions, whether of new matter, of different words conveying new touches of meaning, supplementary notes, or even corrections, in short, all those exquisite variations in the texts which mark the individuality of each writer ; and he will find his labour most amply rewarded. We have done this in the case of the Gospel of St. Mark ; and, as Dr. Lange's work, though it did not suggest the idea, has rendered much service in its realisation, we place his volumes at the head of this article.

There is, indeed, a study of the Redeemer's history which needs no harmony, which takes no account of the individual writers, which beholds, and hears, and follows the sacred Person without spending a thought upon the literary form or peculiarities of the documents themselves. This is the highest study of the holy Gospels ; in which the Divine Spirit is the Author, the evangelists are altogether impersonal, and the communion of the soul with the living Redeemer is never distracted by a single secondary consideration ; what He does, and what He says, absorbing the mind to the utter exclusion of every question as to the witnesses, whether seemingly discordant or consentient, that bear testimony to His deeds and words. This is the loyal and single-minded study to which the four Gospels yield their deepest mysteries, and their most saving influences. But there is another kind of study, subordinate, indeed, and perfectly distinct, which is absolutely necessary in its own order. The Gospels were written, under the direct, supreme, and plenary inspiration of the Holy Spirit, by four men who retained their individual habits of thought, modes of speech, and style of historical writing. And the human element in their documents must be studied as such. This was evidently the intention of the Divine Spirit in committing the sacred history to such custody and to such transmission. He did not see fit to dictate verbally—as He might have done—one infallible narrative, free from all irregularities, containing no chasms or flaws, leaving no room for the harmonist, and rendering needless ten thousand subtleties of criticism. But He so ordered it, that the Church should receive four documents which, the moment they were laid side by side, originated several new departments of sacred literature. And, while that which regards the Holy Ghost as the only author, is, undoubtedly, the highest style of study, an absolute submission to the inspiring Spirit is quite consistent with the thorough examination of these writings as the productions of men. In short, the perfect study of the Greek Gospels must needs investigate

them in their harmony, as if they were merely human writings. Devotion does well to refuse to be diverted for a moment from the one central Person by any side-glance at the poor evangelist whose words it uses: like Mary, it chooses the *better part* which shall not be taken away. But criticism has its own work to do; it must be cumbered about many things; and its labours are as useful as they are sanctified.

There is a theory of inspiration which reconciles the two methods, which holds fast the plenary inspiration of these writers as a fundamental principle, absolute, sure, and by no seeming anomaly to be gainsaid; and which, at the same time, concedes to them, or rather demands for them, all that perfect independence and freedom which their character of *witnesses* requires. In this theory, which is held by very many who cannot put it into words, the two *testimonies* combine: 'We are His witnesses of these things; and so is also the Holy Ghost.' The Spirit of inspiration has given to the church His testimony, His record of the 'things of Christ,' by the hands of four men who were fellow-labourers, though they knew it not, working out unconsciously His one and fourfold purpose. But each was permitted the utmost latitude, circumscribed only by the ever-watchful Spirit whose one purpose he subserved.

These remarks will derive some slight illustration from a study of St. Mark's Gospel, necessarily brief and imperfect, under three aspects: first, as bearing upon itself the impress of its writer,—it is *St. Mark's Gospel*; secondly, as being in itself a *Gospel* inspired for a special purpose, and in all essentials complete; and lastly, as being one of Four, and contributing its own valuable, though comparatively scanty, elements to that great Whole which is at once the centre, the foundation, and the glory of all Christian literature.

No book of the New Testament exhibits a more sharply defined individuality than this Gospel. That individuality is the reflection of the mind, or the effect of the hand, of two persons—the Apostle Peter and the Evangelist Mark. The historical connexion of these two names is plainly traceable in the New Testament; and their connexion in the compositions of the second Gospel is established by a chain of traditions, clear, consistent, and in perfect harmony with the notices of Holy Scripture itself.

Mark was probably one of St. Peter's earliest converts. Sometime after the day of Pentecost, if not on the day itself, a Mary unknown to the Gospels was added to the Christian Church; and her son, named John, but (perhaps on account of some family connexion with Italy, not now to be traced)

surnamed Mark, was doubtless converted about the same time, since we find him very early occupying a prominent place in the Christian commonwealth. This Mary gave the church of Jerusalem one of its hiding-places during the Herodian persecution; and thither the Apostle Peter repaired after his miraculous rescue. John—John *the less*, as we must term him—did not then accompany St. Peter on his hurried flight; he was reserved for subsequent missionary service. Shortly afterwards St. Paul came to Rome in company with Barnabas; who naturally introduced his sister's son to the Missionary Apostle. John, as he was yet called, accompanied them as their 'minister' to Seleucia, Cyprus, and Asia Minor; but, at that point, either yielding to still lingering Jewish prejudices, or feeling a desire to see his spiritual father again, he returned to Jerusalem. Yet the restless missionary spirit was strong upon him. We find him soon afterwards again at Antioch, the missionary centre; where he is in the company, perhaps as a penitent, of those whom he had forsaken at Pamphylia. St. Paul declined his further ministration for that time; but his relative Barnabas had more confidence in his character, and indeed gave up St. Paul's collegueship, rather than declare John utterly unworthy of a place in the great enterprise. This was the turning-point of the young Evangelist's life. He was the Jewish John no more; he is always afterwards the Gentile Mark—never again, it would appear, in Jerusalem, but always in the service of one or other of the apostles, roaming up and down the earth. In various places he was 'serviceable' to his old master, St. Paul; he shared with him his imprisonment at Rome; and each of the few notices of Mark from the hand of the aged apostle has in it a touch of endearment honourable (if such a word may be allowed) to the heart of St. Paul, and to the character of St. Mark. But his earliest guide was his last. We hear of him in St. Peter's company at Babylon in the East, and Rome in the West; and have no reason to distrust the testimony of several of the early fathers, that he survived the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome, and published after his death the Gospel which the apostle had previously dictated in part, and approved as a whole.

St. Peter's share in the Gospel is acknowledged by all the early testimonies; but they differ in their statements concerning its character and extent. The drift of tradition placed St. Mark in the same relation to St. Peter that St. Luke occupied to St. Paul; and made both little more than interpreters of the mind of their superiors. The earliest writer, Papias, to whom appeal can be made on this subject, declares that he 'received from the

Elder' that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote what he remembered; but not in the order in which things were spoken and done by Christ. To this Clement of Alexandria adds, that Mark wrote it at the urgent entreaty of the Roman Christians, who desired to have a permanent record of the veteran apostle's memorials of the Redeemer. Tertullian and Origen did not scruple to call the second Gospel the Gospel of Peter. Eusebius adds, that Peter's humility would not allow him to write a Gospel of his own; an observation that has not met with the respect which it seems to us to deserve. What St. Peter could not do, or was not counted worthy to do,—and the slightest reflection upon the wonderful part he played in the Gospel narrative, will justify either supposition,—it was appropriate that another should do as his deputy or representative. This opinion was steadily held by all the earlier Fathers: indeed, but for some wavering passages in Augustine and Chrysostom, it might be termed the consentient judgment of the early Church, that St. Mark wrote the second Gospel on the basis of facts delivered to him by the inspired memory of St. Peter, that it was written in Rome at the request of the Church, and, after being authenticated by the apostle, made public at his death.

There seems, indeed, to have existed a considerable affinity between the apostle and his minister. We have only a few incidents of St. Mark's life; but they are quite sufficient to reveal a nature strikingly congenial with that of St. Peter, and susceptible of its influence. It is true that the young evangelist enjoyed the fellowship of both the great apostles, and was more or less moulded by both. Doubtless he owed much to his occasional intercourse with St. Paul, whose large views of the Gospel are everywhere reflected from St. Mark's pages. But, however 'serviceable' he might be to the apostle of the Gentiles, his great service was reserved for St. Peter; for St. Peter, however, no longer as the apostle of the Circumcision, but as the apostle of the Gospel preached 'to every creature.' In the performance of this service he would be likely, from his peculiarly impulsive and ardent nature, to blend his own style with the apostle's, and to reproduce the spirit of his words more faithfully than any other would have done: yet it will be seen that, while the whole strain of the Gospel is eminently in the spirit of Simon Peter, the energetic nature of the evangelist keeps him from being a mere amanuensis. The spirit everywhere is that of St. Peter; but the letter is moulded by St. Mark's own mind.

The lively, abrupt, swift progression of the narrative—hurry-

ing along with its ever-recurring *straightway*—is not more in harmony with the spirit of St. Peter than with that of St. Mark himself. But the hand of the apostle may be very plainly touched in innumerable traces which betray an eye-witness, and an eye-witness whose mind was alive to the most minute incidents, and could never forget them. Specimens of these most decisive tokens are the *pillow* in the *hinder* part of the ship on which our Lord was asleep, (iv. 38,) the '*green grass*' on which the multitude sat, (vi. 39,) the '*one*' remainder loaf which misled the disciples' apprehension of their Master's meaning, (viii. 14,) the vigorous action of Bartimæus, *rising* and *casting away* his upper garment. (x. 50.) These minute touches abound; but the most impressive and affecting of them all are the vivid reproductions of those deep utterances of our Lord's feeling which so often occur, and are scarcely equalled by anything even in St. John: such as His *look of anger* thrown upon those who watched Him maliciously, (iii. 5,) the *look of kindness* with which He recognised and avowed His own new spiritual household, (iii. 34,) the *look* which He turned on His disciples, and which fell most searchingly on Peter, (viii. 33,) the *look* which told the young man how much his severe Instructor loved him, and which was directed to His disciples generally once and again to enforce the lesson. (x. 21, 23, 27.) These vivid reproductions of the glances of our Lord reveal the testimony of one whose spirit was haunted for ever by the *look* which awakened him from his commencing apostasy. There is to be noted, also, throughout this Gospel a peculiar intimacy with the Lord's feelings; evidently recalled by one who tenderly watched those emotions, and was capable of interpreting them: again and again Jesus is '*moved with compassion*;' again and again He *sighs* out His holy anger; and in this Gospel alone we hear how much '*displeased*' the Friend of all little children was with those who would separate between Him and them. All these traits seem irresistibly to testify of the pathos with which St. Peter was in the habit of preaching the acts of his departed Master, and of the lasting impression which his words made upon the evangelist, '*his interpreter*.'

