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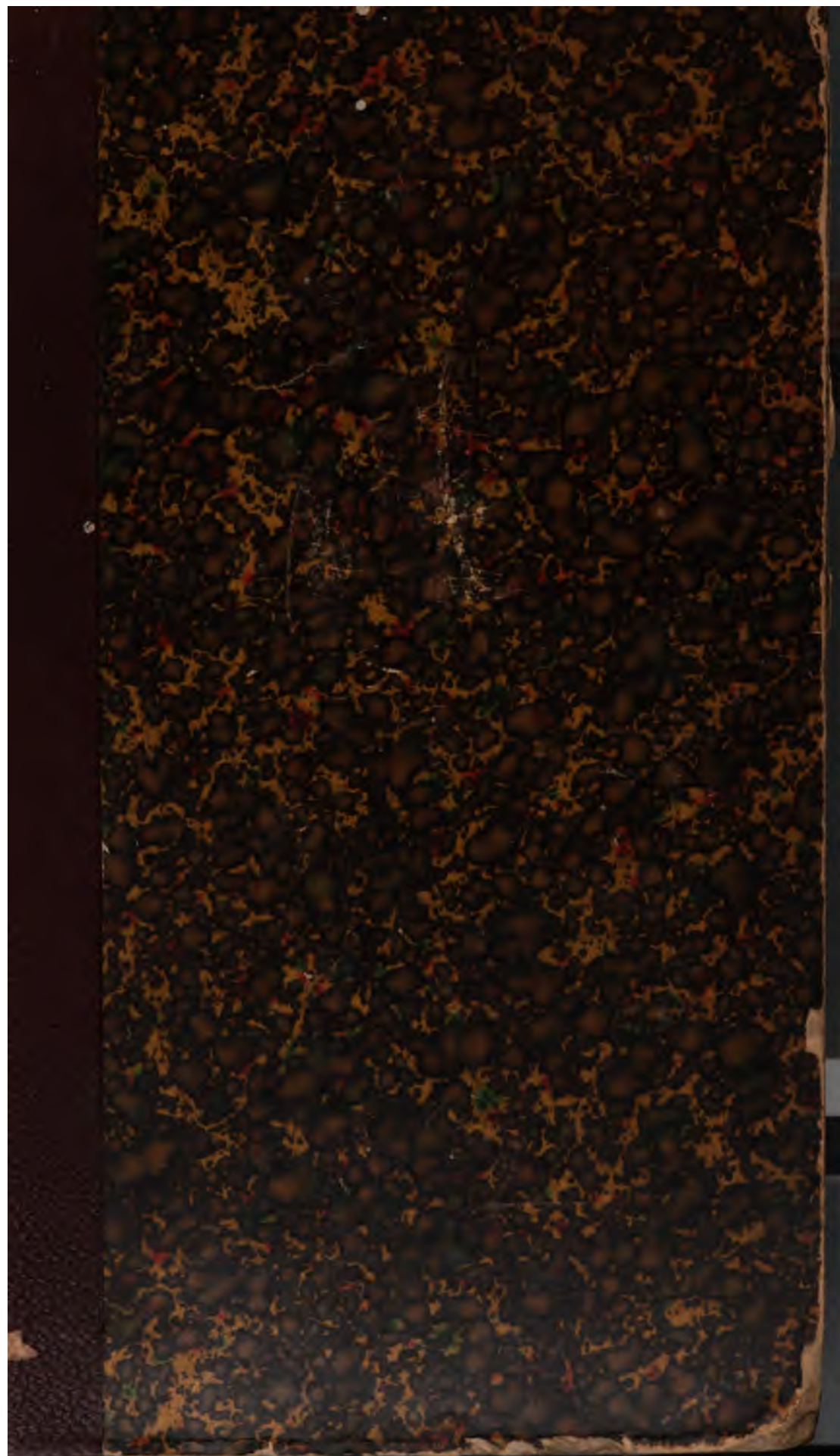
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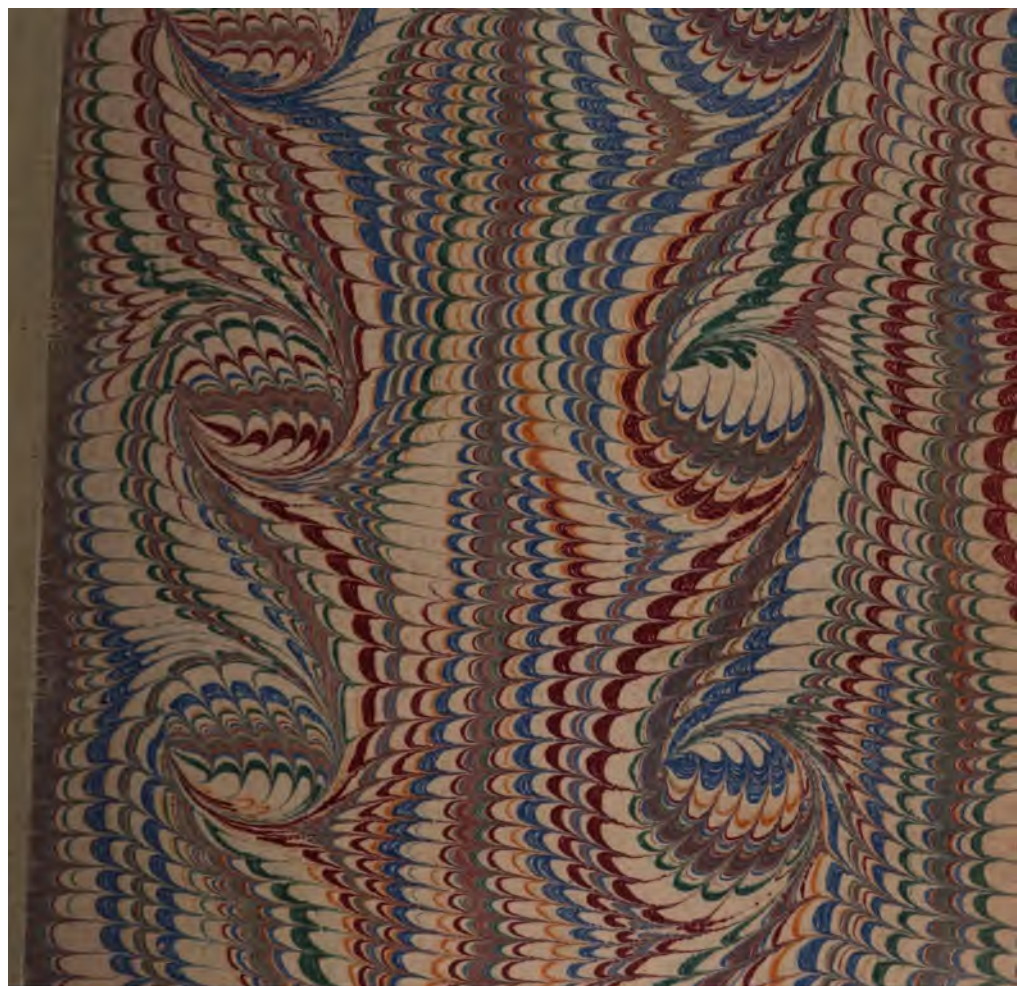
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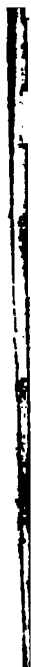












**ANNEX**

# THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

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## THE TWO FAUSTS.

IT is a rare thing in modern literature that the same story should be treated in two great poems; still rarer that both should be dramas, and each highly characteristic of the age that produced it. This is the case with the history of Doctor Faustus and his pact with the Evil One. Goethe's treatment of this tale is, to use an expression of Emerson, the high-water mark of modern German poetry. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that, important as are the other works of its author, with their intense intellectual passion and simple tenderness, their chaste sensuousness, their deep, quiet wisdom and sunny charm, and considerable as were the contributions of his contemporaries to the lasting possessions of mankind, the culture of our age would lose more by the want of *Faust* than by the destruction of every other poem which the classical period of German poetry produced. It was among the earliest works that Goethe planned, and the last that he finished; and, as he himself was a man of all but universal culture, it is the expression of the highest effort as well as the noblest attainment of the period. Marlowe's *Faustus* is a play of a very different character. It is marked by depth and intensity rather than scope of genius, by concentrated passion rather than objective insight and just appreciation of the comparative value of the various elements of human life. It is the work of a young man, full of exuberant vigour, but of vigour not yet fully disciplined and subjected to a poetical purpose, as we afterwards see it in his *Edward II.* Yet in many respects it is hardly less remarkable than the German poem. It was the first word clearly spoken by the English drama; the first work that bore the unmistakable impress of that tragic power which was to find its highest embodiment in *Lear* and *Macbeth*, in *Hamlet* and *Othello*. Thus, while

Goethe's *Faust* was the mature and final literary expression of the thought of an age, the *Faustus* of Marlowe was the prelude to

"Those melodious bursts that fill  
The spacious times of great Elizabeth  
With sounds that echo still."

But this contrast renders the identity of subject the more remarkable. What was there in the tale to attract poets so dissimilar, and to render it a fitting vehicle for so much of the noblest thought of each?

We turn in vain to the earliest "*Faust Book*," which Marlowe may perhaps have known, for an answer. It is a singularly dull compilation. The one merit of the author is his matter-of-fact credulity, which, doubtless, induced him to write down every story pretty nearly as he heard it. His end is edification, and he displays throughout a very proper religious horror of, and perhaps a little unsanctified curiosity with respect to, the doings of the great conjuror. Of grace or humour, of fancy or sympathetic insight, no trace is to be found in his pages; nor are the narratives he has collected in themselves of any great value. The only passages that strike the reader are the broken and distorted fragments of earlier legends; the only incidents that move him are those which the later poets have lighted up with the fire of their genius, and which, therefore, shine with a lustre not their own.

It was not then to literary skill that the extraordinary popularity the story once enjoyed was due; indeed, the earliest book in which it is treated is merely a record of that popularity, and owes what small interest it possesses, apart from the light it throws upon the poems of Marlowe and Goethe, to the fact that it seems to be a pretty accurate report of the tales that lived upon the lips of the German peasantry during the age of the Reformation. These tales had grown as, in an earlier period, the legends of the saints had grown, and spread through the whole of the north of Europe as these had spread through Christendom, because they were the embodiment and imaginative expression of feelings that were then all but universal. Nor is it difficult to realize, even in our own day, what these feelings were.

The age of mediæval Christianity had passed away. It almost seemed as if it had spent its last strength in the greatest of all its intellectual efforts—the grand poem in which Dante summoned the Christian world before the bar of its own ideal, judged it by the laws it had for centuries undoubtingly accepted, and found it so terribly wanting. But even while that poet was chanting the dirge of a dead system of thought and feeling, the greatest of his contemporaries, Petrarch, was singing the cradle song of a new-born age.

When we look back to the Renaissance, across the toilful centuries that divide us from it, it almost seems as if it had been the world's one holiday

"Since the sad last pilgrim left the dark mid shrine"

of the earlier gods. Behind it lay the school-time of the Middle Ages,



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forth the Churches have vied with each other in bearing witness to the sinfulness of the human heart and the emptiness of life, and it has only been outside the walls of either communion that another doctrine has been preached.

But for a time each of the ideals was a vital intellectual force. The hostility between them had become conscious, and the world was divided by the conflict. To those who had drunk deeply of the new wine of the Renaissance, the revival of the theological spirit appeared a return to a narrow and gloomy dotage. They turned with contemptuous indifference from the squabbles of priests about their dogmas to the emendation of some classical text, to the latest antique that had been disinterred, or the newest picture that had been painted. The zealous Christian, on the other hand, viewed the highest purpose of such lives with horror, as nothing better than the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life; to him the very miracles of intellect and skill in which they delighted were but a fairy banquet that might seem splendid indeed to those who sat thereat, but which, to eyes cleansed by the waters of baptism, was too plainly a feast of garbage. But it was only over the most earnest minds that either ideal could exercise an undisputed sway. Even the religious would occasionally feel, though they might resist, the charm of a fuller, freer, and more joyous life; even the worldly, if we must call them so, would be haunted, more frequently than they cared to acknowledge, by misgivings as to the wisdom of their choice. Such were the feelings which found an imaginative expression in the story of Faustus, a man who had gained the whole world and lost his own soul. An age less sensuous or less intellectual could not have felt the power of the temptation; one less spiritual would never have assented to the justice of the doom.

Marlowe was peculiarly fitted to treat such a subject. In England alone had an earnest attempt been made to fuse the two ideals, so as to unite the purity and lofty ethical sentiment of the one to the wider tolerance and comprehension of the other. The memory of the earlier mysteries rendered the introduction of sacred subjects and of good and bad angels no innovation on the stage. The character of the poet's own genius, his love of the grand, the immense, the deeply tragic, naturally inclined him to the temper which the story demanded. His manner, which depends for its effects always on bold and certain outline rather than on elaborate detail, was the only one that could have been successfully employed. His very scepticism was an advantage, as it enabled him to approach his subject with perfect freedom; while he was far too great a dramatist to cut away the ground from under his own feet by casting any doubt on the credibility of the tale.

All these circumstances contributed to lend the play its peculiar character. Its best scenes display a power which is to be found nowhere else in our literature. Faustus, as he stands before us here, has much of the grandeur of an ancient myth. He seems allied rather



to Prometheus and Orestes than to the heroes of modern tragedy. Still more does he remind us of the Old Testament characters, who are at once so thoroughly human and yet so strangely removed from the common circumstances of humanity—who, being men of like nature and passions with ourselves, might yet walk with God in the cool of the evening, receive His messengers as guests and wrestle with them, listen to His voice in the night-watches, or summon the spirit of His buried prophet to appear before them. Thus Faustus also is akin to, yet forever removed from us; his passions are ours, but they are cast in a larger mould and equal to a more awful fate; he moves before us always distinct and yet at a distance; he is real, but not with our reality. The ability to create and sustain such a character would alone secure to Marlowe a place among the great poets, and in no other way could his subject have been rendered even tolerable. Had he brought his hero any nearer to us, had he once deviated into pathos, or sought to move our tears, the conclusion would have appeared so horrible as inevitably to excite our incredulity or our disgust. As it is, we only feel that the Titan has to bear a Titan's fate; and thus, without darkening the character of Faustus so as to exclude him from our sympathy, he reconciles us to his doom.

Yet there were two difficulties in the way of the dramatization of the story, neither of which Marlowe has entirely overcome. It is simply impossible to believe that any sane man would knowingly sacrifice an eternity of celestial happiness for twenty-four years of earthly enjoyment; and the greater his intellect is represented as being, the more obvious does the impossibility become. It is, indeed, conceivable that under the influence of violent passion such a step might be taken; but this would alter the whole character of the story, and necessarily modify its termination. No intellectual scepticism can here be introduced to do away with the improbability of the tale; the man who bargains with the devil cannot doubt the existence of heaven and hell. Marlowe sees and boldly faces, though he cannot overcome, this difficulty. He makes his Faustus exclaim:

"Think'st thou that Faustus is so fond to imagine  
That after this life there is any pain?  
Tush, these are trifles and mere old wives' tales."

To which Mephistophilis replies, with perhaps more truth than dramatic propriety—

"But, Faustus, I am an instance to prove the contrary."

Nor can we suppose that it was the author's intention to represent his hero as too sensual to grasp the idea of such a hell as Mephistophilis describes:—

"Within the bowels of these elements,  
Where we are tortured and remain for ever,  
Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed  
In one self place; for where we are is hell,  
And where hell is, there must we ever be;  
And to conclude, when all the world dissolves,  
And every creature shall be purified,  
All places shall be hell that are not heaven."



For, eagerly as Faust desires the joys of earth, he does so with the imaginative sensuousness of the artist or the poet, not with the dull sensuality of the sot. Indeed, this whole passage contains contradictions which can hardly be reconciled, except on the supposition that Marlowe perceived the difficulty which he could not escape, and preferred boldly stating it to slurring it over.

The second obstacle to an adequate dramatic treatment of the tale lies rather in the construction of the plot than in the characters represented. Early in the piece Faustus signs his contract with the Evil One. By this act his fate is decided, but twenty-four years of pleasure are secured to him. Nothing that happens can either retard or accelerate the action of the play; there can be no gradual development of interest, no careful preparation for the final catastrophe. Thus, the whole body of the drama partakes of the character of an episode. We may readily acquit Marlowe of any share in the dull buffoonery that forms the staple of these scenes; but the very fact that they were inserted by a later hand goes to show that what the poet originally wrote had no very close connection with the leading idea of the tragedy, and so might easily be removed to make way for what seemed better suited to the changed taste or interests of the audience.