We may also refer to the general strain of the record concerning St. Peter himself, and his own part in the evangelical history, as preserved in the second Canonical Gospel. If we compare the sum of the apostle's history, as collected from the united Four,—which gives him undoubtedly the same prominence in the Gospels which St. Paul has in the Acts,—with his diminished form and fragmentary delineation as found in St. Mark, the difference is very striking; and the early

preachers were not wrong in unanimously attributing that difference to St. Peter's reserve in preaching or speaking about himself. St. Mark's omissions are many, but easily summed up. He does not narrate the apostle's first introduction to the Lord, when '*Jesus beheld him*,'—'*looked upon Peter*' the *first* time,—and read to him his nature, and gave him his new name. There is a studied omission—studied, inasmuch as what preceded and what followed is recorded—of the great benediction pronounced upon the Apostle of the Confession, and all the honour involved in the Rock and the Keys. In the same studied manner he omits the commission to work the miracle for the payment of the tribute money, with the dignifying collocation accompanying it, '*That take and give unto them for thee and Me.*' Simon Peter's glorious act of faith in encountering the waves to be near his Lord,—which his subsequent succumbing to terror scarcely tarnishes,—is not mentioned; any more than the later similar act of devotion after the resurrection. (John xxi. 7.) His remarkable humility, or combination of humility and self-assertion, in recoiling from the feet-washing, is not recorded. The name of the over-jealous disciple who signalled his own fervour, but compromised his Master's cause, by cutting off the high priest's servant's ear, is concealed by St. Mark alone. And he fails to record that last affecting scene of St. Peter's Gospel history, when, after a private interview which sealed his pardon, he was publicly reinstated in his apostolical prerogative, and, as a special and last token of honour, informed of the death that he should die. And if, in one solitary instance, St. Mark records what seemed a mark of distinction set upon the first of the apostles which the other evangelists omit,—'*Tell His disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee,*'—we may be sure that it was not the *honour* which Simon Peter thought of when he dwelt upon the words, but the boundless condescension of that Master who, after His sifted servant's triple denial, remembered him still.

But while the second Gospel in every part confirms the tradition which assigns it subordinately to the inspiration of St. Peter, it bears equally clear testimony to the entire independence of St. Mark as its author. The earliest and safest traditions concur in stating that the Apostle did not actively engage in the preservation of his memoirs concerning Christ, and that the utmost he did was to sanction before he departed the project which was not then completed. In the '*setting in order from the beginning*' the materials at his disposal, St. Mark was as independent an historian as St. Luke. He also was specially inspired and prepared by the Divine Spirit for this

function ; and, as we believe, without any concert with other evangelists, accomplished his sacred task. Hence we observe everywhere all the evidences of one distinct and strongly marked hand and style. The diction is distinguished from any other in the New Testament. It is not like that of St. Peter's extant writings. It has its peculiar watchwords, and Hebraisms, and particles of transition. It combines many characteristics which might be expected to meet in the diction of such a wanderer, who had been trained under different Christian teachers, and finally settled in Rome. He never forgets his original Judaism : its speech bewrayed him, even when he was writing far from Judea, long after he had finally left it, and for a cultivated Gentile community. He affectionately enshrines some of the very words which had been so musical to him when they fell from St. Peter's lips : the *Talitha cumi*, *Ephphatha*, *Corban*, *Eloi*, *Eloi*, and so forth. He explains for the Romans and the world many allusions which would not have needed explanation in Judea. The same independence may be traced in his occasionally varying the usual Greek word for a less elegant Latinised one : the term *Centurion* is but one instance of several. It is seen also, by one who glances at the harmony, in innumerable variations of mere phrase which leave the sense unaffected. In fact, the whole substance of the second Gospel bears in its tissue the tokens of an independent writer who had formed his own style, and was permitted by the Inspiring Spirit to use it without constraint.

But the personal impress of the writer is most vividly seen where, to speak paradoxically, he is most impersonal—in his unique, consistent, and perfect presentation of the Redeemer's character and work. The Christ whom the Holy Spirit revealed to the mind of St. Mark through the apostolical instruction he had received, and whom he was Divinely inspired to exhibit in his Gospel, is indeed the same Divine-human Person whom we behold in each of the other evangelical records, the same in every attribute of word and suffering and deed. But St. Mark has portrayed Him according to one pre-eminent ideal ; an ideal to which he throughout maintains the strictest fidelity. Christ is in his delineation the strong Son of God contending with the sin of the world in a series of conflicts which at last through the victory of His death issues in His eternal reign at the right hand of the Father. Reserving for the other evangelists the history of the Redeemer's infancy and development, the vindication of the Messiahship from the ancient Scriptures, the more full and elaborate reproduction of the discourses and parables, the Holy Spirit

assigned St. Mark his function to give the almost unbroken history of His official acts as leading to His official sufferings. Hence in this Gospel the Redeemer enters upon the scene as the *Strong Man armed*; and He is conducted through an orderly series, scarcely anywhere interrupted by discourses, of alternate retirements and demonstrations of His power to the end. He is everywhere acting in the greatness of His might: pursuing even in this lower world His steady course of *conquering* and *to conquer*; vanquishing Satan in his individual attack, and dispersing the legions of his agents; overcoming diseases in every form, and death itself; ruling the elements by His word of authority; Divinely, and again and again, feeding the multitudes; resisting and silencing the controversy of His enemies; pronouncing mighty words of doom upon the race that rejected them, and still more mightily symbolizing in repeated acts that doom. The law of His Gospel is strength and unwearied action. The Redeemer's only rest is in those sublime retirements for the renewing of His strength in prayer which are rather hinted at than described. The forty times repeated *straightway* swiftly carries us along the fervent narrative. But everywhere it is manifest that the eye of the writer, and therefore the eye of the reader, is directed, not so much to what is done as to Him who doeth it, not so much to the effects of the virtue as to the virtue itself that goeth out of Him. The Holy Spirit of inspiration reigns here, and it is not so much a marvellous story that is told as a wonderful *Person* that is revealed. Like St. Mark's own men of Decapolis, we are indeed astonished beyond measure as we read; but, like them, our wonder finds this issue, *He hath done all things well*. The combination of all these characteristics gave to St. Mark his symbol of *the lion* in the venerable traditions of the early Church.

This leads naturally to the consideration of the work of St. Mark in its relation to the Gospel generally, and to the Gospel narratives of which it is one. There are two errors to be avoided here: errors which have not been always avoided by those who have written upon the origin, relations, and final completeness of the historical books of Christianity. On the one hand, all those theories are more or less erroneous which deny the absolute independence of each Gospel as a record of the Redeeming Person of Christ; and, on the other hand, those are scarcely less in error which forget that each Gospel was left intentionally imperfect in itself, and that the perfect exhibition of the Saviour's life was reserved for the guardianship of the united Quaternity.

St. Mark's Gospel is undoubtedly in many respects the least of the Four; that is, its range is less wide, its omissions are more considerable, and its mass of direct revelation less extensive. Humanly speaking, or to make a foolish and needless supposition, had it failed to come down to us, its absence from the evangelical canon would have left a less serious blank than that of any of the others. It scarcely throws the faintest ray of light at the outset upon the pre-existent history of the Redeemer; it does not trace His being up to the eternal Trinity, or even allude to the great fundamental mystery of His incarnation. While the actions of the 'Son of God' are recorded with a fulness and vigour not surpassed by any of the evangelists, the discourses and words of Him whose sublime name is 'The Word' are very scantily delivered. But, granting all this, St. Mark's Gospel exhibits nevertheless all the essentials of the great text on which apostles preached both their unrecorded and their still extant sermons. It contains the perfect outlines of the Lord's life, omitting no one great fact or principle vital to the salvation of man. The events which, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles, were the constant basis of apostolical preaching, are there; while those only are absent which, however supremely important in themselves and in due time to be revealed, were not directly necessary in the first promulgation of the tidings of man's salvation. Nothing which we find in the records of that *εὐαγγέλιον* which the first witnesses preached,—a *doctrine* founded upon a history,—is omitted by St. Mark. Every text in the Acts may be found in his narrative; and it has been well observed that part of St. Peter's discourse in the tenth chapter of that book is a perfect epitome of the second Gospel.

Hence St. Mark's may be regarded as a complete *interim* Gospel. Wherever it went during the long interval between St. Peter's death and the acceptance of the complete canon, it would 'do the work of an evangelist.' In Rome, indeed, where it first was read, and first formed the text of public preaching, it must be remembered that as Scripture it stood not alone. Whatever other Scriptures of the New Testament had penetrated to the capital of the world, we are sure that the 'Epistle to the Romans' had long been the glory of the Roman church. St. Paul himself, as a fifth evangelist, had been there to preach the history that he received by direct revelation; and the greatest of his Epistles, giving the fullest account of the development of Christ's life in the individual spirit and in the regeneration of the world that the New Testament contains, had long been a familiar possession. St. Mark's Gospel, there-

fore, to them was as it were a text following the sermon. But *elsewhere* the Gospel had doubtless to do its work alone. St. Mark himself, according to a tradition which we have no reason to discredit, took his Gospel with him to Alexandria, made it the basis of his preaching in many parts of North-Eastern Africa, became bishop of a prosperous church, and sealed by his death the truth of the record which bears his name. Doubtless, his short narrative was for many years, and in multitudes of places, the only Scripture; itself the *voice of one crying in the wilderness*, and preparing the way for the Redeemer, His Church, His perfect history, and the full New Testament. And therefore it was so ordered that, like each of the Four, it should be complete in all essentials. How complete a very brief glance will show. It sets out by linking the New Testament to the Old. It begins with repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the Vanquisher of Satan; it ends with faith in Jesus as the Atonement for the world's sin. And everywhere it inculcates the great essentials of Christian holiness, as springing from faith in One whose power is made perfect in human weakness.

Thus, to add one more remark on an inexhaustible subject, the second Gospel would seem to come first in the Holy Spirit's order for the world. Not in the order of time,—there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the order in which the four evangelists stand,—but in the order of adaptation to the wants of mankind, St. Mark seems to us to have the honour of leading the way, as the Gospel of the Dawn. While St. Matthew dwells in Judæa,—for the written like the preached Gospel must 'begin at Jerusalem,'—and St. Luke's elaborate records are avowedly for already instructed Christians, and St. John's was reserved for the crown of the New Testament Scriptures, the second evangelist—John in his birth, but Mark in his vocation—goes at once out into the 'way of the Gentiles.' His was pre-eminently the text-book of the primitive missionary: containing no more allusions to the Old Testament than were absolutely necessary; omitting entirely all those earlier documents of our Lord's genealogy, birth, and development into manhood, which might distract the convert from his great business; softening or concealing every touch of lingering favour to the ancient people which might offend the Gentiles; and, more than all this, presenting the records of the deeds of Christ's boundless power and boundless love with such child-like simplicity of narrative grace as can never fail to go straight to the heart of all men everywhere. And, as it was in the beginning, it is now: the book of the New Testament

which earliest and best meets the case of mankind is St. Mark's Gospel ; it best prepares the way for the other books ; and thus, if not at the head in rank and importance, it is in another and a very striking sense the first of the four Gospels.

We have now to regard St. Mark as one of the four evangelists who were ordained of the Holy Ghost to write for the Christian church a complete history of the Redeemer ; and shall show briefly but thoroughly what are his specific contributions to the fourfold narrative. In noticing in detail the peculiarities of the second evangelist, we shall not occupy ourselves with the *human* harmony of the Gospels, but content ourselves with watching the *Divine*. There is a Divine harmony, obvious enough to all whose ears have heard the great *Ephphatha*, and which the progress of New Testament criticism is more and more clearly proving to coincide with the facts of the Gospel narratives. In the concert of the four evangelists the Holy Spirit has not indeed proceeded according to our human calculation or presumption of what would have been the case : ' His ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts.' For instance, man's theory might have expected one complete account of the History of histories, flawless, seamless, woven from the top throughout, the work of a single hand directed by infallible inspiration : instead of which we have four accounts seemingly independent, or, if not absolutely independent, yet preserving their independence in details to an extent which sometimes raises the question whether they directly agree. Again, we might have expected that, if four narrators were selected, each would have his distinct province assigned ; thus economizing the precious space of the New Testament, and reserving a large mass of that sacred material which St. John admits to be lost for ever : instead of this we have a large proportion of the three consisting of repetitions more or less exact, while the fourth, forming the great residuary supplement, repeats many things already thrice repeated by his predecessors. It might have seemed to us expedient that, whatever freedom was allowed in narrative, the words of our Lord at least would not have been suffered to exhibit the slightest variations : whereas we find that in many cases they do actually vary, and that, too, even when He is speaking within the evangelical Holiest of all, in the sacred ante-chamber of His passion. Believing as we do that the Holy Ghost watched over every stroke of the evangelical pen, we cannot but think, in our human conceit, that He might have mended many things, and be tempted to dictate to Him what

He should have recorded, as the Jews dictated to Pilate: but only to receive the same reply, *What I have written, I have written.* The Spirit of inspiration, like the Spirit of saving influence, *bloweth where it listeth.* And we dare to affirm that the great Result, as we now have it on the free, fourfold, and profoundly harmonized record of Him who is our Life, is more consistent with the Divine plan of procedure in nature, providence, and grace, than any result would have been which our speculation might have sketched. If it does not correspond with the vain expectations of man's theory, it responds to the deeper expectations of a more profound philosophy.

Although St. Mark's Gospel has so much in common with the other synoptists, and, to a hasty glance, he might seem to have done little more than make selections from St. Matthew, with a few additions of his own, yet we find that his own peculiarities literally pervade the whole. They are so woven into the very fabric of his narrative, that we are constrained to give up the theory of his copying in any sense whatever. There are variations in the original which to a mere copyist would have been perfectly needless; and minor transpositions of words, interjections of new matter, omissions of longer and shorter periods, and other signs of independent testimony, which forbid such a supposition. More than all this, the vivid and picturesque presentation of the individual occurrences, the touches which realise the scene, and make the reader feel as if personally present, everywhere betoken an independent narrator. It is not that a more dramatic hand here and there infuses vigour into St. Matthew's comparatively languid narrative,—a supposition altogether derogatory to both evangelists,—but the entire strain of the history vindicates its individuality. How far this distinctive characteristic of the second evangelist *adds* to the treasures of revealed truth, can be judged only by such a long induction of particulars as we shall now briefly attempt.

All the evangelists unite in making the ministry of John the Baptist the introduction to the 'Beginning of the Gospel.' They all bring the mysterious 'Voice' of the Old Testament upon the scene as a living, sharply-defined person, who announces the Redeemer's coming, baptizes Him as the representative of a world of sinners, strikes the key-note of the Gospel itself, points out the person of the Saviour, and then retires for ever. But it is the peculiarity of St. Mark that he does not introduce the Baptist directly from the prophecy of Isaiah, but ascends to that prophecy through its later echo in Malachi. He thus links his beginning with the very end of

the Old Testament. And this is the more remarkable as he perhaps never afterwards as a simple historian quotes the Old Testament. It may further be observed that his few brief sentences limit the Baptist's relation to *Jesus Himself*. He hints at the crowds even more expressly than the others, but depicts the baptism of One alone. The Baptist's humble recoil from discharging his function on Christ, he does not mention; but his prostrate humility is more vividly seen in that additional word, 'not worthy to stoop down and unloose.' The 'fire' he omits from the baptism of the Spirit,—which is remarkable, considering the doctrine concerning the 'salting fire' which he alone records in chapter ix. ; and he agrees with St. Luke in quoting the voice of the Father's attestation, as spoken to the Son Himself, '*Thou art my beloved Son.*' The connexion between the baptism and the temptation of our Lord is exhibited with peculiar force in the second Gospel. Christ *straightway* goes to the wilderness, hasting to measure the strength of His new humanity against *Satan* (not *the Devil*) the Ruiner of the old ; He is *driven* by the Spirit,—a word which here at the outset gives earnest of that intensity which throughout this Gospel urges the Redeemer towards His 'end ;' He is tempted during, as well as after, the forty days,—a mysterious hint which we may reverently interpret as indicating that His Divine-human nature was exposed to assaults around which a veil is thrown, even as the deepest agony of the cross was clouded in darkness ; after which, when He emerged into the threshold of the outer world again, He encountered, as our pattern, the three typical temptations in which we mortals read the history of our own probation, and the secret of our own victory ; finally, He was *with the wild beasts*, whose presence completes the awful picture, and perfects the contrast between the disordered world which our Lord descended to retrieve, and the gentle Paradise which was lost through the sin of man.

The scene changes. St. Mark, like the other synoptists, omits the many months of our Lord's first ministry in Judea. He gives no hint of the wonderful events which occurred during the interval until the imprisonment of the Baptist. He does not mention the fact that the Lord gave to Judea the greatest part of His first year, a year in which He laboured comparatively alone, having given only a preliminary call to some of His future apostles. The year of the Judean 'visitation' was reserved for St. John : St. Mark spends the bulk of his narrative upon that second 'acceptable year of the Lord' which the Redeemer preached in Galilee. In introducing this period,

St. Mark's peculiarity is that he more expressly than the others makes the Lord's announcement the 'preaching the kingdom of God;' that in him alone we hear the striking of the great secular hour, 'The time is fulfilled,' the sublime key-note which governs the strain of the entire New Testament, and the sound of which, in the very outset of his Gospel, gives it an indescribable grandeur. This suggests St. Paul rather than St. Peter; as also does the way in which St. Mark gives—and he alone gives it—the full, primitive, evangelical formula, 'Repent, and believe the Gospel,' (*πιστεύετε ἐν*, Gal. iii. 26; Eph. i. 13.) In the calling of the first two pairs of apostles, which immediately followed, St. Mark is at one with St. Matthew, save that in the former, Simon's surname (already acquired, John i.) is not appended; and, singularly enough, the 'immediately' which in the latter represents the obedience of the two fishermen, in the former marks the eagerness with which the Lord called them. St. Mark gives, as usual, his final touch of realisation in the circumstance, not unimportant in relation to the young men's filial character, that they left their father Zebedee in the ship 'with the hired servants.'

Next follows the memorable Sabbath in Capernaum; in the narrative of which St. Mark has St. Luke instead of St. Matthew as his companion. He specifies that the effect of Christ's first ministry here was to raise Him, in the estimation of the astonished people, above 'the Scribes.' His account of the Lord's first victory over the lesser demons,—St. Mark's first recorded miracle—runs parallel with St. Luke's in most points; but as he surpasses the first evangelist in dramatic vigour, so also the third must yield to him. When, according to his account, (derived from one who now for the first time saw the mighty power of Christ, and could never forget it,) the demon heard the calm voice which commanded him to keep silence concerning his knowledge of Jesus, and to come out of the man, he 'violently tore' the poor demoniac. This excited scene was followed by the calmer miracle performed on His first entrance into the house of His elect apostle, whose wife's mother was in high fever: St. Mark here again adds to the narrative of the other two the fact that no sooner had He entered than 'they tell Him of her,' and how 'immediately' the fever was gone. On the evening of that holy day St. Mark remembers 'the setting sun;' he alone sees the whole city running together 'to the door;' and he adds to St. Matthew's account the Lord's renewed command to the demons not to pronounce His name to mortals nor syllable it in their own desert wilderness. He also clearly distinguishes be-

tween the healing of diseases and the casting out of devils. And he alone mentions the Lord's rising, after a short repose, 'a great while before day,' and His 'praying' in the solitary place to which He retired. He makes Simon Peter head the procession of those who came out to draw Him from His sanctuary; and gives the actual words of Peter, doubtless the spokesman, himself, 'All men seek for Thee.' In the account of the Lord's reply, St. Mark gives one of his peculiar words, nowhere else used in the New Testament, *κωμολόλεις*; and St. Luke's 'Therefore am I sent' appears in a more majestic form, 'Therefore *came I forth*.' And in the words which sum up the workday labours that followed this Sabbath, he is careful to insert,—true to the instinct of his Gospel,—'and casting out devils.'

The cure of the leper (the well-known leper, it may be supposed, since all three so carefully record his cure) is appended here as a specimen, although it occurred some time afterwards. There are in this account a few of St. Mark's very pathetic traits. For instance, he can vouch for the *compassion* which the Lord was moved with, and the instantaneousness (once more) with which the word was followed by the healing; but this compassion seems strangely at variance (*seems* only, however) with the stern and peremptory command that sent the healed man away to the priests under the seal of silence towards all others. Once more St. Mark makes the Lord withdraw into 'desert places,' explaining that He *could not* enter into the city because of the rumour which the disobedient leper's thoughtless gratitude occasioned. The leper's garrulity and the Lord's enforced seclusion belong really to St. Mark alone.

He soon, however, returned to Capernaum, where the rumour of His return created great excitement. To St. Mark we owe the circumstances which Simon Peter well remembered: the *immediate* rush of the people to the Lord's house, their filling the rooms of it, and the throng lining the doors,—a second time that crowd about the doors returns to his recollection,—and the Lord preaching to them His word. St. Luke's account of the Pharisees and Scribes who came to act as spies St. Mark omits: he has no eye but for the striking scene that ensued, a scene which the keen memory of Simon Peter has helped him to make additionally vivid. He alone marks the *four* who bear the paralytic; he makes us hear the breaking up of the roof—the fragments of which so much encumber our modern exposition; after the pardon of the man's sin, he marks the Scribes '*sitting there reasoning*,' and his version of their thoughts lays great emphasis on the disparity between the man who speaks and the word he utters, 'Why doth *this man thus* speak blasphemies?' He winds up

all with the additional touch as to the people's wonder, 'Thus we never saw it.'

The calling of St. Matthew is introduced by a preface peculiar to St. Mark. Jesus goes forth to the seaside; as is several times recorded of them in this Gospel, the multitudes flocked after Him; and the Lord, now as ever, exchanged His private prayer for public preaching. At the feast which Matthew gave, St. Mark tells us that many 'publicans and sinners' (here first conjoined) followed Him, intimating a specific influence upon the hearts of this kind of people. The taunt with which the Pharisees accosted the disciples (but not their Master) is much more vivid in his narrative: 'How is it that *He* eateth?' not, 'Why do ye eat?' The specification of the occasion of the Lord's most affecting allusion to His disciples' fasting is given by St. Mark alone. John's disciples and the Pharisees 'used to fast,' rather 'were then holding a fast,' ἦσαν νηστεύοντες. Our Lord excused His people: the time for their sadness and fasting would come soon enough; it was too early for them to anticipate the passion.

Here again follows a considerable interval; during which the Lord went up to Jerusalem, and the enmity of His foes assumed a more definite form. One of the most striking manifestations of their enmity concerned His repeated violations, as they thought, of the Sabbath. Two memorable instances are recorded by all the Three. St. Mark's contribution to the former is rather troublesome to the commentator than otherwise. Excepting the pictorial circumstance that the disciples 'made their way' through the corn, he adds nothing but that perplexing specification of the date when David and his companions ate the shewbread 'in the days of Abiathar, the high priest,' which seems to mean nothing more than 'in the days of Abiathar, afterwards high priest.' Ending all by the same great saying with which the others end, 'The Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath,' he prefaces this by a word which they have omitted, 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' striking equally at the root of the two opposite errors which have affected Sabbath observance from the beginning. The other instance, on the following Sabbath, has two or three very vigorous touches in our evangelist. He notes that when the Lord asked the spies, 'Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath day, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill?' these self-convicted murderers of Christ in heart 'held their peace;' and he goes beyond the other historians in relating the anger with which the Lord looked round upon them,—an anger mingled with grief at the hardness of their hearts. He further describes the *instant* banding together of the Pharisees and Herodians.