If, turning our attention from these defects, we ask what Marlowe did for the story, we shall find that he fully realized the conception of the popular tradition. What was there vaguely hinted is clearly expressed in his verse; and it thus gains a grandeur and a permanent significance which it could not otherwise have possessed. But he adds no new element, he suggests no hidden meanings; his treatment is always perfectly grave and unhesitating.

*Faustus.* Lucifer and Mephistophilis. Ah, gentlemen, I gave them my soul for my cunning.

*Scholars.* God forbid!

*Faustus.* God forbade it indeed; but Faustus has done it."

There lies the whole essence of the tragedy; a grand idea that has been worked out into one of the masterpieces of our literature with that simple good faith which lends to the important scenes an almost Biblical impressiveness. All that is contained in the idea Marlowe gives us, but beyond this he does not attempt to go; it would have been a poetical error if he had done so, since nothing that he could have gained would have made amends for the stern, tragic reality he would have lost.

Such being the character of the play, it is not strange that it should have rivalled the legend itself in its popularity. In England it was received with extraordinary favour, and long retained possession of the stage. It was one of the pieces which the English players took to Germany with them, and it struck deep roots there; for through



almost all the versions\* of the puppet-play of Faust, the outlines of Marlowe's design may be traced.

It is not to a puppet-show that most persons would go in search of poetry; and yet we may there occasionally find a hint of something akin to the power of our old ballads. Thus, in one of these pieces, after Faust has seen, but before he has gained possession of, Helen of Troy, he passes along a darkened street, in which only a single light is burning before a picture of the Madonna. A sudden passion of penitence overcomes him, and he kneels before her, and exclaims, "O Mother of God!—O Mother of God!—O Holy Mother of God!" and then, after a long pause, "And yet I can see in her nothing but Helen."

Many such happy incidents might be noted, but it is chiefly in the treatment of the last scene that most of these plays show any extraordinary felicity. The long monologue is retained, though of course without the splendour of Marlowe's poetry; but its dramatic effectiveness is increased by the following means. A watchman without tells each quarter of the last sad hour that Faust has to live; and in the intervals, by a bold adaptation of an earlier legend, a voice from above is heard:—"Fauste accusatus es; Fauste judicatus es; Fauste in æternum damnatus es." By these interruptions the whole situation gains at once in variety and impressiveness. It was by means of such a play that Goethe, while still a child, was first struck with the greatness of the subject; and this awful voice may have suggested the pitying one that thrills the glooms of his prison scene with a promise of deliverance.

But, though the old story might still strongly impress the imagination of a child, it could no longer satisfy the mind of the mature poet, or deeply affect the feelings of his contemporaries. The age which had produced it was dead, and the feelings it had embodied had passed away. The struggle between the worldly and the spiritual ideal had been succeeded by the conflict of the Churches, which in Germany had been the motive or the pretext for all the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. Then had come the period in which the influence of the French mind had been predominant in Europe. The intellectual leaders of that age accomplished a great task which should never be remembered without gratitude. They boldly faced, and finally overcame, an effete social, political, and religious tyranny and superstition, which was armed with all the terrors of the law. But, in doing this, they had constantly insisted on one set of intellectual qualities, and as constantly ignored or endeavoured to repress another. They made wit the test of truth, and common-sense the criterion of credibility. Hence, with all their clearness, polish, and brilliancy, they  
ing in delicacy of perception, warmth of passion, and imagina-

\*not every exhibitor in Germany has his own version of his most  
are for the most part extremely unwilling to allow their manu-  
to trust to one's memory in comparing them.



tive insight. It could not well be otherwise. The leaders of an army have to fight the enemy, not to enquire into his motives or the justice of his cause; and men who lived in an age when old women were burned for witchcraft were better employed in ridiculing the superstition than in investigating its origin. It is only because the strongholds of popular credulity have been so completely broken down that we can now quietly admire the picturesqueness of their ruins, and even regard them with a certain sentimental regret. Still the views of the age that demolished them were essentially party views, and they were therefore one-sided. Its conception of the human mind, of history, of poetry and art, was shallow and inadequate; and this, as soon as its work was done, was sure to lead to an intellectual reaction.

This great mental revulsion was felt at least as strongly in Germany as elsewhere, but it did not there lead directly to any reassertion of the old faiths. The sentimentality which characterized one phase of the change, it is true, assumed not unfrequently a mystical form, but this pietism was confined to single circles, which were chiefly of an aristocratic character, and to those who stood immediately under their influence. It took no hold of the popular imagination, and though Goethe was interested in it for a time, in his early youth, he had quite outgrown its charm, before even the first of his great works was produced. He therefore approached the story of *Faust* from quite a different point of view from that of Marlowe. The deep ethical significance which it had once possessed had departed. A new spirit must be breathed into it if it was to receive a new life.

To do this was no easy task. Marlowe had only to realize and depict a conception of the popular fancy. His task began and ended with his hero's character and earthly fate. The God he rejects, the Lucifer whom he accepts as his Lord, the heaven he loses, the hell in which he must dwell for ever, were all familiar to the imagination of the spectator. The very difficulty of the compact, on which we have dwelt, must have seemed slight to those who believed that such bargains were by no means rare. But Goethe had to picture all these things so as to render them credible to a sceptical audience. He had to construct a plan of human life, the heights above it, and the depths below. Man's highest aspiration, and his saddest failure, his firmest faith, and his lightest doubt, must all be reflected in the picture. It is this that lends his *Faust* its peculiar character, that unites it to a work so different in every other respect as the *Divine Comedy*, and that distinguishes it from every other poem. Its subject is not a personal sorrow, but the tragedy of human life.

We cannot here enter into an investigation of all the philosophical meanings of Goethe's great poem. It has been studied from very different points of view, and explained in a very different way by various German critics; and thinkers of the most adverse schools have frequently quoted it in support of their opinions. We can



only touch on a few points, and on these only on account of their literary importance. On turning to it from Marlowe's play, the first thing that strikes us is the entirely new conception of the hero's position. In the English drama, the crime of Faustus consists in an effort to transgress the limits which divine wisdom has assigned to human nature. He is dissatisfied with the narrowness of human life, and disgusted with the pettiness of its aims. He is not content

"Only to wonder at unlawful things,  
Whose deepness doth entice such forward wits  
To practise more than heavenly power permits."

His discontent, though it springs from no ignoble aspiration, is the commencement of a rebellion against God. In Goethe's poem all these elements of Faust's character are brought out even more fully because in greater detail; and yet, in spite of them, or rather indeed because of them, the Lord calls Faust "His servant." It is only to Mephistopheles that it seems ridiculous that he should

"Demand from heaven every brightest star,  
And from the earth each pleasure's fullest zest,  
And yet find nothing, near him or afar,  
To satisfy the passion in his breast."

The scorn of the "mocking fiend" is centred upon Faust, because in him those elements in human nature are peculiarly apparent which he holds in the highest contempt. If the sons of God draw strength from gazing on the face of the Lord, if they like to watch the circling and to listen to the music of the spheres, he has no objection. It is not his way of amusing himself, and their language seems a little high flown, but every one to his taste. Nor does he quarrel with the beasts that perish after the short span of life granted them has been passed in full accordance with their natural instincts. But man, the queer little god of the world, who only uses his reason to make himself more bestial than the beasts, is the constant subject of his bitter jests. He would have been better without that faint ray or semblance of the heavenly light, since his highest effort or aspiration is but the short spring of a grasshopper, more of a hop than a flight, from which the weary creature sinks to sing its old song in the grass, and to thrust its nose into every heap of dirt. It is thus that human life, with its noble longings, its high purposes, and pitiful performances, appears to Mephistopheles. But it is not thus the Lord judges. He sees in Faust's lofty, if vague, yearnings, in his discontent with every good that is attainable and therefore finite, the first green buddings of the tree which are the promise of future flowers and fruit. True he now serves in confusion, doubt, and darkness; but he shall be brought, in due time, to the clearness of day. Amid all his perplexities, a consciousness of the right way is left to guide him, and that men can be set free by ceasing to strive after good as a contempt of man is here represented as being a trust in him that of the



good spirit, and what to Marlowe was Faust's darkest crime is to Goethe his noblest virtue.

In the Prologue in Heaven the great ethical conception on which the poem rests is brought clearly before us. On the one side stands the pure intelligence which delights in loving contemplation of the creative power; on the other the spirit who continually denies, and who would fain destroy. Between the two, and subject to both, lie the action, passion, and thought of man. As Mephistopheles says in a later scene:

"He alone dwelleth in unaltering light,  
Us hath he prisoned in eternal darkness,  
O'er you for ever changeth day with night."

Now, just as human life is regarded from the one point of view or the other, it must appear noble or ignoble, a grand effort which is continually checked and thwarted, and yet unvanquished by its thousand-fold defeat, or an empty and sorry farce, that ends in tears instead of laughter. This fundamental opposition in the conception of our being finds its full expression in what German critics have called the wager in heaven. Mephistopheles boasts of his ability to deprive the Lord of His "somewhat remarkable" servant, and free permission is granted him to tempt and mislead Faust to the utmost of his power, as long as he remains on earth. But even while he glories in what he regards as his certain triumph, and threatens,

"Dust shall he eat and that with hearty relish,  
Like my good aunt the celebrated snake,"

the words of the Lord foretell his certain failure.

It is clear from this opening that the conclusion of the tragedy must be different from that which was so forcibly depicted by Marlowe. The soul of this Faust cannot in the end be lost; nay, in all its sins and errors it must, in some strange way, be working out its deliverance. For even with the signature of the bond, the soul of Faust would not be forfeited, the wager of Mephistopheles would not be gained. As long as the spirit of the hero can still aspire, as long as it casts all the gifts of earth aside with a proud dissatisfaction, as long as it does not devour the dust with a hearty relish, it remains the servant of the Lord, serving Him in a "remarkable fashion," and amid doubt and perplexity, it may be, but still His own.

Thus the conflict that is here brought before us is not one between the will of man and a higher law, nor even that between our sensuous and our spiritual nature. It has a wider scope and a profounder meaning. It is the unceasing struggle between the creative and destructive powers of Nature, which makes up the whole of what we call life and death that is here depicted, in its action on our intellectual and ethical being. This is perhaps the grandest generalization upon which a poet ever based his work. It goes deeper than the distinctions between right and wrong, good and evil, beauty and deformity, truth and falsehood, for it includes all these. To the reflective mind, of



course, even this opposition appears an illusion, and the creator and the destroyer are one. But as long as men are born into this world to toil, to struggle, and to dream, life must seem to them a continual conflict, and here this conflict is reduced to its simplest terms.

In Goethe's conception of the world there is no broad distinction between mind and matter. The vital force whose manifestations we constantly admire in the external world becomes, in the spiritual nature of man, aspiration; in his intellectual being, thought; in his practical life, creative and organizing activity. The power which forms the crystal and the cell, which heaves the mountain into its place, and peoples the ocean and the forest with life, is the same that brings religious, social, and political systems into being, and that produces the works of the philosopher, the poet, and the artist. Into the philosophical value of this theory we have no intention of inquiring, but it must be fully realized before the structure of the poem can be understood.

Opposed to this omnipresent creative power stands Mephistopheles, who hates and would fain thwart every one of its manifestations. But he himself perceives that his efforts are vain. In spite of all his waves, tempests, earthquakes, and fires, the earth and the ocean still remain; he has buried whole races of men and animals, but the youthful blood still pulses in new generations; and in air, earth, and water, from thousands of germs, a new life is brought forth. But his fiendish nature will not let him rest, and so what he cannot do on a great scale he constantly attempts on a small one. As he cannot sweep worlds into nothingness, he is content to amuse himself with ruining a home, or thwarting the endeavour of a life. This conception is sustained throughout the tragedy, and realized in the most minute particulars; not merely in single instances of malignant mischief, in which Mephistopheles cannot refrain from doing a little injury for the mere love of the thing, almost as thoughtlessly as we give a copper to a beggar, but in his very style of thought and diction. In one of his small poems, Goethe says :

"Was fruchtbar ist allein ist wahr."

(Only that which is fruitful is true.) Only the thought, that is to say, which opens up new worlds to the intellect and the imagination, or which, passing into the region of practical life, can exercise an organizing influence upon it, is indeed a truth. Now, in all the conversation of Mephistopheles, brilliant, witty, and shrewd as it is, no trace of this vitality is to be found. His words are bright and sterile as jewels, occasionally very precious in themselves, but dead things, to be eagerly admired and carefully stored away, but not to be cast into the "seed-field of time" in hope of any future harvest.

It is hardly possible to conceive of a greater contrast than that between the Mephistophilis of Goethe, though each was exact  
and the Mephistopheles of  
purpose of the poet who



created it. The work of the former in the world, as far as the drama allows us to see, is pure and unmixed evil; yet this evil seems to arise rather from his position than his nature. He is an enemy of God, and it is some consolation to the wretched to have companions in their anguish; therefore he tempts men. But he does not delight in crime and destruction for their own sake; he has not heartily resolved, "Evil, be thou my good;" he cannot forget the heaven he has lost, or the face of the God whom he has offended. Hence, we cannot but feel that, if his sin could only be forgiven, he might yet be restored to holiness and peace. "Think'st thou," he exclaims—

"Think'st thou that I, who saw the face of God,  
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,  
Am not tormented by ten thousand hells,  
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?"

This grand and settled gloom serves as a dark background for the thoughtlessness of Faustus, and impresses on us, as nothing else could do, the awful character of the sacrifice he is making. Goethe's Mephistopheles, on the other hand, while continually desiring evil, continually produces good. But his whole heart is in his work, he rejoices in it as the artist in the exercise of his art, or Shakespeare's *Richard III.* in the use of his cunning. In the lawless ages he was ready enough to employ fire and iron, rapine and cruelty; now that he finds the mockery of every earnest effort and elevated feeling more effective, he makes use of that. But his purpose remains the same; and if he seems to us less loathsome and hideous than the devils of Dante, it is perhaps chiefly because our own faults never seem to us quite as unpardonable as those of others. But in all this evil there is good. It is only because it is in a certain sense true that "all that comes into being deserves to perish" that it falls under Mephistopheles' power. For in life no ideal is ever perfectly realized, and the creative power, therefore, never finds a full and free expression. It has to shape to itself a form out of a heterogeneous substance, and to bend to its purpose the selfish interests and wayward passions of men. Hence, even in its purest period, no church or society is entirely pervaded by the idea which it embodies, and from which it draws its living power, and too often, as it grows in outward state and consequence, the inward vitality decays. It is then that the destroying spirit gains power over it, and his work, though malignant, is salutary, since it clears the way for ever new approximations to an end that can never be entirely attained. Thus Mephistopheles hates everything that exists because it bears witness to creative power; it falls under his dominion because its testimony is faltering and inadequate. It is clear that for such a spirit as this there can be no redemption, since heaven would be to it the cruelest of hells.

We have already seen that in one respect Faust is pre-eminently a servant of the Lord, in another he is peculiarly exposed to the wiles of Mephistopheles. Through all the earlier scenes he covets no



personal good; the joy for which he longs is that of the angels who calmly and reverently contemplate the great work of creation. Whenever he can see anything in this way it gladdens him: hence his delight in the balmy sunshine of the spring afternoon, when all Nature is quickening to a new life; and even in the simple amusements of the common people, from which Wagner, but for his distinguished company, would turn with aversion as something coarse and vulgar. Such moments, however, are but rare. He would fain float a disembodied spirit in the calm evening light over oceans and continents, and be content only to gaze down upon them; nay, he would wander out into the quiet moonlight and bathe himself well again in the night-dew but for the thirst of knowledge which possesses him. From that he cannot escape. Yet everywhere impalpable walls shut him out from the truth that would satisfy him; he cannot grasp the central meaning of life, or gaze, as it were, face to face, on creative power. Hence, all he has learned seems empty and vain, mere word-lumber; his knowledge never deepens into a conviction, and it is therefore sterile. He feels that he is only leading his scholars round a dull and unending circle, not onwards to any high point of vision or noble task. So little have all his studies profited him! Nay, they seem to him to have been worse than useless, to have led him away from the true sources of being.