St. Mark, who notes the Lord's retreats with more careful regularity than the other evangelists, informs us, what we should not otherwise have known, that He went with His disciples to the sea. There is no point in the whole narrative where the second evangelist is more pre-eminent. He tells us of the great multitude that came from all parts—literally all parts, for there is not a district in the country unmentioned—and which so crowded the Redeemer that He caused a 'small ship' to follow Him along the shore, as He coasted the lake, into which He might retire, from which He might preach, and by which He might, if need were, take His departure to the other side. Most vivid is the picture here given of the great Healer, whose virtue 'drew all men unto Him,' and of the crowds with their *plagues*, pressing on His retreating garments to touch them for healing. Once again, St. Mark proclaims the victory over devils, and the holy indignation with which He forbade them to preach His name.

The appointment of the Twelve was one of the fundamental events of the Gospel, and lists of the apostles are given by the Three Evangelists. St. Mark does not specify that in this one instance the whole night was spent by our Lord in prayer. In the morning he intimates more distinctly than the rest, that Jesus made a double election. First of 'whom He would,' then of 'Twelve' to 'be with Him,' and to 'go from Him,' in order to preach, and—here St. Mark again—'to cast out devils.' The name of Simon—not 'first Simon,' as in St. Matthew—is not followed by Andrew; James and John have their prerogative, (though John is only 'brother of James,') and St. Mark alone mentions the surname *Boanerges*, an epithet given by the Saviour's love to His fiery disciples, but not intended to pass into general use. The sentence which closes, 'And they went into an house,' is very indeterminate. St. Mark here leaves his two companion evangelists for a considerable space; he omits the Supreme Sermon, and other very precious sections of the evangelical history.

But when he re-appears, it is with a very striking narrative, for which he alone vouches. He tells us a circumstance which would naturally be sparingly communicated: that the Lord's 'friends' joined with His enemies in treating Him as one 'beside himself.' The omission of the cure of the demoniac, the occasion of the blasphemy of the Pharisees, gives St. Mark's narrative a singular appearance, which the insertion of it instantly removes. The crowd pressed so urgently upon our Lord, that they left Him no time even to eat; and so absolutely did He surrender Himself to the public demand, that His own people went out to take Him home by force. Meanwhile, the

demoniac was healed, and the discourse on the sin which cannot be forgiven follows. The Pharisees 'from Jerusalem' ascribed the Lord's holy zeal to the inspiration of 'Beelzebub'; and while this most awful of all colloquies was proceeding, the brethren and mother (for this is St. Mark's significant order) came to 'seek' Him. Then it was that He 'looked round about upon' His disciples, and declared that all other family bonds were merged in the bonds of the new relationship of a new life.

The sea-side collection of parables—corresponding in extent and fulness of teaching to the Sermon on the Mount—is given briefly by St. Mark, who, however, compensates for five parables omitted by one peculiar to himself, and of profound importance. The parable of the seed growing secretly, which so strikingly points to the silent energy of the grace of God within the heart, which, if not hindered, will develop into perfection, and needs not the constant self-scrutiny of anxious care, is a necessary supplement to the rest: only a supplement, for it would, without them, be liable to the worst perversion; but a necessary supplement, inasmuch as it supplies a feature of the Divine economy of grace not given in the rest. In the secret explanation of the parables there is nothing peculiar to one evangelist, save that he 'gathers up one fragment,' otherwise lost, 'Unto you *that hear* shall more be given,' as the beautiful counterpart of, 'With what measure *ye mete* it shall be measured to you.' St. Mark gives a very vivid picture of the night which followed that day of wonderful teaching. The Lord suddenly says, 'Let us go over unto the other side;' they take Him then and there in the ship, sending away the multitude abruptly; 'other little ships,' however, follow the holy ship; we see the waves 'beating into the ship,' and the Lord asleep 'on a pillar;' we hear the excited cry of the disciples, '*Carest Thou not that we perish?*' and the very words which personify the tempest and calm its fury, 'Peace, be still.'

Another eventful day follows: the Lord's solitary visit of mercy to the Gadarene. Here St. Peter's spirit manifestly glows in the narrative. We see the leading demoniac in all the untameable fury of his possession; we hear his fearful cry (which St. Mark's characteristic pleonasm makes unwittingly more affecting still, *always, night and day*); we shudder at his self-tormenting agony, 'cutting himself with stones.' In this narrative the wretched man—half-man, half-devil—catches a glimpse of Jesus 'afar off;' and here alone we have the awful adjuration; and the exceeding earnestness of the Legion not to be sent out of 'that country,' as if they had found their rest there. Here also we have the number of the swine, 'two thou-

sand;’ and the fitting fact that those who reported of the cure, told also ‘concerning the swine;’ and how the man who was not permitted to leave with Jesus, published, not only in his own city, but ‘in Decapolis,’ the wonderful power and mercy of Christ.

St. Mark passes directly to the Lord’s first victory over death, which is his longest and most minute narrative. The ‘little daughter’ of Jairus is not dead, but ‘at the point of death,’ when the sad father goes out to meet Jesus; and the request of his faith goes no further than ‘that she may be healed.’ The woman, whose touch caused the interruption on His way to the ruler’s house, is brought before us most vividly in this narrative: St. Mark strengthens the case as against the physicians; describes with great vigour her consciousness of cure; suppresses, however, Peter’s name; but gives us the Lord’s look around, as if to find out the too humble believer in His virtue. The long delay, longer perhaps than necessary, (for the same reason that caused Him to delay the journey to Bethany, when Lazarus lay sick,) made Him too late: we see the scene in which the sad father, whose faith is beginning to rise to the possibility of his daughter’s resurrection, is unfeelingly bidden by the messengers not ‘to *continue* troubling the Master.’ St. Mark remembered the gentle words, *Talitha cumi*, which accompanied the touch of the lifegiving hand; but he translates it for his Gentiles. And lastly we have the witness who saw and heard all in the last remarkable words, ‘Give her to cat.’

He leaves His ‘own city’ Capernaum, and enters His ‘own country’ Nazareth, a second time, to see if His own would still refuse Him. In St. Mark it is the ‘Sabbath-day,’ the congregation ‘many,’ and Jesus, in the reproachful words of His townsmen, is not the ‘carpenter’s son,’ but Himself the ‘carpenter.’ He adds to the Lord’s sad proverb the affecting words ‘among His own kin,’ which seem to show that the Lord remembered the recent delusion of His friends, who thought Him ‘beside Himself;’ he says, not that ‘He did not,’ but that ‘He could do’ no mighty works; but he makes the singular reservation of His ‘healing a few sick folk’ (as of a slight act in comparison of the ‘mighty work’ of raising the little girl); and, as is his wont, St. Mark makes emphatic the Lord’s ‘*marvelling* at their unbelief.’

St. Mark’s account of the sending of the Twelve is distinguished by its omissions. He has, however, here as always some additional notes: such as that this was the beginning of several apostolical missions; that they were sent out in pairs; and that they anointed the sick with oil,—a symbolical act of great

significance, but omitted by the others as only symbolical. Herod—singularly termed ‘king,’ and not ‘tetrarch’ as in St. Luke—is here introduced by the three evangelists as hearing through this Mission of the fame of Jesus, and as terrified by what he thought the return of John the Baptist. The picture of his guilty fear—fastening upon this solution among many reports—is very vividly drawn by St. Mark; and the beautiful episode of John the Baptist’s death is given by him with peculiar power. He notes how the vacillating Herod saved John for some time, and even heard and obeyed him in many things. He marks the *opportune* time which Herod’s debauch furnished to Herodias. The feast, the company, the dance, the surrender to the dancer’s fascination, the wild promise of half his kingdom, the quick concert between mother and daughter, the hasty return of Herodias, the ‘executioner,’ all pass before us with amazing dramatic vigour, and worthily describe this the lesser of the two tragic deaths of the Gospels.

St. Mark omits the touching circumstance that, after burying their Master, John’s disciples went and told Jesus. He returns to the Twelve, and their report to their Lord; which was followed by His withdrawing them into a desert place, from the crowds who left them ‘no leisure so much as to eat.’ Here for the first time the four evangelists meet, around the table spread upon the ‘green grass.’ The Lord’s discourse continued till evening; and the crowds who ‘afoot’ outwent the little ship were fed to the number of five thousand: they left Him no time to eat, and forgot their own food. The passage of the lake which followed, with its marvellous revelation of Christ’s power and His disciples’ weakness, is given with minute vividness by St. Mark. He tells us that the disciples were sent forward ‘to Bethsaida;’ he shows us Jesus alone on the land watching them; he notes that the Lord made as though He would pass by them; he omits St. Peter’s marvellous imitation of his Lord with all but success; he lays great stress on the amazement of the disciples, and discloses, as he generally does, more keenly than the other evangelists, the hardened and unbelieving state of the disciples’ hearts, which the great miracle of the preceding day had failed to subdue. The wonderful sequel in Genesareth he paints more vividly, but not more copiously than the rest.

After the great feast follows in St. Mark the strange contest with the Jerusalem Pharisees concerning eating traditions. His account is very explicit for Gentile readers as to the religious washings of the Jews; he alone mentions the original term in the ‘Corban’ evasion of duty; his is the most full account of our Lord’s strong denunciation; he is most explicit as to the

'purging all meats;' and he gives the completest summary of the evil things that man's heart can discharge.

In the narrative of the Syrophenician woman, St. Mark for once yields to St. Matthew in pictorial effect. He does not give the touching gradation in the woman's difficulties; the Saviour's ominous silence, the disciples' fruitless intercession, the affecting 'their *Master's* table' in the answer which finally triumphed, and the 'O woman, great is thy faith' which has placed this 'Greek, a Syrophenician by nation,' by the side of the Centurion, her only rival in the Saviour's praise. Returning through the coasts of Decapolis, the Lord performed many miracles, one of which St. Mark alone records. And there is no more remarkable record in the four Gospels: the deaf and dumb man is taken apart; the Lord puts His fingers in his ears, touches his tongue with saliva, sighs out His sympathy, utters the great word *Ephphatha*, (interpreted, *Be opened*,) and seals again the unsealed lips as to this cure. There is mystery here beyond the mere fact that this was a half heathen district, and that the Lord would excite no demonstration: the healing was a symbolical one; the sigh was spent upon the sinner's deafness to Divine things, and the slow instrumentality taught a lesson that need not be expounded here. The feeding of the four thousand which immediately followed is perfectly parallel with the same account in St. Matthew,—with the exception of the circumstance mentioned by the former, that many came from far, his omission of the women and children, and those variations of language which occur almost in every verse. Immediately after this, the human tempters once more surrounded Him, and demanded of Him a sign from heaven: as if those given were either of earthly subtle power or from below. The impatient spirit of St. Mark records only the Lord's deep sigh once more, His mournful question, and His peremptory refusal. But His thoughts still ran upon the hypocrisy over which He had sighed; and, on His return in the little ship, He warned His disciples against the leaven of their spirit. Their strange misapprehension of their Master's meaning is exhibited very vividly by a few of St. Mark's touches. According to his account they looked at the 'one loaf' which was all they had brought, and said, 'It is because we have no bread.' The Lord's rebuke is given by him in full: it takes the form of a series of convincing appeals to the past, ending with that most humiliating double question to which they were obliged to give their self-condemning reply.