"Statt der lebendigen Natur,  
Da Gott die Menschen schuf hinein,  
Umgiebt in Rauch und Moder nur  
Dich Thiergeripp und Todtenbein."

(Instead of the living nature, into the midst of which God created men, only the skeletons of beasts and churchyard bones, in smoke and mouldiness, surround thee!)

The reason of all this is obvious. The angels who stand in the presence of the Lord may gaze in calm rapture on the worlds that circle beneath their feet, and Faust may feel something of the same joy in viewing a form of life that is distant from his own; but he can never look upon the whole world in this way, because he himself is a part of it. If he is to enter into any true connection with the creative spirit, it cannot be by contemplation or intellectual sympathy, but by becoming its organ. Must he not quail before the appearance of the Earth Spirit, even though he feels his inmost nature is superior to the being whose presence he cannot endure? He is a man, and to him the work of a man is appointed; and so through all these earlier scenes, an impulse to action alternates with a desire for knowledge, and a longing for an almost impersonal delight in the beauty of the universe. This is that consciousness of the right way of which the Lord has spoken, and it grows upon Faust until he can find no more fitting rendering for the commencement of St. John's Gospel than the words, "In the beginning

"

v and earnestly insisted on of  
vell upon it. "The end of



life is not a thought but an action," has been so often repeated as to become almost a truism. On the lips of our great teachers it is wholly true; is it always so in the ears of their hearers? It is wholly false unless we remember that the greatest of all actions have been honest and noble words; that, even if we accept the lowest practical standard, the Sermon on the Mount has exercised a greater influence on the development of our race than any of the battles or diplomatic triumphs on which historians love to dwell. The saints are dead; their long fastings, their cruel scourgings, their bitter penances, are all but forgotten; nay, hardly by a strong effort of the imagination can we realize that once they were; but the *Imitation* remains, not only a living witness of mediæval Christianity, but an unfailing source of peace and comfort to thousands who have never heard of St. Columba or St. Francis of Assisi, and whose only idea of a monkish cell is that it is in some way connected with a soul-destroying superstition and a pitiless tyranny. Indeed, if a thought which cannot embody itself in action is sterile, action without thought is wholly inconceivable, and all the noble deeds the world has seen have been wrought in the service of some great idea.

But to return to Faust: while the impulse to action is growing strong within him, all means for its exercise are denied him. He is imprisoned in a narrow life which affords no room for his energy, and no door of escape seems open to him, except the gloomy one of a self-chosen death. Worst of all, those illusions by which kind Nature tempts her wayward children to healthful exertion have all made themselves thin air and vanished before the colourless light of his thought. He has gazed steadily on the things that men desire, and found them not only worthless but fraught with poison for the soul. When we gain the good things of the world, so he ponders, every interest that rises above them seems folly and madness; the imagination that was wont to wing its way to the eternal learns to dwell contentedly in a little cage; care builds its nest in our hearts; and what we do as well as what we suffer impedes the soul's advance. In such darkness and perplexity does Faust serve the Lord; but from all these things he must be delivered if he is to be brought to the light of day. The hand that leads him from his prison is that of Mephistopheles, who is thus serving the purpose of the Lord even when he is most anxious to thwart it.

It is impossible that the man who is proudly conscious of a certain superiority to the Earth Spirit should look upon the Spirit of Evil as his equal, or greatly desire anything that he has to give. Here again the contrast between the English and the German poem is very strongly marked. The imagination of Marlowe's hero is fired by the thought of unbounded power and unlimited enjoyment. By his own act he summons the devil, and sells his soul to him for the possession of these things. In Goethe's drama, on the other hand, it is Mephistopheles who seeks his prey. Faust from the first treats him with contempt as



an inferior nature; but so great is his self-despair, such is his disgust with the life that surrounds him, that he is ready to seize even this means of escape. But he knows the devil is not likely to do anything "for God's sake," for Christian charity, as we should say, and so he desires the agreement between them to be clear. But this contract is no deed of sale; it is again a wager. You boast of your gifts, he says; I know that they are worthless, but if you can satisfy me, I am content to be your servant:—

"When I to any moment say,  
'O pause awhile, thou art so sweet,  
Upon my soul thy fetters lay,'  
I'll gladly perish."

Hence the same action which is in the one poem the result of the highest hope and expectation, is in the other the outcome of the deepest despondency.

It is evident that by means of the two wagers Goethe has avoided the difficulties which Marlowe failed to overcome. When we realize the character and situation of Faust, such a compact does not appear improbable. Do not unhappy men frequently stake their whole future on even less promising chances? The central interest of the play, too, is undiminished by this agreement, since its conclusion is still undecided; while this leading idea gives a certain unity to scenes which, particularly in the Second Part, are otherwise but loosely connected with one another.

When we compare the two wagers, we are at once struck by one very important difference between them. The Lord distinctly limits the time during which Faust shall be exposed to the temptations of Mephistopheles to the period of his life on earth; Faust really stakes his soul. If this "child of hell" can satisfy him, he is content to belong to him for ever; nay, in that case would not the realm of darkness be his fitting place? In other respects the second wager only serves to bring into a clearer light the thought embodied in the first. If Mephistopheles can indeed fulfil his boast, and so blind and deaden the spirit of his victim that he shall desire nothing better than the poor joys that he has to give, then both his wagers are gained. But we feel at once that this is impossible. If Faust ever arrives at an abiding peace, it must be in the exercise of his highest nature; and then the wager with the Lord is lost, though that with His servant may be technically won. Such a time does come. When Faust, old, infirm, and blind, stands at the door of his palace to listen to the busy work of the labourers who, at his command, have rescued a whole province from the sea, and thus formed a home where millions may dwell, not indeed in perfect peace and security, but in the presence of such dangers only as call forth the best energies and noblest virtues of men, he feels that he is doing a great work, and in that consciousness he is satisfied. But this moment, instead of consigning him to the will of Mephistopheles, delivers him from the power of evil for ever. He has found and accepted his place as a servant of the Divine creative power,



and henceforth the destroying spirit has might only over the dead and worn-out body.

At first sight it may seem strange that so cunning a spirit should thus outwit itself, but the reason is clear. Mephistopheles has here to do with a power that lies beyond the sphere of his comprehension. "When," Faust has contemptuously asked him, "When was a human soul with its high aspiration ever understood by such as thou?" He knows men well, but his knowledge is that of the man of the world, not the poet. He is acquainted with all their weaknesses, their vanities, their failures; he can flatter their foibles and use them for his ends. All that a careful observation can teach he has learned; but from that deeper insight which springs from love his very nature excludes him. Hence the more unimportant the circumstances the more likely his judgment is to be correct. He will be right in ninety-nine cases, the hundredth being the only one of deep moment. He can calculate with exactitude the chances of a Court intrigue, a diplomatic scheme, or a mercantile venture; but as soon as a strong passion or a deep conviction intervenes, all his wisdom is turned to foolishness. In Faust he has to do with a soul whose nature is rooted in that high spiritual element, with a man possessed of all the gifts of genius, though without that strong impulse in a single direction which usually accompanies them, and therefore his plans with respect to him are continually crossed and frustrated. Faust either turns with simple weariness from the pleasures he places before him, or he discovers in them a spiritual nourishment, of which the tempter had not dreamed. To the pure all things are pure; to the froward all things are froward; and what in the conception and purpose of Mephistopheles is wholly vile, becomes noble and gracious in the action of Faust.

This is particularly obvious in the episode of Gretchen. It is true that her heart is nowise in the gift of Mephistopheles, and that she shrinks from him with an instinctive antipathy. He does not even bring about her meeting with the hero of the tragedy; but he has evidently desired some such intrigue, and he cares little who the object of it may be. And what is the result? We need not dwell on the purity, the beauty, and the passion of the love scenes, so different from anything an evil spirit can even imagine, which he views with dislike and dread, and vainly endeavours to poison; but when, as he has foreseen and predetermined, sin follows, and guilt, and horror, what has he gained? In the midst of the wild and weird licentiousness of the Walpurgis night, the form of Gretchen rises before the eyes of Faust, and he turns in disgust from the evil that surrounds him. From henceforth it is not in the net of sensuality that he can be ensnared. And when the whole sad tale is over, the relation between him and his tempter has entirely changed. Hitherto Mephistopheles has been the guide of Faust, and has led him almost whither he would; he now becomes and remains his servant, to do his bidding and carry out his will.



But these scenes have probably another and a deeper purpose. In his hero Goethe has pictured a man who, in the midst of sin, and guilt, and error, works out his own deliverance. Even his wrong actions are so many steps forward on a road which is to end, not in hell, but in heaven. Infinite forgiveness, infinite help and pity, for the man who honestly struggles to attain what seems to him the best, is the key-note of the poem. Constant, unwearied effort, though it be marred with defeat and even stained by crime, shall at last find acceptance with the Lord: that is its moral lesson. It is a great truth to which all history bears witness, and one that it behoves us all to remember in an age that lays so great a stress on respectability and the negative virtues. But it is not the whole truth, or there would not be so many desolate lives around us, so many shipwrecked souls. It was probably this that induced the poet to link the story of Gretchen so closely to that of Faust. While insisting, with an earnestness which to most moralists may appear dangerous, on the unimportance of any single action when compared with the whole tenor of a life, he may have thought it well also to show what tragic consequences a single action may sometimes involve.

This could hardly have been done more forcibly than in the case of Gretchen. Her love grows into sin, she hardly knows how, and then not only its natural consequences, but others which no wisdom could have foreseen, drive her onward, with a fatal necessity of which she herself is hardly conscious, to crime and death. True, at any one moment she might have broken the chain by a strong act of resolution; but of such her nature is incapable, and she would have been far less lovable could she have done so. As it is, it seems as if all the supernatural powers which contribute to the deliverance of Faust were united in her ruin. While the most doubtful chances are constantly decided in his favour, on her every possible evil seems to be accumulated. But even as her error, such is her redemption. What Faust can hardly earn by the exertions of a lifetime is granted to her after a shorter though more bitter conflict. In the darkness and agony of her prison, she gazes upon good and evil as he never beholds them. Before her stand, on one side the cruel and shameful death, on the other freedom with the man whom she loves; but her eyes are opened now; she prefers the reward of her sin; she gives herself to God, and is saved. Without this contrast the tragedy would have been wanting in intellectual completeness; though a true, it would have been a one-sided and sectarian picture of life.

It is not our intention at present to enter upon any consideration of the Second Part of *Faust*, with its strange subtleties of thought, diction, and rhythm. To do so to any purpose would demand a far greater space than is at our disposal, and presuppose a more intimate acquaintance with the poem than most English readers are likely to possess. It was the storehouse in which Goethe treasured up the ripest



fruit of his thought, his art, and his experience. In no other work do certain of the highest elements of the poet's genius appear to greater advantage, and in none is the richness, strength, and flexibility of the German language so fully displayed. But the plan of the whole piece is so loose and disconnected that it is often difficult to trace any central thought, except those on which we have already dwelt. The human interest is frequently lost in a crowd of beautiful pictures and splendid but unreal abstractions; and the reader is constantly bewildered by vague suggestions of a hidden meaning which he vainly endeavours to trace beyond the limits of a single scene or passage. A poem, which has been variously described as a satire on contemporary literature, an abstract of universal history, and a scheme for a grand theatrical ballet with words, must be somewhat wanting in clearness and simplicity. This fault was inherent in the original design. It would have required a whole series of dramas adequately to treat the conception on which *Faust* is based. We must have seen this universal genius engaged in every great province of human action, greatly and joyously, though un-restingly productive in each, and yet, at last, turning from it to some new sphere of activity. Something of this kind is placed before us in the Second Part, but the extent of his subject obliged Goethe to employ such condensation and so many abstractions, that we constantly feel that we have to do with shadows rather than realities. As soon as this manner has been adopted, the temptation to lend a single person or situation a multiform significance becomes almost irresistible, and thus the characters are apt to seem meaningless from a very excess of meaning. But all these defects are greatly aggravated by the fact that the poem was written in parts, and at long intervals. Thus, in reading it, we are startled by constant changes of manner and treatment, which distract the attention much as the partial discoloration of an ancient marble will distract the eye, particularly if the spots and stains have an accidental appearance of design. Certain passages gain an undue prominence by the directness of their diction; others are removed to a dreamier distance than was intended by the involved lyrical harmonies of the verse. The poet, too, has dealt, with particular fondness, on the scenes and situations that interested him, and thus lent them an importance disproportioned not indeed to their intrinsic beauty, but to the place they occupy in the general scheme of the tragedy, while others are little more than sketched in. Besides this, it sometimes seems as if the great master had grown weary of the limits of his art, as if he would fain make his verse the vehicle of thoughts that do not belong to the domain of poetry, but which he could not otherwise adequately express; as if he were impatient of the concreteness all art demands, not indeed in the language he employs, but in the construction of his plot, and the development of his characters. Musicians say that something of the same kind is to be found in the latest works of his great contemporary, Beethoven. All these things contribute to



lend the Second Part of *Faust* its peculiar character. It is the most suggestive of books, and one that will always delight the lover of poetry, and grow upon him, instead of losing its charm, as the years pass by; but, at the same time, it would be the worst possible model for a young writer.

In strong contrast with the abstract and disconnected execution of the Second Part, stands the First, with its firm realization of character and constant felicities of treatment. The design involved many grave difficulties. The ethical conception on which it rested was in perfect harmony with the most advanced modern thought, the tale itself was full of sorcery and marvels. To lend these even a poetical credibility, it was necessary to remove them to a distance from reality, to separate them as far as possible from the usual experience of the reader or spectator. On the other hand, if we are to be interested in the spiritual life of the hero, we must feel that he is of the same nature as we are, that his conflicts are ours. A study, however perfect, of some dead and buried phase of thought or feeling could have possessed only an antiquarian interest. Thus the story must be made at once ancient and modern; it must be brought near to us, and yet remain far away. And this has been done. The doubts of Faust, his difficulties and his aspirations are all those of Goethe's own age, and yet we are never shocked by a sense of incongruity between them and the magical machinery of the poem. This is the result of a very subtle style of poetical treatment. The spiritual questionings of Faust are entirely freed from the accidental colouring of any age or mode of thought; they are referred to no doctrinal system, but to the permanent elements of human life, and stated in their simplest, and therefore most broadly human form. On the other hand, a feeling of distance and mystery is suggested by the stage scenery, the costume of the characters, and their surroundings; and these are most forcibly marked in the scenes where we are brought most directly into the presence of supernatural agencies. As soon as we look upon Faust's study, whose quaint architecture, huge folios, skulls, skeletons, and uncouth instruments are blackened by the dust and smoke of years, we feel that we have to do with the conditions of a life very different from our own. And it is here, in the grotesque witch's kitchen, or in the fitful moonlight of the Walpurgis night, that the chief marvels of the poem are wrought. On the other hand, all that has to do with Gretchen is brought as near as possible to the heart of the reader or spectator. True, she wears a strange dress, and lives in an old-fashioned house, but the incidents of her life were familiar to every German girl of her class in Goethe's youth. Thus the poem is set free from all the limitations of time and space; we feel that it has a reality of its own which may well be different from that of our experience, and we willingly surrender ourselves to its charm.

Goethe was equally happy in his choice of verse. Without entering into any vexed metrical question, it is clear that the more obviously



artificial a poetical form is, the further it removes its subject from the realm of reality. Thus, to take an example, when the players were introduced into *Hamlet*, it was necessary to raise their representation as far over the level of the tragedy as the latter stood above that of real life. Accordingly, in the Player's speech, Shakespeare employs a loftiness of diction and an amount of imagery that would be quite out of place in the actual drama, and in the play within the play, which could not be treated thus, he has recourse to rhyme. In both cases these passages are introduced by prose scenes, the more clearly to mark the distance. No poet ever felt more accurately than Goethe the peculiar power of the various forms of verse. By writing *Faust* in irregular rhyme, he removed his subject from the trammels of reality, and at the same time he secured a poetical level, from which it was easy to rise to impassioned lyrical feeling, or to pass to those simple expressions of pathos or tenderness, which are the chief charm of so many old songs. When Faust speaks, the verse is often sublime; in the mouth of Mephistopheles, it is epigrammatic; in that of Gretchen, it is as natural and pathetic as the prattle of a child. Twice only in the First Part does the poet find it necessary long to abandon a form so well suited to his purposes. When, after the garden scene, Faust flees to the woods and mountains, to pour out in grateful adoration the new sense of the glory of nature and of life which his love has brought him, rhyme is abandoned, and the passage thus gains a solemnity of its own that raises it above the passion of the scenes that surround it,\* and when he first hears of the misery of Gretchen, and awakens, as it were, from his dream of life to the dreadful reality of his guilt, the scene is written in prose, and thus acquires an awful force and directness. Such remarks as these may appear trifling, but it is in such things that the hand of the Master is shown.

In another respect, too, the poem will well repay the careful attention of the critic. In no form is the story peculiarly suited to the theatre, and in that which we have been endeavouring to trace it had lost several of its dramatic elements. Nor was Goethe a great dramatist in the sense in which we apply that word to Shakespeare and several of his contemporaries. Such of his works as retain possession of the German stage do so chiefly in virtue of their poetical beauty, of the skill with which the characters are delineated, and the warmth, depth, and delicacy of the passion. The natural sympathies of the most uninstructed are excited by an adequate representation of Egmont, and no refined audience can fail to derive pleasure from the noble thought and diction of Iphigenia, or to be delighted with the beauty and subtle psychology of Tasso. But as soon as we compare either of these with an Elizabethan play, we feel that the German poet has not learned to dwell with all but exclusive fondness on those elements of human nature which can be

\* For the same reason, the chief passage in the scene in which Faust explains his deepest convictions to Gretchen is left unrhymed.



rendered, not only comprehensible, but visible, and on such incidents as appeal strongly to the eye, and which therefore must affect us far more deeply when seen than when merely related. Indeed, Goethe's whole connection with the theatre seems to have been occasioned rather by external circumstances and the condition of German literature in his youth than by a natural impulse. He dwelt with preference on the harmonies rather than the dissonances of life; of the stern joy which the tragic poet feels in the crash of mighty opposites, of the awe-filled gladness with which he watches the clouds of destiny gather and sweep onwards till they have covered the sunny heavens with one sable pall, of the whirlwind of circumstance and the tempest of passion, he knew nothing; or rather he turned from these things, with perhaps a healthier instinct, to the softer music of calmer scenes. But therefore he never approached the heroic tone of the highest tragedy. When he moves us most it is by the picture of a wrecked idyl; his deepest emotion is pathetic, and finds a fitting vent in tears. Who ever wept over *Macbeth* and *Lear*? True, the tears may gather in our eyes at certain passages, as that in which the old king recovers from his madness to recognize his daughter, but they are quickly checked by the grander terror of the succeeding scenes. Of this tragic terror no trace is to be found in all Goethe's works; and just as the worst faults of our Elizabethan dramatists were generally owing to the intensely dramatic character of their genius, which refused to submit to any æsthetical restraint, the greatest beauties of Goethe's plays invariably bear witness to his poetical rather than his dramatic talent.

This only renders it the more remarkable that he should have succeeded in making an acting play out of so unpromising a subject as his own conception of Faust. That he did so is chiefly owing to the admirable skill with which the author has employed all the resources of the stage to lend an adventitious interest to the representation. The long soliloquies and philosophical discussions gain theatrical life from such effects as the appearance of the Earth Spirit, the distant tones of the Easter hymn, and the music and tableau with which Mephistopheles charms Faust to sleep. The high intellectual character of the earlier scenes is relieved by the gaiety and humour of the scene before the gates. In fact, from beginning to end, the stage is occupied by a constant succession of incidents, which, if they do not always greatly advance, at least never interfere with the action of the play, and which lend it a life and motion that the mere reader would hardly imagine it to possess. In one respect Goethe had a great advantage over most dramatists. His study of the plastic arts had been long and earnest, and its influence may be traced in almost all his later works, but most of all in his dramas. Not content with never placing an actor in a position in which he must appear awkward, he constantly sketches groups and situations which have only to be realized to delight the eye. The actress who, as Gretchen, fails to appear to the best advantage in



such scenes as that with the casket, and the one before the *Mater Dolorosa*, must be singularly wanting in tact and grace, and the same is true both of *Faust* and *Mephistopheles*. In fact, Goethe always sees the situation he draws, down to its smallest detail; and though he seems to have seen some of his plays rather as a series of single pictures than as a living and perpetually changing whole, this is hardly perceptible in *Faust*; at least, it never chills the rapid and apparently spontaneous movement of the drama.

If, putting all theatrical considerations aside, we examine only the poetical structure of the piece, it is impossible to praise the art of the poet too highly. Almost every passage might serve as an example of this; but it is, perhaps, most apparent in the way in which the story of Gretchen is told. We see her love and sin at first only as she and her lover see them. We know them only from low words of fond endearment, from the sighs she breathes over her spinning-wheel, from her self-reproach of her former harshness, from her agonized prayer to the Madonna. Like all true passion, her love is blind to everything but its own joy and pain, and we look upon it with impassioned eyes. The gibes of *Mephistopheles*, it is true, remind us of other considerations, but we push them impatiently aside, as *Faust* does. And then, as it must, there comes an end of all this. The words of the dying Valentine reveal to Gretchen and to us what we had forgotten before, the relation of this love to all the rest of life. It is thus the passionate dream, with all its sadness and its sweetness, looks to the outside world; such are its frightful consequences. But it is not against man only that Gretchen has sinned, and the next scene is enveloped in a still deeper gloom. The dim aisles of the Gothic cathedral, the low solemn tones of the organ, the sublime words of the Requiem, all lend a grandeur as well as a bitterness to her remorse. The petty accidents of her narrow life have all vanished: she is nothing now but a guilty soul standing alone at the bar of the Eternal, and there, too, she has no excuse to plead. Then she is withdrawn from our sight till the measure of her sin and misery is complete, and when we again behold her she is cowering in terror on the dungeon-floor. Thus, all that is truly tragic in the story is clearly brought before us, all that is only misery and wretchedness is carefully concealed.

To many it may seem that such criticism as this is a mere waste of time, since all our inquiries, like those of *Faust*, must fail to grasp the vital principle which lends the poem its real power over the imagination. After all is said and done, we find that the highest charm has eluded our analysis. It is true that some great, though none of the greatest, poems are wanting in the harmony of structure which we have been endeavouring partially to trace, and it is quite conceivable that a work might possess all the deep thought and masterly execution of *Faust* and yet fail to affect us. But as the man of science carefully examines the structure of an animal or a plant, we have striven to dissect some parts of this work of genius, with no greater hope than he



entertains of discovering the true secret of its life. Unless we entirely fail in such investigations, we shall always find a strange and sometimes unexpected harmony between the various parts, and by tracing this we may discover, not indeed in what the life consists, but at least how it manifests itself. Only in such cases our position to the work before us must be that of the student, not of the judge; and we must remember that every great poem, like every organism, is perfect in a way peculiar to itself. It is, therefore, in general quite useless to compare them for the purpose of deciding which is less or greater than the other, and we have no common standard of excellence with which all may be compared.

Thus we have said that the fundamental conception of *Faust* is, perhaps, the grandest generalization on which a poet ever based his work; but it does not by any means follow that *Faust* is the greatest of poems. A man with no ethical convictions, either sincerely held or assumed for an æsthetical purpose, will never be able to produce a great epic or tragedy. For art demands clearness above all things, and to a mind which is continually oscillating between materialism and ultra-montanism, all the relations of life must appear confused. It is only when a single point of view has been adopted that they group themselves into proper order, and a true perspective becomes possible. But what point of view is adopted is, in all poetical respects, indifferent, and in the vast majority of great poems it is quietly assumed rather than insisted on. Shakespeare's conception of life is so broadly human, that almost all of us believe him to have shared our opinions. In most other cases, the writer has silently accepted the belief of his age, and, treating that as the one possible standpoint, has quietly drawn the scenes he delineated as they appeared when seen from it. We may or we may not be able to reconstruct his creed from his works; he seems to consider it either a matter of course or of indifference, and never thrusts it upon us. In general it is a sign of inferior art when the moral purpose of a book becomes too obvious, and for the most part it is those whose opinions have the smallest value who are most anxious thus to obtrude them on the reader's notice.

But to this rule there are two great exceptions—the *Divine Comedy* and *Faust*. In both these cases the philosophical conceptions of the writer form not merely the basis, but the framework of the poem, and no passage can be fully understood until it has been considered in its relation to them. Yet even here it is not the abstract system that lends the poem its value. The most ardent admirers of Dante are to be found among those who entirely reject his creed; and if this is not equally the case with Goethe, it is because he stands too near to the interests of the present day for most of us to be able to regard his greatest work in a purely poetical light.

It is not difficult to understand the motives that induced him to insist so strongly on his speculative opinions. His age had accepted most of the negative results at which the thought of the preceding



period had arrived, but it refused to remain satisfied with them. The heads of men were sceptical, but their hearts yearned for a religious belief, and their souls for loftier ideals. Old poems and forms of faith were eagerly studied. Everywhere there was a longing for bolder flights of the imagination, and a more sublime and all-absorbing passion than the literature of the eighteenth century could supply. But for the most part these aspirations were without form and void; sad questionings of a universe that remained dark and silent, which ended in no firm conviction of any kind. Goethe could not, therefore, adopt the creed of his age, for it had none; and yet, as he had to deal with the deepest secrets of the human heart, some firm conviction was necessary as a basis of his imaginative structure. He, therefore, created a mythology, which might embody such a conception of the universe as men could still form and believe. It was not stated as a philosophical system, and pretended only to a poetical credibility; but, as it was new, it could not be quietly assumed—it had to be clearly explained and developed.

It requires no gift of prophecy to foresee that the time will come when the speculations of Goethe, like those of Dante, will only be studied on account of the light they throw upon his poetry, and when they will rather repel than attract the general reader. The purely poetical merits of *Faust* will then have become clearer, and they will be more generally understood. But it will have lost the subtle charm by which it now fascinates so many thoughtful minds. The hidden meanings that dawn upon us with a new promise of spiritual light and guidance will then be forgotten or disregarded. It will be one of the world's great poems, and nothing more. To our age it has another and deeper, if not a higher, significance. It was thus that a modern man, of strangely universal gifts and culture, and intense intellectual earnestness, viewed human life; it was thus he thought of questions that still retain their vital interest. He had borne our sins and carried our sorrows; he was tried in the fire that we too have to endure, and the message he brings is one of victory, peace, and deliverance. It is this that has made *Faust* the gospel of modern Germany, as well as the greatest work her literature has to boast.

CHARLES GRANT.

## ON A POSSIBLE POPULAR CULTURE.

THE Working Classes of this country are very generally, and we venture to think very justly, accredited with the possession of "sound common sense," "shrewd intelligence," and other the like mental characteristics of a more or less intuitive order. But not even their best friends or warmest admirers can say of them that they are a cultured class. Culture is of course a relative term. In its higher, more strictly æsthetic sense, it could not reasonably be looked for among the working classes. Here, however, the word is not intended to apply in this higher sense. We use it in its simpler, more robust sense. The sense, that is to say, in which a moderate amount of well-directed general reading would make a fairly cultured man of one already endowed with sound common-sense and shrewd intelligence. Taking this as a permissible and effective interpretation of the word, it would be quite natural to expect to find the quality of culture almost as general a characteristic of the working classes, as is shrewd intelligence. Many individual members of those classes are thus cultured, though, compared with the vast aggregate of which they are units, their number merely makes up the proverbial exception that proves the rule. Of the general lack of culture among the great majority of the body there can unfortunately be no doubt. On that head there is no need for demonstration. The discussible phases of the question, the points that commend themselves to the earnest consideration of all interested in the solution of the great social problem of "the elevation of the masses," relate to the causes from which this absence of culture results, and the means whereby improvement in the matter might be effected. And it is to these that we here purpose to address ourselves.

As this is held to be emphatically an age of progress, and the question of popular education has received a good deal of attention of



late years, it may be said or assumed that we *must* be advancing in this matter of culture among the people at large. There are a variety of circumstances a superficial consideration of which would seem to justify such an opinion. A careful examination of the *whole* body of evidence bearing upon the subject will, however, it appears to us, lead to the much less satisfactory conclusion, that whatever tendency to movement there is in this respect, is rather of a retrogressive than a progressive character. Elementary education, in its more merely mechanical sense, is no doubt becoming more general and more extensive in its range, but this progress is not to be taken as necessarily involving a concurrent or corresponding degree of advancement in popular culture. It should be borne in mind that the Education Acts have not created a new system of education. They have simply extended the operations of a previously existing system. That system, as it did previously exist, was so large, and had been at work so long, that we can fairly judge of it by its fruits; and its fruits were not and are not culture. Before elementary education was made compulsory by law, working-class children had for fully a generation been passing through the public elementary schools by hundreds of thousands. If, therefore, the general effect of the educational processes of these schools had been to produce cultured men and women, the working classes as a body would have had a large leaven of culture in it. As a matter of fact it is almost entirely destitute of such leaven, has certainly not enough of it to in any perceptible degree leaven the lump. But little cultured as the ordinary working-class boy may be on leaving school, it will as a rule be found that he is at that time, not only relatively, but positively, a better educated and cultured personage than he will be when he comes to man's estate. During the years that divide these two stages of his life, experience and necessity will bring out, will enlarge, and strengthen his natural gifts of common-sense and shrewd intelligence. But meanwhile he will have shed his mere schoolboy, mere lesson-book knowledge, and will not have continued the work of educational culture on any other lines; and in the vast majority of instances this arrest of development in the direction of culture proves permanent. The extension of elementary education, as it has hitherto been understood, if left to its single self, will give us a larger number of the people able to read the police intelligence of the lower types of weekly newspapers, and willing to read little else. But it will certainly not give us a cultured working-class. These are painful facts, but they are facts and must be counted with; of their truth and significance, none are more fully or sorrowfully aware than are the cultivated few among the working-classes themselves.

That education is the first means to culture as an end goes without saying, but means as we know may be left unemployed, or, worse still, may be misdirected. In the case under consideration, the want of culture is attributable not to lack of primary means and appliances, but to the means being mistakenly or ineffectively used, or not applied at



all. If the working classes are to be cultured in a degree proportionate to their opportunities for acquiring culture, it must be chiefly through reading. An overwhelming and now constantly increasing majority of them can read; and, broadly speaking, it may be said that in the present day who can read may read, and have choice of reading. Our marvellously cheap literature includes a wide range of high-class reading. Free libraries, or others to which the subscriptions are little more than nominal, are scattered broadcast throughout the land. No man can fairly plead want of access to books of a general culture-giving character. The want of culture among working-men must consequently be taken to arise—as in fact it does arise—from those of them who can read, either not reading at all, or confining their reading to forms of matter—we cannot say *literature*—the influences of which are altogether bad; bad negatively in that they do not give culture, and positively bad in that they establish a depravity of taste under the promptings of which, metaphorically speaking, garbage is preferred to wholesome or delicate food. As there are very few who can read, but who do read more or less, this addiction to low and vitiating forms of reading remains as the most widely operating cause of the virtual non-existence of a popular culture; and never was this cause more potently operative than it is at the present time. Never before did the ranker forms of reading flourish so abundantly. Never before was there so little prospect of those given to such reading being driven to more wholesome mental food by a limited supply of garbage. In this respect the working-classes were much more fortunately situated a generation ago than they are at this day. True, even then penny dreadfuls were not unknown, but every week did not bring forth its new one. Nor did they appeal so directly to boys as do the existing race of dreadfuls. *The Boy Highwayman*, *The Boy Brigand*, *The Boy Pirate*, *The Boy King of the Outlaws*, &c., are modern inventions. The long drawn out *Mysteries of London* and *Mysteries of the Court*, the leading dreadfuls of the last generation, were happily not meat for babes. Then, as now, also penny serials—which should not be confounded with the penny dreadfuls—were a popular form of reading. But they were very much fewer in number, and decidedly better in quality than those of the present day. Their To-be-continued-in-our-next stories were more robust, and their miscellaneous contents less trashy and frivolous. At that time, moreover, the influence of the lower types of penny serial was largely counteracted by an extensive and effective circulation among the working-classes of a much higher style of cheap weekly serial. Of these, *The Penny Magazine*, *Eliza Cook's Journal*, and the still flourishing *Chambers's Journal* may be named as leading examples. A generation ago, too, there were, as there are now, newspapers that pandered to the ignorance and passions of the working-classes in things political, but even these were better than those of to-day. Coarse they were undoubtedly, but vigorous withal. Furthermore, they were favoured by having more