We owe doubtless to St. Peter the history of the blind man at Bethsaida and his suspended cure,—one of the gems of St. Mark's Gospel. Here again all is gradual, and full of sym-

bolical meaning. The man is led out of the town, for the slow exercise of his faith; once only in His history the Lord seems to halt midway in the act of healing; for one moment of suspense and hope the man rolls his eyes on men like trees; another touch, and the healing is perfect. St. Mark needed not to explain. This half-healed man, looking out of the narrative for that brief moment, is a type of a midway state: a great improvement on the past, very unsatisfying in itself, yet a pledge of perfect cure. And it is obvious to remark that St. Mark's one parable, his one miracle on the deaf, his one miracle on the blind, are all united by a manifest and beautiful bond.

The great interrogation-scene in the wilderness of Cæsarea is not much indebted to St. Mark. The questioning, he notes, was 'in the way;' he condenses Simon Peter's glorious confession, and omits the honour paid him by the Lord's reply. He mentions the Lord's first fore-announcement of His passion as uttered *openly*. So also, after the sharp rebuke to Peter,—which he does not omit,—he specifies that the *people* were called with His disciples to hear the doctrine of the spiritual cross. The *octave* of this sacred scene, the Transfiguration,—when the three disciples had the sign from heaven which was denied to the Pharisees,—owes several points of detail to St. Mark. 'So as no fuller on earth can white them' is his; he introduces Elias 'with Moses,' not 'Moses and Elias;' he makes the disciples look round about and note the *sudden* vanishing of the Two. But the descent and the scene under the mountain are much vivified by St. Mark's touches. He alone notes that the disciples questioned what the rising from the dead should mean. He alone tells us that He referred to the Scripture concerning Elias or the Baptist, as also concerning His own death,—a greater death than John's. The scene below is very vividly described: multitudes are watching the scribes who are embarrassing the nine; they *run* to salute the Lord, whom they had lost, and are amazed at the glory still lingering on His countenance. The Lord protects His disciples from the scribes, demanding what the matter of their dispute with them might be. The father of the young demoniac replies, and describes his son's paroxysms in terms unequalled. The terrible scene of the demoniac's approach, the affecting colloquy between the father and Christ, the words unrivalled anywhere, 'Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief,' the concourse of people hastening the miracle, the charge, 'Enter no more into him,' the agony as it were of death with which the final deliverance was accompanied,—are all traits of St. Mark which singularly contrast with the cold but true narratives on either side of him in the Harmony.

The secret journey through Galilee seems to unite the four evangelists for a moment. The Transfiguration scene was so entirely misunderstood, and the Lord's most solemn announcement of His death and resurrection on the third day was so entirely lost upon the disciples, that they are still capable of disputing who should be greatest. The Lord's rebuke is administered, according to our evangelist, with 'the little child in His arms.' John's parenthesis about the disciple 'following not us,' with the reply, is here most fully given. And the solemn grandeur of the warning concerning the unquenchable fire, with its threefold awful repetition, must be read in St. Mark to be fully felt. It is closed by that paragraph on the alternative-fire—the fire of discipline, the salt of the perfect sacrifice—which may be regarded as a fourth independent and unshared contribution of this evangelist.

St. Mark now gives us three incidents of our Lord's second abode in Perea, omitting the history of many months which fill with interest several chapters of St. Luke and St. John. Those three incidents pave the way for his brief and solemn account of the final journey to Jerusalem. They refer to marriage, children, riches. A comparison of the first two evangelists on the Lord's colloquy with the Pharisees concerning divorce is a very interesting harmonistic study. St. Mark is peculiarly terse and striking. He makes the Lord's reply begin with the Mosaic institute of marriage, and ascend to the original ordinance in Paradise; in his account it is the Lord who asks the question, 'Why did Moses *command*?' and the Scribes who change the phrase into 'Moses *suffered* to write a bill;' he makes our Lord utter as His own (as, indeed, they were) the original words, 'For this cause shall a man,' &c.; and he postpones the final decision concerning divorce to a private house, and a private inquiry on the part of the disciples. And in that same private house, or at least immediately after that conversation, the affectionate children-scene took place. St. Mark's two affecting notes—that the Lord was much displeased when He saw His disciples repelling the children, and that He took these little ones up into His arms—have secured his account its place in our baptismal service. In the impressive conversation with the young ruler, St. Mark adds a few of his realising traits. Although we do not learn from him that it was a young man, we see him *running*; and not only so but *kneeling* (though St. Luke says he was a ruler). St. Mark alone gives us the striking fact that the young man's second question is, 'Master,' without the 'good.' It is of infinite value that in our account the Lord beholds and loves the young man whose heart He was piercing. The 'following' is here alone with 'the cross' on the

shoulders ; his sorrow in St. Mark is blank stupefaction. In turning this event to account our evangelist makes the Lord 'look round' once more upon his disciples ; he adds the important qualification, 'How hard for them that *trust* in riches !' and inserts in the catalogue of the great promise given to self-renunciation the important addition to the list 'with persecutions.' Altogether, St. Mark gives a very deep interest to this solemn narration ; and, perhaps, a profitable lesson might be deduced from the fact that he makes 'Defraud not' take the place of 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

There is nothing in all the evangelical records more sublime than St. Mark's picture of the moment when the approach to Jerusalem filled the disciples with terror and with fear, in such touching contrast with the serene decision of Him who 'went before them,' and minutely predicted to their uncomprehending minds His coming betrayal and passion. *How* uncomprehending is seen in the last request of James and John,—a request denied and yet granted. St. Mark hears only the young men, and not their mother. He also marks the 'beginning' of anger in the Ten, which the Lord appeased at once by His affecting appeal to His own example. The passage through crowded but silent Jericho, interrupted by the shrill cry of Bartimæus, will always be a difficulty to the harmonist. St. Mark's account is exceedingly picturesque. He notes one beggar, names him, hears him 'begin' to cry out, gives the three ever-memorable words of the disciples to the blind man, *θάύρει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε*, (to which no translation can do full justice,) pictures him to us as he throws away his garment, and gives us the words of the Healer, 'Go thy way,' which way was the following of Jesus.

St. Mark, like St. Matthew, cannot pause as yet for the final feast in Bethany. Nothing must interrupt the triumphant entrance. The preparations, and the procession, and the entry into the temple, are narrated by our evangelist with the most minute speciality, and we are placed in the very midst of the scene by his use of the present tense. He notes that the colt was tied by a door, where two ways met (being told, doubtless, by one of the two who saw it) ; he makes the people's grand but empty doxology include 'the kingdom of our father David ;' he alone narrates the instant entrance into the temple, the evening glance of inquisition which preceded the morrow's cleansing. His peculiar notes of that morning are very vivid. He makes us see the fig-tree 'afar off, having leaves,' and mark that the disciples heard the word that blighted it. In the temple we see the vessels stopped, and hear the full quotation, 'Of all nations the house of prayer,' which tells us that it was the Gentile part of that temple which was dishonoured. More

exact than St. Matthew's here, St. Mark's fervent and rapid narrative places us under the fig-tree next morning. We hear Simon Peter's surprise at this first instance of a curse from the lips of Blessing, and the Lord's encouragement to faith in prayer, with the final exhortation to forgiveness and a gentle spirit;—the cursing must be reserved for Himself alone. The official challenge of Christ's authority owes nothing to St. Mark but one or two graphic touches. Our Lord was walking alone in the temple. 'Answer Me,' He says to the questioners—a hint which explains their abject and enforced response.

St. Mark notes that Jesus 'began to speak in parables;' but he gives one only,—that one which scarcely veils the Lord's prophecy of His own rejection, and of the doom of those who rejected Him. St. Mark's gradation of messengers sent to the husbandmen is the most perfect and vigorous; the Son who is sent is 'the *one* Son, the well-beloved;' the Lord Himself pronounces the doom, and His baffled enemies 'leave Him and go their way.' The detachments of spies follow next. 'Shall we give, or shall we not give?' is his lively addition to the question of the tempters; and in the Lord's reply, 'Bring Me a penny that I may see it,' gives a peculiar vigour. The Sadducees in their turn are dismissed by St. Mark with more emphatic terseness: 'Do ye not therefore err? ye therefore do greatly err.' When the Scribes come, St. Mark singles out their representative, and his question is as to the first commandment 'of all,' not 'in the law.' Nothing can be more interesting than this account of his honest echoing of the Lord's words, with one addition significant for a lawyer; as also of the Lord's telling him he was 'not far from the kingdom of God.' St. Mark introduces the scribe as perceiving that the 'Lord answered well;' and dismisses him with the observation that the Lord could likewise say, 'that he answered discreetly.' He breaks up the scene in his graphic way: 'No man after that durst ask Him any question.' The Lord now becomes the questioner, and His single question—which was never answered but by His death—convinced His enemies that the Messiah, the Son of David, must be the Son of God. St. Mark shows how entirely the Lord swayed the minds of the people at large by the words, 'And the common people heard Him'—on this question of His Divinity—'with joy.' To these sympathizing hearers He then addressed His last warning against the hypocrisy of the Scribes. He then sat down over against the Treasury, and, according to St. Mark, called His disciples to witness something that gave Him pleasure,—the farthing which the poor widow threw in, which was all her living.

Our Lord's final prophecy—the germ of the Apocalypse—is best set in its historical frame by St. Mark. He once more takes us to the scene; tells us that they were 'leaving the

temple' the last time, when 'one' of His disciples pointed out, as if in admiration and intercession, the vast expanse of the temple. The prediction of its overthrow occupied their thoughts until they reached the sacred hill, where they always turned to look back. There our evangelist tells us that Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew,—the four who were together in the beginning and at the end of this Gospel—asked Him privately the sign and the time of these things. The great prophecy itself—which blends in one great perspective, and with marks of distinction which fulfilment alone will make clear, the end of the Jewish age and the end of all things—is given with more brevity by St. Mark than by the rest; nor does he add many things of sufficient note to arrest our attention. The earlier part, affecting the future of the apostles themselves, is much more strong in its details of danger and exhortation to take heed. The prediction of the destruction of the city is more elaborately worded, so far as it goes, but has some designed omissions (such as the Sabbath flight); and again, we observe the emphatic *Take heed* winding up the paragraph. Commencing anew, he keeps pace with the other evangelists in the sublime picture of the end of the world, diverging from them only by omissions, until that inscrutable '*neither the Son*' which stamps its mark not only upon this prophecy, but upon the whole Gospel. Besides preserving that one mysterious word, as a testimony to the limitation of the Divine-human Redeemer on the humbler side of the cross, we owe to St. Mark the brief and perfect parable of the Lord's going on a far journey, and leaving authority and work to His servants, and the command to the porter to watch. In the solemn description of the watches of the night, 'or at the cock-crowing,' we seem to hear the very voice of Peter himself. How unspeakably impressive is the word with which this minister of Peter and disciple of Christ takes leave of the outer world in his Gospel! 'And what I say unto you I say unto all, *Watch*.'

St. Mark now enters upon the sacred scenes of the passion; and it is evident that he introduces at this point the anointing and the traitor's concert with the vacillating Council as being its most fitting introduction. The anointing is not dwelt upon with his usual minuteness in such scenes: the woman is not named, nor is the leader of the murmuring. The well known hand, however, is seen in the *breaking* of the alabaster box; in the mention of the disciples' 'murmuring against her,' as well as having 'indignation within themselves;' in the vigorous 'Whosoever ye will ye can do them good;' in the beautiful 'She hath done what she could;' and, above all, in the striking words, 'She is come beforehand to anoint,' in which the mystery of this woman's deep faith—unshared by any other—is revealed. It is singular that it is

St. Mark's Gospel which gives us the best evidence that among the women who went out with their needless burden of spices on the resurrection morning, this Mary was not found. Very solemn is the simplicity with which he narrates how Judas went from that table where devotion to Christ had been so lavish of its three hundred pence, to sell his Master for thirty pieces of silver.

In the account of the preparation for the passover St. Mark adds nothing. In the Institution of the Supper he is rather more brief than the rest; his one single addition throughout the memorable evening is the specification of the cock crowing 'twice,'—and this we know he adds on good authority. He enters Gethsemane with Peter: to him, doubtless, we owe the dread matter of our Lord's prayer 'that, if it were possible, the hour might pass from Him,' and the '*Abba*, all things are possible to Thee,' and the '*Simon*, sleepest thou?' and the significant echo of the Transfiguration scene, 'Neither wist they what to answer Him;' and lastly the much contested *ἀρέχει*, 'It is enough.' The 'immediately' of St. Mark gives also to the appearance of Judas a touch of dramatic suddenness which we cannot but feel; and the same word marks his swift desperation when he approaches, according to his 'token,' with the 'Rabbi, Rabbi, on his lips,' and the 'Take Him, and *lead Him away safely*.' Perhaps what follows is the one sole memorial the evangelist has given of himself. We can hardly otherwise understand the abrupt diversion of our thoughts from the tragic solemnity of the scene to notice the young man who, while all the apostles are forsaking their Master, still 'followed Him' with the linen cloth about his naked body, but, seized by the young men, fled from them naked.

In the next scene Peter's denial is wonderfully interwoven with his Master's glorious confession. Noting St. Mark's peculiarities, we see that Peter 'warms himself by the fire;' we hear that the 'witnesses do not agree together.' The testimony that next endeavoured to supply the deficiency is given more fully by him, including the opposition between the temple made with hands and that made without hands; and again he notes their disagreement. Then we see the high priest coming out 'into the midst;' but his question, without the adjuration, includes 'the Son of the Blessed;' and we mark the 'palm of the hands' that smote Him. St. Mark makes us see the weak disciple 'beneath' in the hall; tells us that he heard the *first* crowing, as he 'went out into the porch,'—affecting aggravation of his guilt. The 'oath' of guilty Peter St. Mark reserves for the last denial. The '*second*

time' he hears the cock crow; and the final graphic touch is—whatever its precise meaning may be—ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε.

Only a few prominent points of the history of the morning of redemption are given by St. Mark. He alone, however, gives the assembling of the mob before the prætorium clamouring for the customary release of the prisoner *they* might choose; he also makes Pilate twice offer to them 'the King of the Jews;' and notes that impressive circumstance that Jesus was delivered up 'to content the Jews.' As He was led away to be crucified, we see in St. Mark's account the crowd 'bowing their knees and worshipping Him;' the man who helped to bear the cross is 'the father of Alexander and Rufus.' The Crucifixion took place 'at the third hour.' And St. Mark, who began his Gospel with an Old Testament quotation peculiar to himself, but never quoted another, now closes with one that he alone gives. 'He was numbered with the transgressors.' He infuses a terrific element into the mockery of the passers-by when he inserts the fierce οὐδ that pointed it. He shows us the centurion 'standing over against Him' at the *very moment* of the last loud cry, saying, 'Truly this man was the Son of God;' a formula worthy to be had in lasting remembrance, as the testimony of a *second* centurion whose faith surpassed any found in Israel. He unites the women of Galilee with the women of Jerusalem as silent spectators. The good Arimathæan who 'waited for the kingdom of God,) however fearful before, now 'comes *boldly*' to claim a doubtful privilege. We see in St. Mark Pilate calling the centurion to satisfy his doubt as to the death of Christ; and we know that the centurion could tell that. We learn that Joseph went and 'bought' the fine linen; and lastly St. Mark tells us that the 'other' Mary who beheld where He was laid was 'the mother of Jesus,' and not, therefore, that Mary whose faith had anticipated on the living person of our Lord an act which His dead form would not need, transmuting the office of despair into the highest and most beautiful act of faith.

St. Mark's history of the Resurrection, the Forty Days, and the Ascension, is full of his own peculiarities, which, however, never come into decisive conflict with that of the other witnesses. It is the briefest of all, and yet, as to range, the most comprehensive; it hurries over the great leading points with a hasty but sure pen, and carries the history beyond the utmost point reached by any of the other evangelists. Thus St. Mark, who takes up the holy history latest of all, overpasses them all at the close.

Adhering to our plan of noting only the specialities of this evangelist—those things which are positive additions to the other three—we shall have but few observations to make upon

the mere history of the risen Lord itself. He dwells at length upon three points: the day of the resurrection; the period of the final commission; the ascension and subsequent rule of the Son of God. In his narrative of the great day,—which he alone introduces with the bright note ‘at the rising of the sun,’—he mentions the embarrassment of the women as to the rolling away of the stone, and the silent fear which possessed the women, ‘speaking to no man’ as they went to ‘tell His disciples,’—for so we reconcile the first two evangelists. He then returns—in what bears all the marks of being, like St. John’s last chapter, a later supplement of his own hand—to Mary Magdalene, whom he here emphatically announces as the fruit of Christ’s sevenfold victory, ‘out of whom He had cast seven devils,’ and to whom ‘He appeared first.’ And he tells us, what we otherwise should not have known, that the disciples whom she found ‘mourning and weeping’ believed not her message for grief. He hints at the appearance ‘in another form’ to the two whose retreat to Emmaus He intercepted. True to his uniform condemnation of the apostles’ unbelief, he informs us that neither were these two burning witnesses believed; and that when the Lord appeared to the eleven ‘as they sat at meat,’ He sharply upbraided them—not for their unbelief generally—but for this especially, that ‘they believed not them which had seen Him after He was risen.’

It is characteristic of the abruptness of St. Mark’s concluding sentences that he passes instantly from this severe condemnation to the glorious commission, nowhere more glorious than here. There is no passage in the four Gospels which degrades the apostles more deeply than the one; and none which exalts them more highly than the other. The commission with its charter of privileges granted to faith is one more and final *new* section in St. Mark. It is the same commission which St. Matthew records, but with a clause added which is in perfect harmony with the highly symbolical character of St. Mark’s Gospel, which is consistent with the general strain of his exhibition of the might and dignity of the love of God, and which, lastly, has been amply confirmed, in its true spiritual meaning, by the great signet of Christian history. No one can pass from the words recorded by St. Mark over into the Acts, and the later (or earlier) writings of the apostles, without feeling that the evangelist was inspired to give the grand keynote to much of the richest and most profound theology of the church. With St. Mark’s words lingering in his ears, ‘Preach the Gospel to every creature,’ let him listen to St. Peter’s preaching of the restoration of all things, read St. Paul’s inspired revelations concerning the destiny of the creature, and

the great prospects opened up in the latest writings of the New Testament, and he will feel that St. Mark's Gospel is, in its glorious close, the sublimest and deepest, most comprehensive and far-reaching, of all the evangelists.

But we have not yet reached its close. St. Mark's account of the Ascension is without those wonderful revelations of glory and mystery which throw a veil of such rich drapery over the transition from St. Peter's Gospel to his Acts. But it is unspeakably sublime in its simplicity. And its simple diction blends the phraseology of the historical and the theological parts of the New Testament in a very remarkable manner, in a manner which gives a final touch of peculiarity to this Gospel. It ends as it began with the fulfilment of the greatest Old Testament prediction; it seats the Redeemer 'on the right hand of God,' using the sacred expression which our Lord made so prominent in His own discourse, and which is the centre of all the mediatorial theology of the Acts and Epistles. And in the final clause of that conclusion,—always the last line in every Harmony,—it sums up in one vast sentence the Acts of the Apostles and all subsequent history of the Christian Church.

We have accomplished our unambitious task, that of giving our readers—mainly young theological students—a few hints for the study of St. Mark in his individuality as one of the Evangelists. Any thing more than a mere outline of such a study would of course have been unsuitable to these pages. But it would be very easy to follow out the hints here given in the margin of a Greek Harmony with great advantage. Abundant critical matter is at hand in all the current Introductions; and the time would not be misspent which should be devoted to noting any such marks of individuality in every one of the writers of the New Testament. Those who have neither time nor ability to grapple with all the difficulties involved in the scientific harmony of the Four Gospels,—a task which, however deeply profitable and interesting, should not be entered upon otherwise than thoroughly and exhaustively,—may in this subordinate and humbler manner turn their Harmonistic studies to good account. We can promise to those who have not made the experiment a very peculiar pleasure in this use of their Greek Harmony;* and the profit will soon appear in their distinct and vivid realisation of the style, contents, and meaning of each of the four Evangelists, and their deeper appreciation of the whole Gospel to which they separately contribute.

* The same holds good of the thoughtful use of the English Harmony. While writing this paper, we have received a copy of Mr. Mimpriss's *Gospel Treasury*, as based upon Greswell; a book which contains a larger mass of sound information (with some little irrelevant matter) than at the same cost can be met with in any other book of the kind.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

The Cross of Christ: or, Incidents, Scenes, and Lessons of the Crucifixion. By William Landels. London: Nisbet and Co. 1864.