stirring topics to deal with than falls to the lot of journalists in these—as regards home politics—comparatively weak piping times of peace. Neither was his weekly newspaper then, as for the most part it is now, the only political reading of a working man. The powerful poetry of Ebenezer Elliott, and the yet more powerful prose of Cobbett, were still remembered and read, and tended to give a taste for, and appreciation of, the higher style of political philippic. Thirty years or so ago, it may be further remarked, poetry was much more extensively read among the working-classes than it is at the present day. Modern poetry seems to have but little charm for even the cultured few among working-men who do still read poetry. It is only fair to say, however, that they bear themselves rather inconsistently upon the point. While justifying their little liking for the poetry of our latter-day bards, by saying that it is over their heads, they still presume to criticize it somewhat in detail. They say, in effect, that frequently it has not only a stretched metre, but a stretched sense also—that it has more of sound than sense, of rhyme than reason. They complain that it is not its own interpreter, that it is what poetry should not be, hard reading; that it does not penetrate you, but requires that you should penetrate it. Going deeper, they object that where it is not mystical—so mystical in some instances as to pass the thin partitions which divide the bounds of the mystical from the nonsensical—it deals largely in mere prettinesses. And, finally, they argue that, being as a school of poetry non-narrative, it lacks the strong human interest, and directness of appeal to the imagination, which characterizes narrative poetry when done by a master-hand. For these reasons the poetry of living writers is but little read among the working-classes. It is but little calculated to be a means of either directly giving culture itself, or of marshalling the illiterate the way that they should go to gain culture. On the other hand, the tremendous increase in the lower kinds of prose reading that recent times have witnessed, has, among its other evil effects, led to the neglect of the works of poets who could be understood of the people—works the perusal of which would certainly tend to elevate the taste of any whose previous reading had been in the lower or lowest forms of serial publications. Eliza Cook has long ceased to sing. He who wrote “The Song of the Shirt,” “The Lady’s Dream,” “The Lay of the Labourer,” and “Bridge of Sighs,” has had no successor. Save by a few pieces that have been embedded in books of recitations or successfully set to music, these two Poets of the People may practically be said to be unknown to the general body of the young and rising generation of the working classes. If such comparatively later and minor writers were neglected in favour of earlier and greater poets, there would, of course, be little ground for lamentation. It might then be simply a matter of individual taste, or a question of chronological method in reading. But this is not the case. As names, Burns, Byron, Wordsworth, and Shelley may be known to the reading but uncultured



many of to-day, but that is about all. It is the elderly readers among the working-classes who will be found pointing a moral or adorning a tale with some apt line from "Man was Made to Mourn" or "The Cotter's Saturday Night;" or quoting not only Childe Harold or Don Juan, but even "Lara" or "The Corsair."

In regard to prose reading the situation is much the same. With those who in the more literal sense of the phrase earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, fiction always has been, and still remains, the most popular form of reading. To people given to the Gradgrindian modes of thought and reasoning it may appear that a preference for novels over "instructive" works is, in itself, at once a sign and cause of a want of culture. We have heard propositions to that effect gravely laid down and argumentatively maintained. We mention this idea merely to show that we do not overlook it. To enter into any set refutation of it here we take to be quite unnecessary. As a matter of fact and experience, the reading of the higher class of novels is calculated to give, and does give, culture—in that general sense in which we are using the word. The novel has succeeded the drama as the form in which the most gifted minds put forth their thoughts and teachings, and as the embodiment of such thoughts and teachings the works of the great masters of fiction *must* refine and elevate—*ay*, and *inform* too. Though an incidental, it is an important, feature of some of our grandest novels that they induce a taste for collateral reading of a more or less informing and culture-giving kind. Walter Scott has sent thousands to the histories, and Captain Marryat to narratives of voyages, travels, and adventures. In the same way hosts of Thackeray's readers must surely have turned not only to the history but the literature of the periods with which he deals, better prepared to appreciate and enjoy them, than they would have been had "Esmond" and "The Virginians" never been written. Nor does this incidental effect of novel-reading end with directing readers to other distinctive *branches* of literature. By some passing allusion, illustration, or quotation, a good novel will frequently lead a reader to seek out and peruse some odd volume that, to say the least of it, will, in stock phrase, well repay perusal. We speak on this head from an acquaintance with many "cases in point"—cases in which among working-men novel-reading has originated and established a sound, cultured, and widely reaching taste for general reading. Of course those who have had no such personal experience, and may not be prepared to accept as conclusive the view of the position put forward above, may argue that the tendency of novel-reading is to become a master passion, to the gratification of which every other form of reading is sacrificed. That those holding this view could in support of it cite their cases in point by the hundreds, we are well aware. But we are not dealing here with an abstract or unconditioned proposition. In the first place it must be borne in mind that we are speaking in special relation to the working-classes, and in the second place that there are novels and



novels. We have had in view works of the first rank only. We are taking no account of the modern manufactured novels produced in "quantities" by the trade—the trade only knows why—the three-volume collections of dulness and drivel which lumber "all the libraries," and through them pass, firstly, to the novel-craving class, and, secondly and lastly—we suppose—to the agents of some of the many industries founded upon the utilization of waste products. For either man or woman as a reader to become a mere indiscriminating novel devourer is undoubtedly an evil. It must, by exciting an undue or unbalanced exercise of the emotional faculties, cause mental enervation. A taste for high-class fiction, however, involves no risk on this head. We may return to the works of the great novelists time after time, and find renewed pleasure and profit in each successive reading. The spell that they lay upon us is no doubt a powerful one, but it is exhaustible without being exhausting. The number of such works is by no means so large as to make their reading an occupation for life, even to one with the restricted leisure of a working man. Their limited quantity obviates either necessity or excuse for an exclusive devotion to novel-reading. An appreciation of their quality is a safeguard against their reader acquiring any taste for the *unqualified* manufactured novels upon which the indiscriminating fiction devourers chiefly batten. A still stronger safeguard perhaps in this respect is that collateral reading to which, as we have said, a taste for the higher classes of novels is likely to lead. Take, for instance, the case of one who has, through the Waverleys, been led to a knowledge of at least the more picturesque historians. Such a reader would, putting aside for the moment the charm of vividness and vigour of style, find the writings of authors like Macaulay, Froude, Prescott, and Motley infinitely more interesting and exciting than the bulk of the novels of the day. For these latter are not interesting and not exciting, and they have neither vigour nor vividness of style to be put out of question.

The direct bearing of these remarks upon the general subject of a possible popular culture may not at a first glance be so self-obvious to readers as they appear to our own mind's eye. It may be thought we are dwelling upon this phase of the question at disproportionate length, but the fact is, if our standpoint be correct, this matter of novel-reading becomes virtually the key of the position. If, as we assume to be axiomatic, reading is to be taken as the first and greatest means to the end of popular culture, the novel at once becomes of primary importance: not from any supposition of its being distinctively the most culture-giving form of composition, but because it is the first form of reading to which youth *takes*. A boy may be put to more "solid" or "instructive" kinds of reading by way of educational or moral task-work, but it is to fiction that he turns naturally. If he is inclined to read at all he will read fiction, and that in despite of any unwise endeavours to prevent him from doing so. It is in that way that he will in the first



place get a bent for general reading; therefore to direct his taste in this matter becomes a point of the utmost importance in relation to the question of culture. The absence of a little judicious guidance, and not too obtrusive supervision, on this head is one leading cause of the plentiful lack of culture which characterizes the mass of the working-classes. The want of such guidance is especially disastrous in this age of the multiplication of trashy—and often worse than trashy—"boy" dreadfuls and serials. A generation back a larger proportion of the working-classes, than is the case at present, did not read at all, had not acquired even the mechanical power to read; but the boy who could read and had an appetite for reading found himself chiefly dependent upon healthy and strengthening fare. At that time, as we have already said, penny dreadfuls were not altogether unknown; they were, however, few in number; and there was, if we may be allowed the expression, a certain grace of shame about the vending of them. Those who had heard of and wished to have them had to seek them out, and at the worst soon got through the available supply. The books among which a boy was thrown, that boys talked about, borrowed, lent, exchanged, and in their own fashion recommended and criticized, were "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Robinson Crusoe," "The Arabian Nights," "Gulliver's Travels," "Don Quixote," "Gil Blas," and the more famous novels of Scott, Marryat, and Fenimore Cooper. Not to know these was for a reading boy of those days to argue himself unknown. Then came for those who cared to go further—as most who had come so far did—"Roderick Random," "Tom Jones," "The Scottish Chiefs," and a favourite few of the too-numerous-to-be-mentioned romances of G. P. R. James. About some of these there was no doubt a certain coarseness of tone, but this, as a distinctive feature, was as imperceptible to boys as was the social and political satire underlying the story in Gulliver. They read for story, not style, and whatever there might be of evil in the style fell harmlessly away from them. In addition to the other forms in which they were obtainable, a majority of the works named above were to be had in the one really popular penny *number* publication of that day. The miscellany in question had, if we remember rightly, some such generic title as *The Family Library*, and consisted exclusively of reprints of standard books. Among the works issued in it we can distinctly recollect Mrs. Inchbald's two novels, "A Simple Story" and "Nature and Art," and "Tom Jones," and "Roderick Random." Fiction constituted the bulk of the publication, but Buchan's "Domestic Medicine," and one or two other works of that kind were also included in it. Each penny number contained eight pages, book size; there were no illustrations; the paper was coarse, and the printing exhibited a tendency to smudgyness; but to youth the contents were simply entrancing, and it was for these numbers that the one-pennied boy of that period had his penny to spare.

At that date of which we are speaking a schoolboy of the working-



classes had more time and more spirit for general reading than fall to the lot of schoolboys nowadays. The cram system, at its present high-pressure pitch, at any rate had not been applied to the work of elementary education. The "subjects" taught in the schools were comparatively few. The work of the day, while sufficient to exercise, was not so heavy as to weary or bewilder the brain. When "home lessons" were given at all they were light, and not very strongly insisted upon. Allowing for an average degree of home suit and service in the way of "running errands," and a reasonable amount of play, a boy could still give two hours a day to reading, even on schooldays. On Saturdays he could give double, or more than double, that length of time—not to speak of the big "goes in" during holidays. And going to his book fresh and eager in spirit, and with the proficiency in the art of "skip," which he soon acquires, a boy will soon get through a wonderful amount of reading in such times. Other conditions of his environment were also in favour of the boy of the earlier period. If his father happened to be a reading man, his time and attention were not diffused over three or four daily newspapers, each assuming an oracular tone and Sir Oracle bearing, and all engaged in drawing from the same premises conflicting and contradictory conclusions. His one weekly paper cost him from threepence to sixpence, and was about as much as he cared to "run to" in that line. It satisfied him all the more easily, for that, if inclined to politics—as most reading-men among the working-classes then were—he could avail himself of metal more attractive than any newspaper furnished. The times afforded stirring themes, and produced men who could deal with them in stirring fashion. The literature of the Anti-Corn-Law League was still fresh in the public mind. Its tracts, containing the speeches of Bright, Cobden, and other famous orators of the association, were in all men's hands. The "Politics for the People," started by Maurice and Kingsley, and containing the latter's "Parson Lot's Letters to the Chartists," were popular readings. The sensation created by "Cheap Clothes and Nasty," perhaps the most "slashing" political-social pamphlet ever written, was still felt; while the same writer's thrilling novels, "Alton Locke" and "Yeast," were sought after by no section of readers more eagerly than by those of the working-classes. These were the kinds of reading that working-men chiefly devoted themselves to at that day. These were the things they chiefly discussed when two or three of them were gathered together round their own firesides. Johnny or Billy wedged into the chimney-corner on such occasions, and gloating over "Ivanhoe" or "The Last of the Mohicans," would at the moment understand little and care not at all about what was being said by his elders. But it would often enough happen that some pregnant fact or phrase would unconsciously sink into his mind, and bear fruit in the after-time, when he came to have political feeling or to desire political knowledge for himself. Where such political reading, as we have here been speaking of, had a place, there would usually be found in the home



a few well-selected books in the way of general reading. Among them there would more likely than not be numbered some volumes of such cheap editions of the works of "standard" poets as were then current, and from them the children of the house would probably get their first taste of poetry.

A boy, whose reading had been broadly of the extent, and on the lines we have been indicating, would have imbibed that general taste for reading which becomes the means for acquiring, not merely without toil, but with positive pleasure, a fair, elevating, and soul-satisfying degree and kind of general culture. By the same process his mind would have acquired the bent that would lead him to continue to gratify and develop the taste. As the years went by and his mental powers enlarged, he would read his way onwards and upwards through the works of Jane Austin, Charlotte Bronte, and others, to Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot, and come out of the course fully competent to do his own *winnowing* among the mass of later works of fiction. Interspersed with his novel-reading would be that incidental reading to which the perusal of the higher classes of fiction leads. This latter reading, even in its comparatively early stages, would be pretty sure to include the narrative poems of Scott and Byron, and Pope's translation of *The Iliad*. Thus, when the time came when our representative reader desired to become acquainted with the works of the immortal masters, Shakespeare and Milton and Burns, he would go to them with a mind not wholly unattuned. Nourished by such food as this the appetite for reading grows with what it feeds upon. The taste for and habit of reading becomes fixed. A sense of culture enters into a man's life. His mind to him a kingdom is. His daily way of life may seem dull and commonplace, and his surroundings sordid, but he has within himself a charm to transport him beyond the ignorant present. He can through books communion hold with those high spirits who call—

"The future from its cradle, and the past  
Out of its grave, and make the present last  
In thoughts, and joys that cannot die  
Folded within their own eternity."

Such men are to be found among the working-classes. But they are not sufficiently numerous to give a tone of sweetness and light to the general body. On the contrary, they only serve to make the darkness visible. For be it observed what we have been pointing out is not that working-class boys a generation ago were a *body* of readers, but that the chapter of accidents was then more favourable than it is now, to such boys as happened to *take* to reading. Any general or systematic guidance in the matter, any clear perception of its importance, was as conspicuous by its absence then as it is now. But at present the accidents of the situation, if we may so term them, are not only not favourable to, they are directly against, a youth falling upon a class of literature in the beginning, calculated to lead in the end to a sound



and discriminating taste in reading. As a consequence the ranks of the cultured few are not recruited, the gaps in them not even filled. With all the manifold means and appliances for popular culture that the present age can boast, the "masses" are in danger of becoming a less, rather than a more, cultured body. Of course there are reasons for such a state of affairs, and we will now proceed to point out what in our opinion are the chief among these reasons.

The gradual screwing up of the system of elementary education that recent years have witnessed leads to his school-work taking more out of a boy both in time and stamina than was formerly the case. Whether it really puts more of effective education into him than the less highly strung methods previously relied upon were capable of doing is a question we will not pause to discuss here. One result of it is in many cases to create a disinclination for any reading beyond the very considerable amount that has perforce to be done in and for school. Under it, indeed, numbers of boys contract an absolute hatred to books, which in their minds become inseparably associated with and emblematical of task-work. But setting aside this point, and assuming that a schoolboy of the period does take to reading, the probability, nay, the certainty, is, that in nineteen cases out of twenty he will be caught by the penny dreadfuls. He will fall a victim to them either in their original form, impure and simple, or in the thinly disguised shape of the penny "boy" serials. Into the history of the rise and progress of the dreadfuls we need not enter, and, unfortunately, as yet we cannot write of their decline and fall. The fact faces us that they have taken hold—are the favourite reading of those boys of the working-classes who do read. They are invariably illustrated, and boldly assert themselves from the windows of every newsagent that Jones, junior, passes on the road to school or when "running errands." They have titles which, it must be allowed, are calculated to attract the juvenile mind. *Dashing Dick, the Boy King of the Robbers' Cave*, hath a heroic sound about it to youthful ears. Dick robbing the Royal coach—Dick putting to flight the company of Life Guards sent to capture him—Dick striking to the earth the gigantic member of his own band who hath spoken disparagingly of the lovely young Countess in her own right whom he, the Robber King, has delighted to honour with his love—Dashing Dick, as he appears in the weekly woodcuts, performing these and similar exploits may no doubt appear a very paladin to schoolboy eyes. "Fearless Fred, the Boy Teachers' Terror," the running story in the great "boy" serial, *The Lively Lads of Our Land* appeals even more directly to the business and bosoms of schoolboys. Not only is Fred shown in the front picture of each week's issue as a terrible derring doer, but the representatives of the race of teachers, the alleged natural enemies of boys, are exhibited as suffering all manner of indignities at the hands of the mighty boy-hero. We can understand the titles and illustrations of these things seducing a boy into dipping



into their pages, but at the same time we should have thought that the dip in would have had a deterrent effect. These publications are such utter, such unredeemed, "rot," are each and all of them such hashes up of a few stock notions, are so markedly devoid of anything like connected or wrought-out plot, and so lame and halting in point of composition, that it is hard to conceive their interesting even unthinking schoolboys. For our own part we are more than half-inclined to believe that their "pull" must lie, not in interesting boys, but in flattering them, pandering to their weaknesses and want of sense. Be that as it may, however, these wretched prints constitute the principal reading of working-class boys in the present day. Boys may be found in tens of thousands who are "constant readers" of the dreadfuls—who have got through scores of them, and by dint of exchanges with schoolmates and playfellows are reading half a dozen of them concurrently—but who have never read "Robinson Crusoe," "The Arabian Nights," or "Peter Simple." Of "Gulliver's Travels" they will probably never have heard; and, so far as they are concerned, those heroes of heroes, the Fighting Smith of Scott, and the Hawkeye of Cooper, might as well have remained unimagined.

The evil commonly attributed to the dreadfuls is that they tend to corrupt boys morally, and in particular to make them dishonest. But this we venture to think is a mistaken idea. It often happens, we are aware, that some juvenile till-robber is found to be a reader of penny dreadfuls. Nevertheless we cannot agree with the conclusion usually taken for granted in these cases, that the reading and the robbery stand in the relation of cause and effect. Young gentlemen "in trouble" are ready enough to avail themselves of this plea when it is put into their mouths. Just as in the same way older criminals will assure gaol chaplains that it was witnessing the spectacle of Turpin's ride to York or the performance of some East-end Jack-Boot melodrama which led them to the perpetration of the crime for which they are "doing time." Boys who do *not* read dreadfuls sometimes rob tills. As a rule, robberies by errand-boys result either from temptations arising out of the thoughtlessness of employers, or a constitutional proclivity to dishonesty upon the part of the employed. There were robberies by errand boys when penny dreadfuls were not, and there would still be such robberies if the dreadfuls ceased to be. If anything like a general effect of the dreadfuls was to induce their readers to attempt to imitate the criminality which they certainly try to heroize, an honest and not a dishonest boy would become the exception to the rule. The admiration for things criminal of the boy-readers of the dreadfuls is abstract and theoretic, not practical or imitative. There should be no mistake upon this important point. The evil of the supremacy of the modern dreadfuls is not that they criminalize, or even—except in a negative sense—demoralize. The evil, and a most calamitous one it is in its results, is that the dreadfuls have for the time



being superseded what we will venture to call the natural reading for boys. They have usurped the place of the only reading by which, practically speaking, the foundations of a cultured taste could be laid, and the means to the end of a new happiness created. Where the dreadfuls take hold, they generally occupy the whole of whatever time a boy gives to reading, and that during the very years in which as a rule, among the working-classes at any rate, the taste for reading is formed. He who as a boy is found as a reader of the dreadfuls, will, in the vast majority of cases, be found as a man in the ranks of the non-reading or uncultured classes. Where the dreadfuls are the beginning of reading, they are mostly the end also. They are such unmitigated rubbish, and present so little variety even in their own rubbishy style, that the boys who have been attracted by them begin to get thoroughly disillusionized by the time they are a year or two into their teens. But meanwhile they have no knowledge or experience, have had no foretaste of better reading. At this time, too, when they have just left the school for the workshop world, new interests are springing up around them and occupying their attention. So that the broad result of the situation at this point is, that while they may put away the dreadfuls with other childish things, they take up no higher form of reading in their place. For a time they cease to read altogether. If later they resume the practice, they in all probability find pabulum in the lower kinds of weekly newspapers, including that Dreadful of Dreadfuls—the *Illustrated Police News*.

That such should be the state of affairs among the working-classes is not only a sad but a serious thing. It is a thing, too, that affects society in general, as well as the working-class section of it in particular. The lack of culture among that section involves their being uninformed or ill-informed. It leaves their reasoning, as well as their imaginative faculties, in a great measure, dormant. It makes them an easier prey, than they would otherwise be, to the harpies and adventurers who, dubbing themselves their "friends," are only their flatterers, and often succeed in advising them to their own hurt. And, seeing how closely the various grades of society are interwoven and interdependent, injury to the working-classes as a body must involve some less or greater degree of injury to society at large.

We have laid considerable stress upon the fact that the *chances* in favour of the production of individual instances of culture among the working-classes were much greater in the immediately preceding generation, than they are at present. But we have not done this in the spirit of those who hold that all times when old are good. The present is of course heir of all the ages. No other period has possessed such potentialities for general culture. It possesses all the standard literature of past times, together with its own additions to that literature. Nor is its unprecedented range of merely passing literature entirely useless for effects of culture. Though in the mass it may be of little worth, there



are grains of gold in it for those who know how to "prospect" for them. National and other public museums and picture galleries, if not yet as numerous as could be desired, are at any rate available in greater numbers than has ever been the case before, and all manner of private effort to "elevate the masses" is also greater in the present day. Despite all this, however, the grim position remains that "the masses" are uncultured, and seem in danger of becoming rather more than less so. This may sound rather paradoxical, but the explanation is very simple. The potentialities do exist in abundance, but they are not operative. They are not recognized by those by whom they could be self-applied, and there is no special machinery for bringing them to bear so as to make them operative. Many seeing the sufficiency of the means to the end, thoughtlessly, though honestly, take it for granted that the end is duly accomplished. These are they who indulge in talk about the universal enlightenment, the general intellectual progress, and so forth, of the age. But things are not as these good and uninquiring and easily satisfied people imagine them to be. Their well-sounding sayings in this wise are phrases, not facts. Cultured working-men are to be met with; they are often, indeed, the members of their body who are brought into contact with other sections of society, seeing that where culture is a rarity its tendency is to bring to the fore those possessing it. These men, however, as we have already remarked, are the exceptions. Judged even by the broad and simple standard of culture which we have here set up, the working-classes as a body are, we repeat, uncultured. They are unacquainted with those works of genius which stand to us as the *unforbidden* fruits of the tree of knowledge—works which can fill the mind with high imaginings and noble and ennobling, even when unattainable, desires. The commonplace allusions, illustrations, and quotations of literature are "over their heads." The very names of the mighty authors, which are familiar as household words in the mouths of the cultured, fall almost meaningless upon their ears. Their reading, where they have read at all, has been wholly outside and below the range of the great books that are the open legacy of all, "the monuments of those who cannot die." The books that make themselves felt—

" Which in their silence say  
More to the mind than thunder to the ear."

We have heard it argued that since "the masses" are unconscious of their loss in this respect, their ignorance is of the blissful order. This would be very poor consolation to those immediately concerned; it can be no consolation at all to those who would wish to see the said masses the better, the higher type of men that culture would make them. Culture would not only give them new and higher pleasures, it would make them better men, better husbands, and fathers and citizens; by enlarging their minds it would, while refining, strengthen their "shrewd common-sense." It would render them more capable of judging accurately of the worth or worthlessness of the innumerable social



and political schemes which they are constantly being urged to support "in their thousands." It would bring into their homes and lives a sweetness and light calculated to, in a great measure, take the sting out of the comparative hardships incidental to their position in the social scale, and even in some degree to soften the more positive hardships of their lot; moreover—and by many this would be considered the most important feature of the case—it would prove a powerful protection against the formation of drinking habits. Working-men do not *commence* to "use" public-houses out of any sheer love of drink. They go to them in the first instance because only within their walls are to be found the particular forms of social pleasures open to and enjoyable by a labouring man devoid of the self-resource that a reasonable culture gives. They go, as they will tell you themselves, "for sake of the company," but they cannot have the company alone. Drinking becomes a necessity of the position. They have entered a Rome, and they must do as Rome does; if they would take up the freedom of the city, they must conform to its one great and almost all inclusive law—you *must* drink. In what an amount of drinking and drunkenness the fulfilling of that law results is but too well known. Drunkenness is the great social cancer of the day, and, probed, it will be found to be not merely associated with, but a direct resultant of, the absence of culture among the masses of the people.

We have met also with people who, perhaps from a too literal interpretation of the doctrine that whatever is, is right, have seriously maintained, with regard to this question of popular culture, that things are best as they are. If working-men become readers, say these doctrinaires, their heads will be turned; they will imbibe ideas "above their station," will become dissatisfied with "that state of life to which it has pleased God to call them;" or otherwise, they will be rendered less capable of discharging the duties incidental to that state of life, will be turned into mere day-dreamers. Though time has been when this theory was somewhat prevalent, it well might be thought that it was wholly and not only partially exploded in the present day. It is, however, the nature of beliefs of this kind to die hard. There are minds in which this particular belief is not yet extinct—in which it is not dead but sleepeth. Even now it might give rise to a certain degree of passive, if not active, opposition, to any general movement in favour of popular culture. But, while noting this, it is but fair to "the age we live in" to say that those holding such views as those here spoken of are comparatively few, and the number having the courage to openly avow their adherence to them still fewer. Such notions are very palpable, if not very choice or amusing, nonsense. That we may have too much of books as of other good things, that they as well as other things may be used to an excess that becomes an abuse, is of course a truism. One would have thought, however, that it must be plain to even "the meanest capacity" that the environments of working men guard them absolutely from any such abstract danger. They have



enough, and more than enough, of the "stern realities" of life to ensure them against becoming mere bookworms, or falling into any effete or pottering form of dilettanteism. There is no class upon whose lives culture would act more bracingly than upon theirs—none whose value in the state of life unto which they are called it could affect more beneficially.

Another argument that we have heard put forward by those who are not inclined to regard the question of popular culture as one of first-rate importance, runs to the purport, that, "if it comes to that," other classes of Society are in their degree uncultured. Their working-time, it is said, is devoted exclusively to money-making, and their leisure hours to amusements and competition in social displays. That there is "something in" this, he who runs may read in signs of the times which are open to the observation of all. But if it were as fully true as it could be, the inference deduced from it, that therefore the evil of non-culture as concerns the working-classes is less an evil, would still, it seems to us, be utterly inconsequential. Such a proposition is best answered by the old adage, that no number of blacks make a white. If this question of culture *were* a matter of comparisons between classes, the *relative* position of the working-classes in being uncultured would be rather an aggravation than a mitigation of the absolute position as it now stands. Some sort of pleasure man must have, or at any rate will crave for. In money-costing pleasures the working-man is less able than others to indulge, while such pleasures are almost the only ones open to the uncultured. Where, however, the working-man is also a man of culture his means for enjoyment are greatly enlarged. Many of the higher pleasures, that only the cultured can appreciate, are at his command, literally without money and without price.

That by culture the working-classes would be mentally, morally, and materially benefited there can be no reasonable doubt. The question is—and though we are putting it last it is anything but least—how may the much-needed culture be diffused among the masses? It is not a question to be answered confidently, and certainly not one to be answered lightly or off-handedly. Many will have to take part in answering it before it can be effectually answered in practice. Still, with a full perception of the difficulties surrounding the question, one may venture to say, and even emphatically, that the thing is certainly doable. For our own part, though we have given much thought to the subject, we do not profess to have any cut-and-dried scheme to propound. Our general ideas as to the means of accomplishment will to some extent have been gathered from what has gone before. The first thing needful, to our thinking, is the general recognition of the fact, that while the masses are uncultivated a general diffusion of culture among them is possible as well as desirable. A general realization of how much that fact means, and of the immensely important difference between the *Is* and *The Might Be*, in this matter, would be a great step in advance.



Next we would suggest that those having official charge of the elementary education of the country, from "My Lords" of the Department downwards, should thoughtfully put themselves to the question. Should ask themselves, Whether the existing methods of education are quite the best that could be organized? Whether, to go a little into detail, those methods have not too much of cram, and too little of culture, in them? Whether they are not oppressive, and would not be improved by being made to confine the school-work within school-hours, thus giving the children less worry and more leisure? Whether, again, they are not of a dead-level inelastic character, and in their entirety too merely mechanical alike in operation and results? Lastly, whether the system under which the teachers in our public elementary schools are trained is one reasonably well-calculated to fit them to so conduct their work as to make it what it undoubtedly ought to be, a stepping-stone to future culture upon the part of the taught? That there must be room for improvement in the organization of our elementary education, none who are in a position to judge by such educational results as have been hitherto achieved, can for a moment question. The pity of it is that a consciousness of this fact does not seem to impress itself upon the minds of those who would have it in their power to introduce improvements. Still there are not wanting some signs of a coming dawn, of a certain struggling towards the light. Happily inspired publishers have issued in school book-form "*Robinson Crusoe*," Southey's "*Life of Nelson*," and one or two other works of a like interesting character. The leading school-boards have been wise enough to place these volumes on their Requisition Lists; and as they are found by experience to give schoolchildren a much greater interest in their work than the older forms of "reading book," they are being freely requisitioned by teachers. This is decidedly a movement in the right direction. Its advantages, it may be admitted, have their accompanying drawbacks; but, with the fullest allowance made on that score, the balance of gain is still great. There is undeniably a certain degree of double-edgedness about the practice of using such a work as "*Robinson Crusoe*" as a school-book. The interest of the narrative must necessarily be more or less impaired by being read not only in piecemeal, but, so to speak, in sandwich fashion—between, say, slices of grammar and arithmetic. Again, to deprive boys of the resources of "skip" in connection with *any* book has certainly, as a general principle, a tendency to put them out of conceit with the work; and even in so enthralling a story as "*Robinson Crusoe*" there is *for children* some skip. To the adult reader the frequent and occasionally somewhat lengthy moralizings of Robinson are to the full as interesting as the action of the story. Their vraisemblance, their fitness to the character of the man, and to the influences upon him of the situation in which he is placed, make them a delightful study to those whose own minds have attained to the reflective stage. But the minds of children have



not—in this connection at any rate—reached the reflective stage. With them “the play’s the thing” wherewith to catch the moral consciousness. To be effective with them, the tale must point its moral, not set it forth in undramatic soliloquy. As a consequence of this condition of things, it is discovered in practice that the set moralizings of *Crusoe* are apt to pall upon boys; especially when they are given—as we have heard them given—as a dictation lesson. These are the unfavourable features of the new departure. Embodied in the form of abstract propositions there would be a good deal in them. Applied to the particular instance here in view they lose power. There is something in them even in this case, but the something is not much when weighed against the countervailing force. They are points that tell disastrously against the ordinary patchwork lesson-books. They do prevent those books from becoming incentives to higher forms of reading than the task-work reading of the school. But such books as “*Robinson Crusoe*” or “*The Life of Nelson*” are *not* ordinary school-books. They stand upon a widely different footing. Their story interest is so intense that dips into them, even in the shape of reading lessons, will, as a rule, captivate boys. Awakened to their charms in this manner, youngsters will generally manage to read them for themselves on some more continuous plan. But even if that were not the case, if the whole of such a story as “*Robinson Crusoe*” came to a child solely through the medium of daily reading lessons, the impression made would still be powerful, still likely to create a taste for reading. Works of such a class as those we are speaking of might be made doubly useful as school-books. They need not be kept as reading-books only. We think we may confidently assert that a geography lesson could be made much more interesting, and therefore much more effective, if given in illustration of the voyages of *Robinson Crusoe* or the naval exploits of Lord Nelson, than if given from a cut-and-dried geographical lesson-book.

School libraries would also be a valuable means for popular culture: always provided they were of the right kind—consisted, that is to say, of a well-selected collection of such books as boys might be expected not simply to read, but to revel in. This being the case, it is cheering to be able to note that in this direction also signs of a possible good time coming are making themselves visible. The London School Board, at any rate, has established lending libraries for its schools. They are very small affairs, and, having regard to what ought to be their special purpose, are by no means “judgmatically” selected. Nevertheless they constitute a recognition of the importance of general reading as an instrument of an improved elementary education. Even in their present rudimentary state they are doing good. Though they have in their make up works for which children are not likely to care, they have also numbers well calculated to fill the youthful mind with delight. Taken with all their imperfections on their head, with their large needs in the way of extension and improvement, and of a wider and more systematic



appreciation of the fact that they have a distinctively educational function—taken even thus, they are beginning to show themselves operative in the direction of culture.