PITY that Mr. Landels, writing on such a subject, and, on the whole, writing so well upon it, should disfigure the face of his book with a dedication which most sensible men will take as a warning to go no further! 'To my dear Friends,' [he names them,] 'in grateful acknowledgment of their manifold kindness, I inscribe *These*.' *These* what? Is it a *constructio ad sensum*, and so equivalent to *the manifold kindnesses contained in this volume*? We wish good men and wise, like our author, would spare our honest mother tongue the shame which affectations of smartness are perpetually causing her. Apart from this opening blunder, there is not so much to complain of in Mr. Landels' English. It is faulty at times, and often dull and cumbrous; but it is much less thickly set with Americanisms than we feared to find it; and, on occasion, it exhibits an ease and energy every way worthy of the subjects which it undertakes to expound and illustrate. Fourteen topics suggested by the history of our Lord's passion are discussed by the writer in the same number of discourses; these topics, as named by Mr. Landels, being, Glorifying in the Cross, the Baptism of Suffering, the Agony in the Garden, the Crucifixion, the Saviour's Prayer for His Murderers, the Saviour's Inability to save Himself, the Three Crosses, the Three Marys by the Cross, the Desertion, the Cry of Weakness, the Finished Work, the Yielding up of His Spirit to the Father, the Effects of Looking to the Crucified Saviour, and Conformity to the Saviour's Death. It is refreshing in these days of callous-hearted and self-satisfied scepticism to meet with an author who is bold enough to believe that the Christian Church has not been bes fooling itself these two thousand years, in receiving the so-called Evangelical doctrines as the truth of God; and who is fanatical enough to treat these doctrines as if they deserved and demanded some little expenditure of feeling on the part of those who deal with them. Mr. Landels knows what he is writing about; he is misled by no crotchets or paradoxes: soberly, seriously, and with constant reference to the religious benefit of his readers, he presents and argues the great verities of the faith; withal, a fine tone of reverence and true ministerial earnestness pervades his work, and challenges for it a respect, which, it is possible, the author is

not careful it should win by subtlety or grasp of thought, or by any fascination of language or style. We remark an approach to dramatic exaggeration here and there, which we would fain be rid of; and we are not sure that Mr. Landels always escapes those perilous places into which the most cautious thinkers are apt to fall when they endeavour to track out the supreme mystery of our Redemption. Generally speaking, however, the author is a wary and safe guide; and if his book is not a possession for all time, it is one which no devout person can handle without advantage, and which a large circle of readers may study and muse upon to the quickening of their Christian intelligence, and the improvement of their Christian life.

Discussions on the Gospels. In Two Parts. Part I. On the Language employed by our Lord and His Disciples. Part II. On the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel, and on the Origin and Authenticity of the Gospels. By Alexander Roberts, D.D. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Macmillan and Co. 1864.

DR. ROBERTS's bold challenge and vigorous criticism of the received opinion, in regard to the language usually employed by our Lord and the apostles in their public addresses, has excited so much attention and commanded so much acceptance as must have satisfied the writer. The evidence of this is that such a work should already have passed into a second edition. Our limits in this notice will not permit us to do justice to Dr. Roberts's able and elaborate discussions. We must say, however, that we are not yet so far convinced by his arguments as to be prepared to accept his propositions in full. His observations in regard to St. Paul's address in Hebrew to the multitude at Jerusalem, (Acts xxii.,) (the strongest point in the case of those whom he opposes,) appear to us particularly inconclusive. We admit that the Roman captain spoke in Greek, and that the Jews from Asia spoke in Greek. We should have thought it nothing surprising, moreover, if Paul, himself a Jew of Tarsus, to whom Greek was as a native tongue, had spoken in Greek to a crowd of Jews in the streets of Jerusalem, of whom a large proportion must have been foreign or Hellenistic Jews. But the fact that, notwithstanding, it was not in Greek, but in Hebrew, that the apostle did address the people, does not appear to us to have been allowed by Dr. Roberts its true significance. We take the reason to have been that Paul wished to appeal from his enemies the foreign Jews to the whole multitude of Jews present at Jerusalem, including especially the less cultured Jews from Galilee, and from the lower classes of the population of Jerusalem, of whom a goodly proportion were free-hearted Christians. He wished, also, to use the ancient and ancestral language because of its associations and of the greater depth of feeling which, in a homeborn Jew, it was capable of calling forth. Hence he spoke in Hebrew. *And the people understood Him.*

Now if this be so, it does seem very hard to believe that our Saviour, a quarter of a century earlier, when speaking to the unlettered and intensely patriotic peasants and fishermen of Galilee, should have abandoned their vernacular in order to speak to them in a foreign and Gentile tongue. Whilst fully conceding the value of Dr. Roberts's discussions, and prepared to admit that he has established some important points, we are not yet prepared to go the whole length of his conclusions.

The Earlier Years of our Lord's Life on Earth. By the Rev. William Hanna, D.D., L.L.D. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1864.

WE have had occasion to speak in high commendation of Dr. Hanna's two former expository works, on the history of our Lord's Passion, and of the Forty Days after the Resurrection. The present volume is the first of a series which is intended to conduct the reader along the line of our Lord's life until the great day of His suffering. The whole together will then form a connected history of the Saviour's Mediatorial Work on Earth, as revealed in the four Gospels.

It would be too much to expect that the same height and strain of excellence should be maintained throughout this extensive plan as we recognised in Dr. Hanna's two former volumes, more especially the first. The present is good, thoughtful, carefully written. All is sound exposition and theology. But there is less originality than we could have desired, less close and penetrating thought. The treatment of the Temptation, in particular, is below the demands of the subject and the reputation of Dr. Hanna. We doubt whether it is wise for any man, especially if he has a high reputation to maintain, to map out for himself so extensive a course. It becomes almost a necessity that the treatment throughout should be comparatively slight. Dr. Hanna would have done better, as we venture to think, if he had concentrated his thought on certain great and cardinal *momenta*, to borrow the German style for once, certain critical epochs or specially suggestive histories in the course of our Lord's Life on Earth.

Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid. By Professor C. Piazzi Smyth. London: A. Strahan and Co. 1864.

THE book bearing this mysterious title is one of which it is hard to say whether the contents are more Christian, more scientifically marvellous, or more dreamy. Here and there the *Arabian Nights* might be supposed to have set the author a romancing. At the same time, large parts of his work are occupied with mathematical and physical discussions, conducted on the severest principles of modern philosophical investigation, and tending to conclusions of the most curious and startling description possible. Meanwhile an

unaffected but strong spirit of faith in God, and of deference to the truth and authority of the Scriptures, pervades the whole, and gives it charm and nobility, even where its doctrines appear to us most open to question.

Mr. Smyth's work is an echo, an expansion, and, in certain respects, an advance, by independent and original researches, upon the theory of the late Mr. John Taylor's remarkable book, entitled, *The Great Pyramid: Why was it Built?* Following in the wake of Mr. Taylor, though not with unqualified acceptance of his views, Professor Smyth maintains that the principal Pyramid of Ghizeh is not a work of human ingenuity and labour alone, but was constructed, under Divine direction and guidance, as a revelation before Revelation; that it was built by a people of Shemite stock—the earlier Hyksos or Shepherd-Kings of Manetho and other ancient writers—ages before the period of Moses; and that the positions, form, dimensions, and various internal features of the Pyramid are such as to show that it was planned and framed for the purpose of giving and conserving to mankind the knowledge of several great facts belonging to the domain of religion, physics, and social economy. Whatever the design of the other Egyptian pyramids may have been, the chief of the Ghizeh group, confessedly the oldest and most perfect of them all, has, according to Mr. Smyth, the unique and peculiar characteristics we have mentioned. It is not a place of retreat from a second deluge. It is not a temple, or an altar, or an observatory. It is not Joseph's grand corn-store, nor even one of the desolate places which proud monarchs of old used to rear for their tombs. It is an everlasting witness in stone to truths which man could hardly have discovered without aid from above; which, in some cases, though known to the pyramid-builders, have been lost for ages of ages, and are only now beginning to show themselves again above the horizon of modern science; and which, under this strange providential commendation, it is the privilege and duty of the civilised nations of the earth, and particularly our own, to seek to understand and apply, in accordance with existing necessities, and with the obvious designs of the Supreme Controller of all things.

Now at first sight this hypothesis has an air of more than absurdity; and we almost tremble at the thought of the company to which English common-sense will be ready to relegate the 'Astronomer Royal for Scotland' on hearing it propounded. But let there be fair play. Suppose our scientific visionary to affirm, on the highest authority, that in the '*finished parts*' of the Great Pyramid 'there is not a vestige of heathenism, nor the smallest indulgence in anything approaching to idolatry, not even the most distant allusion to the sun or moon, or any of the starry host of heaven.' Suppose that, taking the mean between the measurements of the French expedition in 1799, and the calculation of Colonel Howard-Vyse in 1837, he should reckon the base of the pyramid to be 763·81 feet in length, while its horizontal height, as determined by this line, and by the means of three careful calculations of the

angle of the bevelled casing [viz., $51^{\circ} 51' 14.3''$] was 486.2567 feet ; and so should be prepared to show $[486.2567 : 763.81 \times 2 :: 1 : 8.14159, \&c.]$ that its altitude was to twice its base as the diameter of a circle to its circumference. Suppose that, assuming, with Sir John Herschel, that the polar axis of the earth equals 500,495,000 English inches, he should make it appear that the unit of linear measure at the Pyramid was exactly an inch of one five-hundred-millionth of this axis of rotation, the 'grand standard' being one ten-millionth of the axis, or fifty of these units strung together. Suppose that, the area of the base of the pyramid and the height of it being what they are, he is able to argue, that these elements furnish analogies corresponding most strikingly with the diameter of the earth in lat. 45° and in lat. $29^{\circ} 59' 6''$ N., the latitude of the Pyramid itself, thus indicating, with wonderful distinctness, the true figure of the earth ; while these same analogies also point to one of the most recent of all astronomical theories, the deviation of the earth in meridian direction from a strictly ellipsoidal figure. Suppose that, while he can confidently state that the four sides of the Pyramid are due north, south, east, and west, he can likewise show that the position and bearings of the entrance-passage and air-channels agree remarkably with certain important astronomical phenomena, as they would present themselves in the latitudes already spoken of at the date B.C. 2500. Suppose that he should adduce a multitude of reasons for rejecting the theory which makes the famous porphyry coffer in the king's chamber a sarcophagus, and, in confirmation of his doctrine that it is a measure of content, should prove that its capacity, as determined by the figures of Mr. Greaves and M. Jomard, is 70,982.4 cubic inches, while four English 'quarters' are exactly = 70,982.144 cubic inches. Suppose that, by an elaborate series of calculations, he should be successful in demonstrating that the situation and circumstances of the said porphyry coffer are precisely such as they ought to be, in case it was intended to be kept at the mean temperature of the latitude of the Pyramid. Suppose, finally, that Professor Smyth should point to various internal arrangements and fittings of the building as receiving their most probable interpretation in the view, which makes them indicative of the sacred week of the Book of Genesis, and of other great time divisions of the primeval world.

Let all this be supposed, and more, which the author urges, as having the same general significance. How of the day-dreaming now ? Does it not become clear, with this remarkable assemblage of facts and arguments before us, that, despite our prejudices, the vision must be allowed to be a reality ; and that the great Ghizeh Pyramid is no other than a Divinely-ordained monument for all time ; at once the expositor of the highest wisdom of the pre-Abrahamic ages ; the lesson-book out of which mankind might continue to read, if it would, or might learn afresh, if it forgot, what God had first taught it respecting the earth and the heavens, respecting space, time, measure and weight, respecting things sacred and things

profane; and, notably in our own days, a great prophet risen again to rebuke our scientific pride, and to put us back into the paths of practical knowledge and truth? We confess we are not prepared for this conclusion. Looking at some of Mr. Smyth's points, we do not wonder that in March last Lord Neaves, Vice-President in the chair at the Royal Society, Edinburgh, should have said, 'If these things are only coincidences, they are most extraordinary coincidences; but if they are facts, that is, if the metrical proportions indicated were designedly and purposely established, they form the most remarkable discovery of the age.' We do not wonder that even Sir John Herschel has expressed himself as struck by one or two of the leading features of this strange argument. Yet we should equally wonder, if either these or any others of our philosophers were convinced by it. Nothing is more untrustworthy and misleading than coincidences. Mr. Smyth tells us, that 'the theory, meaning, and then even the very history of the Great Pyramid' seemed, as he pursued his inquiries, to 'open out almost spontaneously when viewed in connexion with right leading ideas.' This is exactly what we speak of. An ingenious man sits down, and, with the best possible intentions, manufactures 'history' and a whole fabric of coincidences out of 'right leading ideas,' exaggerated, distorted, and misapplied.

We take Professor Smyth's theory to be an example of this kind of operation. Some of his figures are wonderful. We hardly know what to make of them. They have an air of reality. Probably there is an element of truth in them. But, for the most part, we doubt, and are non-content. Accident, the sense of symmetry and proportion, architectural skill, religious belief, dynastic policy; these, and similar causes, coupled with some reference, perhaps, on the part of the pyramid-builders to the more striking cosmical and terrestrial phenomena of their geographical position, are much more likely explanations of the form, arrangements, and other features of the monument than any adduced by our author. Whatever may be thought of the supposed relations between certain passages of the Pyramid and the upper and lower culminations of the pole star 4,300 years ago, every reader of Mr. Smyth's book will feel that a heavy strain is put upon his intelligence, when he is called upon to believe that the linear base of the structure was designed to be symbolical of the earth's diameter, and that the porphyry coffer in the heart of it was placed there, not without Divine direction, in order that the Egyptians and all mankind for ever might be furnished with weights and measures worthy of themselves and of their vocation on the earth. The author attempts to confirm his theory in several places by quotations from Scripture. As to these there can be but one opinion. If they are not utterly misunderstood and misapplied, they yield no manner of support to the opinions they are designed to strengthen. Mr. Smyth's overdoing of his argument on this ground will seriously impair the force even of those points of it at which it is most powerful. We still incline to the belief that the

Great Pyramid, in common with the rest of its order, was mainly intended to be a royal sepulchre; and we are satisfied that, unless the able and excellent author of the present work can produce a better-knit and more cumulative argument in favour of his hypothesis, he must be content to see it drift away into the darkness, where so many other clever and well-meant speculations have found their grave. We await with interest the results of the observations, which, we understand, the Professor is now making, or just about to make, in person, in the chosen region of his scientific inquiries. Meanwhile, we commend his very fascinating, paradoxical, and truly Christian book on 'Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid' to all lovers of genuine goodness, of stubborn mathematics, and of adventurous theorizing.

Max Müller's Handbooks for the Study of Sanskrit. The Hitopadésa: Book I. London: Longman and Co. 1864.

THE recent discovery of the Sanskrit Language, it is well known, has wrought a complete revolution in Philology: indeed, it would be hard to say what realm of European literature and thought has not been affected by the waves which this extraordinary event first set in motion. It has given birth to the Science of Language, properly so called. It has thrown an unlooked-for light upon the early affinities and migrations of mankind. It has gone a great way towards clearing up the mystery which hung around the Vedas and other sacred books of the Hindus. It has furnished the key to the arrow-headed inscriptions of Persia. It has given us back in part, and has put us in the way of interpreting correctly, the mysterious words of the Zendavesta. It has broken ground,—though, as yet, not much more than this,—within that vast region of Buddhist faith and ethics over which the all but unknown Pali presides. Last, not least, its magic wand has evoked order out of the chaos of the Greek dialects, has determined and adjusted the relations which bind together the matchless tongues of Plato and of Tully, and, at innumerable points, has given precision and new life to our knowledge of the Bible, and of the manifold writings of the early Christian ages, which either spring out of the Sacred Volume or cluster about it. The time is not distant, when a competent elementary knowledge of Sanskrit will be a *sine quâ non* for the Greek and Latin scholar, whether classic or divine; and we are glad to observe, that, altogether apart from the attention which Missionaries and civilians in India are so wisely paying to the language, a large and growing body of Englishmen at home are devoting themselves to Sanskrit, less for the sake of its literature, than because of the purchase which it will give them upon the theory of human speech, and, in particular, upon the contents of the Holy Scriptures, and the composition and meaning of the immortal literary productions of ancient Greece and Rome. At present, however, the progress of this noble study is greatly hindered by the want of suitable and easily accessible grammars, lexicons, and other text-

books. For the most part we are obliged to go to Germany or France for our introductory grammars; the only complete and adequate lexicon is as rare as it is costly; and though we are not wholly destitute of other works designed to pave the way for English readers into the arcana of Sanskrit, they are none of them precisely such as the highest methods of modern education, and the wants of the bulk of our students, call for. The series of 'handbooks' now announced by Max Müller promises to meet a widely-felt necessity; and we welcome the leader of them as the beginning of a new era in the attractive sphere of learning to which they belong. The first book of the well-known popular Hindu work, the *Hitopadésa*, is the Sanskrit text which Mr. Müller exhibits in this earliest volume of his series. It is printed of large octavo size, in a good clear Devanāgarī type, and is accompanied by interlinear transliteration into Roman characters, grammatical analysis, and a close English translation. About half-way through the transliteration ceases, and some distance before the end the grammatical analysis is discontinued also. The English translation, however, runs throughout. Several valuable pages of introduction explain the reasons of the publication of the volume, and teach the student of Sanskrit how to use the help thus offered him with the least loss of time and power. We strongly recommend Mr. Müller's very sensible and well-constructed book, and trust he will make as much haste in carrying out the rest of his scheme as a due regard to exactness and vigour of treatment will allow. We remark with pleasure that a Sanskrit Grammar for beginners is in course of preparation under his auspices, and that a Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Professor Benfey is already in the press.

Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., L.L.D., &c., &c. By Thomas Stamford Raffles, Esq., B.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, Stipendiary Magistrate for the Borough of Liverpool. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1864.

THIS volume reached us after our last number had gone to press; but though somewhat late, we cannot allow the record of the eminently successful life and labours of Dr. Raffles to pass unnoticed. His able and popular ministry, his catholic spirit, and his singularly genial temperament, made him a favourite every where; and his name is one which thousands would not willingly let die.

Thomas Raffles was born in London, in the year 1788, within a stone's throw of what was then known as the French Church, Spitalfields. His mother was a pious and devoted Methodist; and his first religious impressions, resulting in a very early conversion, he ascribed to the Divine blessing on the labours of Wesleyan ministers, and especially of the Rev. John Aikenhead. He was, indeed, for some time a member of the Wesleyan Society, until he was sent to a boarding-school at Peckham, conducted by a Baptist minister, where

he attended a Presbyterian chapel, under the charge of the Rev. W. B. Collyer, of whose church he afterwards became a member. Perhaps the blending of religious influences from different quarters in his youth may to some extent account for that absence of sectarian narrowness which so greatly distinguished him in later years.

At about fifteen years of age he was removed from school, and became for a short time a clerk in Doctor's Commons. Though the son of a solicitor, and the father of a barrister and stipendiary magistrate, Thomas Raffles did not take kindly to the study of the law. The occupation was uncongenial, and after a brief trial he was permitted to return to school again, with special reference to a preparation for the Christian ministry.

From Peckham to Homerton College, where he spent four years under the care of Pye Smith; from Homerton, after various invitations in other directions, to the pastorate of a church at Hammersmith; from Hammersmith to Liverpool, the biography traces minutely the course of its subject. In the twenty-fourth year of his age, in April, 1812, he became pastor of the church then worshipping at Newington chapel, Liverpool, with which, in three successive chapels, he was connected for nearly fifty years.

Of the qualities which rendered his ministry so attractive during so many years, the most prominent appears to have been that singular charm of voice and manner which would have made even commonplace discourses popular, impressive, and useful. And he did not preach commonplace discourses. He had a well-stored mind, a retentive memory, a poetic imagination, and a refined taste. He pleased the more educated portion of his audience, not perhaps by his originality and profundity, so much as by the beauty and elegance of his style and delivery; he pleased the common people by his simplicity and earnestness. And throughout his long ministry he endeavoured to make every sermon give a certain sound in reference to the great Christian doctrines; he delighted to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

The success of Dr. Raffles' ministry is seen in the history of his church. As an illustration of the power of a single man, labouring for successive years among the same people, known, loved, and honoured by more than one generation in many families under his pastoral care, his life may be compared with that of William Jay of Bath, or of John Angell James of Birmingham. In all these cases, a singular vivacity and energy of character maintained to the last the freshness of the ministry, and secured the continued prosperity of the church.

For numberless details of the life of a popular and distinguished minister, in perpetual requisition for special service in all parts of the kingdom,—of a large-hearted Christian gentleman, in constant intercourse with the best and noblest spirits of his age,—we must refer our readers to the book itself, cordially endorsing the simple and manly language of the preface. 'It is perhaps difficult for a son to become the impartial biographer of a father. But I am not conscious that

I have omitted any thing from a desire to present only the pleasing aspect of his character. There was in truth little that was otherwise; but a careful reader of this biography may glean from its contents a knowledge of his few failings, as well as of his many virtues.'

A Cyclopædia of Illustrations of Moral and Religious Truths, &c. By John Bate. London: H. J. Tresidder. 1865.

THIS laborious compilation is from the pen of a Wesleyan minister, now retired from the full work of his itinerant vocation, and is dedicated to the venerable Thomas Jackson. It may be described as a common-place book of classified extracts on moral and religious subjects. Here may be found quotations from many popular modern writers. Among the living moderns quoted, are Reade, Cumming, and Tupper, Richard Roberts, Coley, Allon, Punshon; among the deceased, Beaumont and Newton. Among the poets Longfellow seems to be the favourite. Cowper, however, and Wordsworth are pretty often quoted; so is Young occasionally, and Shakspeare a few times. Dr. Harvard, R. Montgomery, and Ragg are also quoted. Milton, Spenser, Dryden, Pope, Tennyson, appear very rarely. Such great ancients of our Protestant theology as Hooker, Hall, Taylor, Howe, and South, are fairly used; Owen also, and Flavel, and Bunyan, Keach, and Goodwin, and Gouge, have contributed their quotas. The Wesleyan standards are duly quoted, from Wesley to Watson and Bunting. But, in such a compilation as the present we are surprised to miss the name of Henry Rogers. We could better have spared Sprague, or Thorneycroft, or even Thackeray. Neither is Pye Smith quoted. For such a Cyclopædia he would have been more available than F. W. Robertson, notwithstanding the earnestness and penetration of that favourite modern preacher. S. Warren is quoted, but not Ralph Wardlaw; C. Dickens, but not R. Treffry; Augustus Sala, but not Bishop Horsley. There is, notwithstanding, a very large collection of extracts from a very large number of authors, including many of the highest distinction. We could have wished the volume reduced by many omissions; but we do not doubt that there are those who will find in it both entertainment and instruction; and we are led to anticipate for it a large circulation. In a second edition, the author may effect some important improvements.

Studies for Stories. Vols. I. and II. Alexander Strahan. London. 1864.

THESE are very refined and charming stories, far superior to most of those which are specially prepared for young people; and our readers can hardly do better than make choice of them for New Year's presents to their daughters.

**** An Index for Vol. XXIII. will be given with our next Number.**

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