These libraries and the introduction into school-work of such reading-books as we have been mentioning are things to be thankful for, but not to rest upon. They are isolated facts, and alone do not justify any sanguine expectations. They should not be allowed for a moment to turn aside the efforts of those who are desirous of seeing elementary education systematically organized with a view to popular culture. They are not the outcome of any orderly conception of the general relativity of education to culture, or the special relativity of the elementary education of the working-classes to its environment. They are fortunate accidents, but still only accidents. And the chapter of accidents, on the whole, as we have pointed out at length, is decidedly against popular culture. If a well-selected library formed part of the apparatus of every public elementary school, we might confidently expect to see the reign of the penny dreadfuls come to a speedy close. The penny journals of "pure" literature, sometimes started in avowed opposition to the dreadfuls, and claiming special support upon that ground, have hitherto greatly failed to attract the class who read the dreadfuls. Nor is the cause for this far to seek. Pure these would-be youth-reforming publications may be, but they are *goody* withal—essentially and unmistakably *goody*. This same quality of *goody-ness* has also been more or less a characteristic of such examples of recently established school-libraries as we have had opportunities of looking over, and such libraries could have no more self-defeating quality in their composition. Of all kinds of reading the *goody* kind is the most objectionable to the average boy. Certain it is that he will not take to it, and if it is enforced upon him it will not lead to a habit of voluntarily reading in manhood. On the other hand, boys who during their school-days had had the run of such a library as we are suggesting would in many instances—we think we may safely say in a majority of instances—have acquired a healthy appetite for reading. It is in the school that the broad foundations of popular culture will have to be laid, if they are laid at all. The superstructure to be built upon the foundations will have to be in a great measure self-planned and self-raised; still beyond the school-house and the school-days there will always be left ample room and verge enough for outside assistance in the work—not merely in preaching culture, or affording guidance to those requiring it, but also in furnishing means for its self-acquirement. The Free Library movement has still to be developed. Employers may do a great deal where bodies of men are concerned, and few who cared to look for would fail to find opportunities to advance the cause of culture in individual instances.

Though we have not spoken distinctively of women in dealing with this subject, they have really been involved by inference in all we have



been saying. If the men were cultured, the culture of the women would follow by the operation of a natural law. It is a general tendency of the womanhood of any class of society to conform to the tastes of the manhood of its class; and a man of culture would desire to have culture in his wife, and would so far as in him lay bestow it upon his children. The instincts of women are favourable to culture. Even as matters stand, upon this point the women of the working-classes are relatively in a better position than the men. There are no dreadfuls specially appealing to them as girls, while the class of serial of which they are leading supporters, though silly enough, are no worse than silly. Moreover the women are not newspaper readers. If they go beyond their weekly serials, it is to such books as may come in their way, and books in the better classes of general reading are nowadays so plentifully scattered about that there is always a reasonable probability of any woman reader coming upon something good—some work, say, of Thackeray or George Eliot or the like. And a few such chances occurring to the same individual would go a long way towards improving her taste in reading.

The general culture we have in view would rather aid than clash with individual efforts towards the attainment of a higher education in the more strictly technical sense of the term. It is a culture the achievement of which is as certainly possible as its results would be undoubtedly beneficial. It would be a substantial and lasting culture, not a mere passing fashion. There are forms of culture, falsely so called, which *would* be injurious to the working-classes, supposing they could ever attain to the means of indulging in them. The popular culture we have been advocating would, however, have nothing in common with any merely fashionable culture. It would require no hyper-æsthetical jargon to expound it. Nor would it have any tendency to seek outlets in crazes for crockery, or exhibitions of oddity in art, or house furnishing. This, we trust, we have made clear throughout, but it is important to leave no room either for honest doubt or disingenuous cavil on the point, that we expressly set it down.

The higher, healthier, simpler culture, which we have tried to shadow forth; the culture to be wrought by bringing the masses of the people to a knowledge of the boundless treasures that lie open to them in the glorious literature of their own country—this true and universally attainable culture could have no element of doubtfulness about it. Such a culture would bring no danger of snobbery in its path—require no form or fashion of affectation as its outward and visible sign. It would give added powers and usefulness to whatever degree of shrewdness, common-sense, or natural intelligence a man might possess independently of it. It would create a sense of intellectual pleasure, and feeling of intellectual self-resource, such as no degree of the afore-mentioned qualities alone could give. It would make men more valuable to themselves and to society; better men, better citizens, ay, and even better



workmen. As an instrument to elevate the masses, it would in itself be powerful beyond all others, and at the same time be a handle that would fit all others. The sorrowfully plentiful lack of culture among the general body of the people is, however, what we would chiefly wish to impress upon our readers. The benefits that would flow from its general diffusion must be tolerably self-evident. To make it general would be a work of time—a work, moreover, in which, as we have said, many would have to take part. It would be a work the accomplishment of which would highly repay all who esteem a consciousness of good done as the highest form of payment for labour given in a great cause—a work than which few could be more worthy of the attention of those who, like Ben Adhem, would say, “Write me as one who loves his fellow-men.”

THOMAS WRIGHT.

# ANCIENT EGYPT IN ITS COMPARATIVE RELATIONS.

LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION IN  
FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1881.

## II.

### RELIGION IN RELATION TO LIFE.

WHAT was the relation of the Egyptian religion to human life? This is a difficult question, for it deals with a subject always coloured by individual feeling. Yet there are leading facts which may aid us to form a clear judgment.

First of all we must separate the evidence of the temples and that of the tombs.

Nowhere perhaps was temple worship so little a popular service as in Egypt. The very construction of the temples forbade multitudes to assemble. The worship was conducted by the king as supreme priest, and by other priests admitted to aid him, or to take his place. The people could see a glimpse of the great processions when they marched through the outer enclosure, and perhaps a few were admitted within its precincts, but this was all. Of what passed inside the edifice they could only know by report, or by reading.

Nowhere was the worship of the tombs so popular as in Egypt. The sepulchral chapel was the centre of family meeting. Its services were known to the whole household. In fact it was the family temple.

### THE WORSHIP OF THE TEMPLE.

The inscriptions which are the explanatory text of the religious sculptures covering the walls and columns of the temples are usually, until the age of Greek influence, singularly uninteresting. The king prays to a god, and makes offerings; in return the god promises him happy life, success over his enemies, the common things which men desire. This is stated in the most general form, and leaves us in the dark as to the individual king's wishes. Nothing could be less instructive than these endless repetitions of barren formulas.



These wall-inscriptions do not, in the age before the Ptolemies, give us the words of the services, for, as already said, they merely explain the sculptures. For what was chanted by the officiating priest we must refer to the hymns, several of which have come down to our time. In reading them we are startled by their lively contrast to the dead forms of the inscriptions. They are the voices of men speaking from the depth of the heart with strong faith, and their language is in its noble and simple expression worthy of a true religious service. Their resemblance to Semitic hymns is most remarkable, suggesting a line of inquiry which must be followed.

We cannot conceive these hymns to be a natural development of the sterile commonplaces of the mural inscriptions. They are fresh and living utterances, not mummified hieratic phrases.

It seems significant that the Egyptian hymns are in no known instance older than the Eighteenth Dynasty. (Cf. Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures*, 218.) Similarly, the Litany of Ra, despite its mystic subject and magical character, breaks through the puerile formality of the Book of the Dead. Dignified throughout, it rises at the close to language of noble pathos, in the king's address to the Underworld personified.

This seeming change in the speech of religion is coincident with the appearance of a fresh phase of the language itself, the new Egyptian, which in its full development under the Ramessides is marked by the strongest Semitic influence. It might be thought hazardous to rest on what seems negative evidence, and because the hymns of earlier times are not known, and because the Litany of Ra is not written in the style of the Book of the Dead, to argue that the thought which appears to be new is truly so. But if it were not new, we should be able to trace the germs of the higher feeling and more intense expression in the older literature. That literature comprises documents which would show what we are seeking had they been written by men like the later scribes. Yet neither sculptured memoir, which we shall see to be the expansion of the funeral tablet, nor didactic book of this older period, contains a fragment in the exalted strain of the later hymns, whereas the literature of which these hymns are a part sometimes shares their elevation. It is, therefore, not on purely negative evidence that the finest religious literature of the age of the new Egyptian may be connected with the influences which gave the language a fresh development.

The expulsion of the warlike part of the Shepherd race from Egypt did not destroy the prevailing Semitic element in the eastern part of the Lower Country. To this day the descendants of the Strangers may be distinguished from the population of the other districts. To these must be due the introduction of Semitic words into Egyptian, carried to an extreme by the scribes of the Ramessides, who endeavoured to make their language as Semitic as possible by the adoption of words, and when this failed, by changing the form of the native words, a fashion which it would be hard to parallel. Surely



thoughts as well as words might have fallen under this strange power of the conquered to subdue their conquerors. If so, perhaps it will never be proved whether the Egyptians were influenced by thought alone, or by its expression in actual composition. Yet the idea of an old Semitic literature in Lower Egypt is not a wild fancy. The Shemites have always been a literary race, whether they have trusted to memory alone or have committed their compositions to writing. The conditions of the Arabs before Mohammad, and of the Hebrews of the Talmudic age, a wandering people and a settled subject population, well represent those of the Hebrews and the Shepherds under the Egyptian Empire, the nomads and the townfolk.

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conjecture that the Egyptian hymns owe their vitality to Semitic influence, whether direct or indirect, to the contact with a race of finer religious instincts, or even to the knowledge of their literature. Should the characteristics of the hymns be traced to an earlier date, the Semitic element in the oldest Egyptian would have to be taken into account, as more than a linguistic influence, and we should regard the scribes of the Ramessides as having been subjected to a second wave of Semitic influence, so strong as to warrant our looking for its effect in their writings.

#### COMPARATIVE NOTE.

In endeavouring to trace the source of this remarkable literature the work of comparison has been in part sketched. To carry it farther would involve an elaborate criticism of wide provinces of literature, and the juxtaposition of long extracts. It may, however, be said that the Egyptian hymns stand, for the strength and elevation of personal sentiment, next after the Hebrew psalms, and that the hymns of the Akkadians occupy a similar place, though it may be that the last are of the later period of their literature, and thus not improbably under Semitic influence. The Vedic and Greek religious writings which may be compared are of a less personal and intense character, and are thus on an inferior level.

#### THE WORSHIP OF THE TOMB.

The supreme importance of the tomb was due to the connection of the doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of man's moral responsibility. According to the Book of the Dead, the future condition was finally determined by the actions done upon earth. And as the trials of the soul did not end with death, but rather then began in a new and more intense form, the future overshadowed the present, and the divine government of the other world was more important to man than that of this world.

Nothing but a strong and abiding conviction can account for the devotion of the Egyptians to the tomb. They were a mirth-loving people, devoid of austere and sombre qualities, yet they spent a great



part of their wealth in raising or excavating the costliest tombs in the world, each man, whether king or subject, beginning his sepulchre on coming into the control of his estate, and sometimes even earlier. Their ideas of death were human. The common formula of the tomb, asking the passer-by to say a prayer for the welfare of the soul, is frequently varied by the phrase "as you love life and hate death."\* The Egyptians were natural. Yet death was ever present in their minds as the necessary door of the all-important future life. The strength of this idea tended to break away the barrier between the two existences. Thus, while the common instinct is seen in the lamentations of the funeral, the rarer faith is perceived in the descriptions of the deceased as leading in the other world the life he had had lived on earth in a renewed youth, which moved forward not to decay but to beatitude.

It will be best to follow the Egyptian from his death through the preparatory rites, in the funeral procession, to the tomb, and to accompany him into the other world. In the two sections following, large use has been made of M. Maspero's admirable essay, '*Étude sur quelques peintures et sur quelques textes relatifs aux funérailles,*' in "*Études Égyptiennes,*" tom. i. fasc. 2.

#### PREPARATORY RITES.

The first and most essential duty to the dead was that his body should be preserved as a mummy. The whole process of embalming occupied eighty days, or less. Into its well-known details it is not necessary here to enter, but we may enquire into its object. The first and most natural answer would be that the Egyptians believed in the resurrection of the body. Yet, when we come to examine their literature, we do not obtain the evidence we expected. Had this dogma lain at the root of their elaborate and costly funeral rites it would have appeared everywhere on the surface. Instead of this, the passages which seem to state it are scanty, and may easily be referred to the survival of the mysterious "double," whom we shall see to hold a leading place in the Egyptian ideas of the future condition. There is very little that would lead us to suppose that it was thought the mummy would one day burst asunder his cerecloths and reappear in human form. To what then can we attribute the custom of mummification? First of all the climate suggested it. A body buried in the sand of the desert, on the edge of the Nile valley, where it would be safe from the effects of the inundation, would be dried up, and to a great degree preserved. Affection would naturally improve on the mere course of Nature, as in other climates it has preferred cremation to the slow progress of decay. The idea of preservation once adopted, it would be an advantage that the mummy should remain undecayed in the sepulchral chamber beneath the chapel, where the family year after year performed the

\* M. Maspero cites the curious variant, "if you love life and desire that you may not know death," "*Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes, Lyon,*" i., 243.



prayers that should benefit the soul in the other world. To maintain these services in perpetuity an endowment was needed, and for this purpose a charge was made on the estates of the deceased. Thus the mummy became a title-deed by which property was held. So long as the priests received the quit-rent of offerings and salaries, the property was secured to the heirs. Such strong reasons suffice to explain this custom, without our putting a forced construction on the scanty evidence hitherto alleged to show that the Egyptians believed in the resurrection of the body.

The tomb was the eternal abode, and therefore it was fitted out as a home upon earth. The soul of the deceased traversed the space of the Underworld, and yet the deceased inhabited the tomb. In these views we see the arrest of the Egyptian idea in its progress from the simple notions of savages to an imaginative conception of the other state. The two views are reconciled by the theory that the soul revisited the mummy in the sepulchral chamber: but this is not enough to account for the care with which this chamber was furnished. We have in our Museums many Egyptian objects of use in all the daily events of the home, from the moment of rising to the time of sleep, vases for unguents, the instruments for the stibium with which the eyes were painted, changes of raiment, linen for all uses, vessels for food and drink, tables and spoons, chairs and stools, head-rests; and more than this, the very viands that were placed for the feast. These all came from tombs. Of course the idea became symbolical, but it is clearly a relic of an ancient usage common to many savage races, who cannot forbear to place with the dead some provisions for their sustenance.

Thus, while the mummy was being prepared, workmen of many crafts laboured to produce or complete the wooden cases, the outer sarcophagus of stone, and the furniture of the tomb. No doubt little was left to the last which could be done before. The Egyptians prepared their tombs for years, and, while doing so, must have been careful to make ready their furniture. It was not wise to throw these vast expenses into a period not equal to three months, nor to trust to the piety of heirs.

Besides the actual furniture, the deceased was supplied with his weapons, once no doubt for actual defence in the conflicts of the Underworld, but from the earliest date of the Egyptian monuments merely in reminiscence of former usage. Here we may safely say, that the oldest religious documents do not warrant our supposing that arms were given for actual warfare. Yet so strong was the survival, that even the car introduced into Egypt perhaps two thousand years after the date of those documents, was placed in the tomb.

Statues of the deceased in wood or stone were not the least essential part of the contents of the sepulchre. Their object was to represent, and, as it were, embody, its existing inhabitant, the double. Their importance decreased as the apparition theory, to which this strange



being owed his existence, gradually gave place to a strong faith in the voyages of the soul in the other world. These statues were anciently numerous, in order that the chance of at least one surviving accidents might be good, and in the same age they were carefully immured in a secret chamber. In the decline or disuse of these customs, we note a transition in the direction already marked.

The funeral boats, both the costly galleys for the mummy and the mourners and the skiffs of papyrus for the offerings, formed a more practical part of the preparation, though it is believed that in some cases they were kept ready for hire, to limit the enormous outlay of the obsequies. In the tombs, space did not admit of their being placed, and therefore they were represented by models.

Various amulets, in precious substances or in porcelain, prepared under the strict conditions of ritualistic prescriptions, and destined to aid the soul in the Underworld, formed a necessary part of the preparation. The most common are of the type which represents the Ushabti, "the Answerer" or "Aider," whom the dead called to his assistance in reaping the mighty corn which grew in the Elysian Fields. They are usually in blue or green porcelain, and they represent the deceased, sometimes in his ordinary attire, at others, as a mummy with the implements of agriculture. Thus they are mystical doubles. Lastly, the costliest ornaments of women, and the playthings of children, the games of men, as well as the implements of their sports and their handicrafts, complete this epitome of daily life placed in the sepulchral chamber, in more or less detail, when it was closed, as the mourners hoped, for ever. Most strangely the earliest tombs are scantily furnished.

#### THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

At length all was ready for the crowning ceremony which was to conduct the mummy to his eternal abode. And here we note that all the inscriptions, whether of mummy, or mummy-case, or sarcophagus, or tomb, invariably characterize the deceased by some term which implies that he has passed the judgment and been counted among the blest. If the Egyptians were satisfied as to the future state of the soul, why did they lay so much stress on the judgment before Osiris? Some preliminary steps surely must have been taken to test the worthiness of the deceased before the priests admitted the certainty of his final acquittal. There are two curious passages in which Diodorus Siculus states that the Egyptians were not allowed the usual rites of burial, if during the funeral the people did not bear evidence to the rectitude of their lives or accused them of crime. He states that the king's mummy was placed at the entrance of the sepulchre, and that the priests then pronounced a funeral eulogy; and if the people dissented, there were no ceremonies in the burial (i. 72). In describing the funeral rites in general, he says, that before the mummy was placed in the boat to pass the sacred lake on the day of the funeral, more than forty judges sat, and any one was at liberty to accuse the dead before



he could be embarked. If the accusation were proved, the ceremonies of interment were prohibited. It appears that the mummy was then taken back for private burial in the house (92). It has been naturally thought that the judges of Diodorus were the forty-two assessors of Osiris in the final judgment in Hades; and that he confused the future state with the present, as could easily be done by a stranger confronted with the realistic pictures of the Egyptians. But the customs of the modern Egyptians very curiously illustrate the question. In nothing so much as in their funeral rites do they seem to have handed down the usages of ancient times. The dramatic show of grief on the part of the women of the household, aided by the professional wailers, portrays the old funeral ceremony in its most striking part. The disconnected cries of lamentation are the old chants broken into fragments by time. When the prayer in the mosque has been finished, the Imám, addressing the persons present, says, "Give your testimony respecting him." They reply, 'He was of the virtuous.'" The service is then shortly completed and the funeral train proceeds to the burial-ground. (Lane's "Modern Egyptians," xxviii.) An instance is recorded in which the congregation refused to give the customary answer (*Id.* iv.). This shadowy survival shows the truth of the statements of Diodorus, whose obscurity and inconsistency are easily explained by the readiness with which the wealthy could usually evade the unpleasant interruption of the funeral ceremony by satisfying the accusers. The judges would of course represent the jury of the Underworld, and without a verdict from them it would be impossible for the priesthood to anticipate that later decision on which the beatification of the deceased, already assumed in the inscriptions of his mummy and tomb, was held to depend.

The funeral took place in the morning, and the train first went from the house to the river, the crossing of which was an important part of the ceremony. The west was the symbolical direction of the Underworld, and therefore, when possible, the tombs were on the western side of the Nile. This applies to the great cemeteries of Memphis, Abydos, and Thebes. It is probable that when the tombs were on the eastern bank, the train passed across a sacred lake. M. Maspero has described the funeral procession from the pictures of the Eighteenth Dynasty, translating the most important inscriptions. His results are here briefly summarized. The order of the procession is nearly regular: the details necessarily vary in pictures which deal with a ceremony differing according to the rank and wealth of each individual. There are four distinct stages which it will be convenient to separate,—the march from the house to the Nile, the passage of the stream, the resumed march to the tomb and interment, and the funeral feast.

#### 1. *The Progress from the House to the River.*

In one picture we see the slaves or servants of the deceased conveying offerings, the calf to be sacrificed, the furniture of the tomb, a sacred



ark of the sun. The wailing women, the friends and kinsfolk surround the bier. In another representation we read in the inscriptions the cries of the wailing women, who lament the dead while they praise his truthfulness. The sledge of the bier, drawn along by oxen, is preceded by a man who sprinkles the road with milk, not, as when a statue was moved, with water. This is a ceremony of purification. A priest offers incense and a libation to the deceased, who is himself a high priest. The wife cries with true simplicity, "Desert me not, desert me not, O great one, desert me not." It is a voice of true grief, unlike the hired complaints and the constant refrain of all, "To the West."

### 2. *The Passage of the Nile.*

The scene of crossing the river would be easy to understand, were it not for the inscriptions. In one picture a priest at either extremity makes offerings to the departing and to the arriving boat bearing the mummy, between which are two other boats, one going, the other coming, in which are seated the figures of the deceased and his living wife. This is a picture of the passage of the river. Yet it is called both the passage to the west of Thebes, and the passage to Abydos. Thus, passing from his house to his tomb at Thebes, the deceased, it would seem, makes the voyage to Abydos many miles distant. M. Maspero has, with his usual acuteness, read this enigma, which is one of the many cases in which the Egyptian scenes have a double meaning.

The ceremonies of interment ruled the destiny, not alone of the body, but of the soul. When the mummy was conveyed to the tomb, the intelligence passed out of this world to "the other world." The very place was known; it was a cleft in the mountain on the west of Abydos. Here the boat of the sun plunged into its nocturnal course, and the souls of men entered with it under the protection of Osiris. It is probable that the mystical voyage to Abydos was actually performed by the priests for the good of the dead, but it did not form part of the Theban ceremonies of interment. It would thus have been supplementary.

The passage of the Nile is represented with the strange mixture of liveliness and solemnity that marks the Egyptian art of the tombs. The directions of the boat-captains are mingled with the cries of real and official lamentation. A touch of humour which is true to Nature, as in Shakspeare, relieves the sadness of the picture. A little canoe, bearing offerings, is almost overturned by the rudder of a galley. The wife of the deceased, in her touching lament, takes us back to the true interest of the subject. She prays him to remain; calls on the rowers to stay their labour. They will go home, he to the land of eternity.

### 3. *The resumed Procession.*

There is nothing to note in the second progress from the Nile to the tomb until the close, when the mummy, removed from beneath the



catafalque, was placed before the door of the sepulchre, looking outwards, to receive the farewell of his family. Here again there is sometimes a touch of human feeling, as when the same wife, of whom we have just heard the cry, again addresses her husband, lamenting their separation, speaking more of her loss to him than of his to her, and bewailing his deprivation of the loving discourse of life. There is no hint of a future reunion. Husband and wife buried apart, often in different tombs, do not resume their joint life hereafter: at least we do not trace that solacing idea in the sepulchral inscriptions. In one case the lamentations of the wailing women comprise phrases which form a eulogy, and close with an address to the coffin not to be silent, for it could, with its inscriptions, tell the virtues and honours of the deceased to future generations. M. Maspero has translated a most remarkable address from a husband to his deceased wife, which may be taken either as a sincere lament, elaborated at least three years after his loss, to be recited at some funeral feast; or as a formal protest against her for haunting him, framed so as to lay her unquiet spirit by an appeal to the gods of the Underworld. The choice between these two explanations depends upon whether we take the terms of complaint, and even of accusation, as symbolic of intense grief, or as literally meant. I must again refer to the modern Egyptian funeral ceremonies. Speaking only from memory, I should say that the lament of the family takes the form of reproach. If this lament were raised to the intensity it would attain among a monogamous people we should expect something like the tone of the old document, and we would gladly accept this explanation as the one in harmony with conjugal affection.

The last farewell was said to the mummy, the last embrace given, and he was carried into the tomb, where the final funeral rites were performed by the priests and his family. It was necessary that the body, wrapped in bandages, and covered by the mummy-cases and the sarcophagus, should, before being finally hidden in the sepulchral chamber for ever, receive a mystic freedom of movement which would symbolize the progress of the soul in the other world. This mysterious ceremony does not necessarily imply the resurrection of the body; probably it was rather a symbolic protest against the material ideas that would naturally cling to the seclusion of the dead.

#### *4. Funeral Sacrifice and Feast.*

Before or after the interment, the funeral sacrifice was made and the funeral feast was spread. The sacrifice provided the feast: both were the first of a series which were kept on certain days of the year in perpetuity. But no doubt the first sacrifice and feast had an unusual importance. The tombs give us pictures of both. The banquet is of especial interest, as it affords a key-note to the Egyptian idea of death. We used to think that in these lively portrayals the master and mistress of the house, with their joyous guests, crowned and



garlanded with the fragrant lotus, entertained by musicians and dancers, were enjoying the great repasts of common life. We now know that they are seated at the funeral banquet. The master of the house is there, but only in semblance. The feast is a solemnity, not a rejoicing, a meeting at the moment of parting, a last family gathering to close the funeral with the strongest contrast of life and death. It may have been held in the court of the tomb, or at home; we do not know: each place seems equally appropriate. The singing women tell both the living and the dead to enjoy the present day; the living because life is but a moment, the dead because he is about to enter on the eternal repose of the tomb. The dirge was no doubt an essential part of the feast. Its purport, in the two forms which have come down to us, is to counsel the enjoyment of life in the certainty of its transitory nature and its definite end with death. The older dirge speaks to the living; it is the later one, which, by a development of ideas, includes the dead. The notion that death was but a change of state, and that the departed still lived does not explain this. It is rather due, one would think, to the importance of the master of the household, whom the harper addressed as he chanted the dirge, and who, at his last festal meeting was still present in the midst of his family. No doubt the tendency of the dirge was epicurean, yet we must remember the need to draw the mind of the Egyptians from the engrossing force of the contemplation of the other world.

#### THE TOMB.

The deceased has taken possession of his eternal abode, duly adorned and furnished. We must endeavour to understand its construction, and the object for which its different parts were intended. M. Mariette, in an admirable memoir (*Rev. Arch.*, N.S., xix. 7, 81), and in the introduction to his guide to the Boolák Museum, has given the complete information which a great explorer could alone afford. The subject deserves a separate essay, in order that its comparative relations might be traced. Here, the shortest sketch must suffice.

The most ancient tombs consisted of three principal parts, the chapel, the pit and the sepulchral chamber. The chapel was usually in a mass of masonry; the pit led from the roof of the structure through the stonework, and was continued in the rock beneath, ending in a horizontal shaft leading to the sepulchral chamber beneath the chapel. Sometimes there was a secret chamber in the masonry, which was only connected with the chapel by air-holes. The Pyramids deviated from this plan in having their chapels in front of the main structures. At the funeral, the mummy having been deposited in the sepulchral chamber, its passage was closed and the pit filled up, the chapel alone remaining open for the yearly services of the family. The forms of tombs vary, but the oldest, including the secret chamber, is the complete type which we must keep in mind.



The whole interest centres in the chapel. The purpose of its pictures, to which we owe our knowledge of Egyptian life, is clearly put in the oldest inscription, which surmounts the entrance. It is a prayer to Anubis, the god of embalming, and later to Osiris, the judge of the dead, for a good funeral, a happy journey in the other world, and funeral offerings in perpetuity. This formula is, as Mariette has shewn, the key to the subjects represented in the chapel. This little shrine, the centre of family worship, usually opens from the east; and in its western face, at the entrance to the Underworld, is the sepulchral stelè, repeating the external formula. This was the most essential part of the chapel, the record of the dead, his household, and his rank and titles, which grew to be a memoir of his life for all posterity, though of course the fullest memoirs had to be written where there was more space. And in alluding for a moment to the Egyptian memoir, that most precious source of knowledge of this ancient people, it must not be forgotten that it presents a high ideal of human duties. It may be in many cases mere panegyric; but no nation imagines virtues that it has not witnessed, and the Egyptian type of moral worth must, therefore, be taken into account in our estimate of the national character.

The subjects of the walls of the chapel, or indeed chapels, for sometimes there were more than one, are scenes of home life, of hunting and fishing, of stock-taking, of artificers of all kinds exercising their crafts, in fact, a picture more or less complete, of the occupations of the owner of the tomb.

The intention of these pictures is told us by an Egyptian prince, of the age of the Twelfth Dynasty, in his tomb at Benée-Hasan, where he states that "he has made his monument to himself, from the moment when he began to work at his tomb, rendering his name flourishing for ever, representing himself for ever in his sepulchral grotto, rendering the names of his household flourishing, and representing each one according to his employment, the workpeople and the people of his house; he has divided among the serfs all the occupations, and shown all the subordinates (?) such as they are." (Maspero, "*Peintures des tombeaux Égyptiens*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, *Mélanges*," xxxv. 45.)

This is the idea which stimulated the Egyptians to hand down to posterity in their chapels the scenes of their lives. It is a truly monumental instinct. Yet the pictures have a direct reference to the end of life on earth. If we have the daily occupations of the household and serfs before our eyes, those which concerned the funeral of their master are the most essential, and are seen at the moment when they were directed to this end.

In the oldest tombs the three subjects of the external inscription, the good funeral, the happy journey through the other world, and the offerings in perpetuity, are the forms in which the religious sentiment appears. The commemorative instinct thus received its special direction. The funeral



is indicated by the preparations for its ceremonies; the feast appears in a specially religious form, rather as an offering to the dead than as a farewell banquet; the future journey of the soul is mysteriously indicated by a water progress, that which is afterwards united with the actual passage of the Nile in one representation; and the domains are figuratively represented by human forms, generally women, each carrying a special tribute. These offerings represent the tax by which the estates were held, the quit-rent paid to the priests, already spoken of in the beginning of this paper.

The secret chamber in the thickness of the masonry contained statues of the deceased, to which the smell of incense could pass through the air-holes communicating with the chapel. Yet the mummy reposed beneath, firmly shut away from the living, and the intelligence had gone on its journey through the other world to the judgment before Osiris. Here we must endeavour to ascertain the Egyptian doctrine of the soul, that we may understand these apparently contradictory theories.

#### THE SOUL.

These different theories rest upon different conceptions of the human soul. M. Maspero supposes that the Egyptians first thought the soul to be a substance scarcely less material than the body, with all the characteristics of the living person, which must be housed, fed, dressed. Thus arose the idea of the *Ka*, or double, so called, not as a translation of the Egyptian, which rather means type or person, but as expressing the intended idea. Perhaps genius would be the most satisfactory rendering.\* Later, the Egyptians imagined a being less gross than matter, yet endowed with the same properties, the essence of human nature; and this they called the *Baï*, which appears to mean substantial, and we may render soul; or else they thought of a particle of flame or light called *Khu*, the luminous, which we may call the intelligence. In spite of these evident modifications, they could not get rid of the earlier notion. They believed in the *Baï* and *Khu* without ceasing to believe in the *Ka*. Thus thinks M. Maspero. Each man, instead of having a single soul answering to the latest idea of his contemporaries on the subject, had several corresponding to the ideas of the successive religious or philosophic thinkers of his race. Did the priests endeavour to reconcile these ideas? It seems so, and that about the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty they divided the human person into four sections, grouped two and two; the body which supported the double, and after death dwelt with it in the tomb; the soul which served as a body for the intelligence which it accompanied in its transformations and successive existences. This view was limited to the few, and often these lost sight of it in ordinary language. So far M. Maspero. ("Étude sur quelques Peintures," 190 seq.) It will be admitted by all that the idea of the double cannot be philosophically reconciled with that of the soul and intelligence, but the notions of

\* See Renouf, Hibbert Lectures, 147 seq., for an admirable treatment of this question.



the combined existence of the soul and the intelligence are found in philosophic systems.

These definitions explain the origin and history of the different parts of the Egyptian tomb. The furniture of the sepulchral chamber and the pictures of the chapel served to solace the double, which, deprived of the body, resided in the statues, many of which were made, as already stated, that at least one might escape destruction. The decay of this idea is seen in the abandonment of the secret chamber, which we do not find in any but the most ancient group of tombs, around the Memphite pyramids. In later tombs the statues were placed in the chapel. Yet the term *Ka* remained, and the idea connected with it must have survived in a less material form. The funeral rites, intended at the outset to sustain the shadowy existence of the double, were, in due course, applied to the welfare of the soul and the intelligence. Ultimately the chapel disappears, and the whole cost is laid out in the sepulchral chamber. The original purpose of the primitive tomb had become too vague, and the rites were no longer connected with material existence. The wish to preserve the body as a mummy alone maintained its force.

#### THE WANDERINGS OF THE SOUL.

The Egyptian doctrine of the after-life of the soul is best derived from a study of the Book of the Dead, and the other sacred writings, which treat of what should be known upon earth with regard to existence beyond the grave.

The Book of the Dead is the most ancient and most important of this collection. M. Naville has in a few words summed up its character with his usual masterly precision. The greater part of Egyptian papyri is composed of the class of texts called the Ritual, or Book of the Dead. This is a collection of hymns and litanies considered to be recited by the deceased after death. These papyri were placed in the tombs beside the mummies. Their number is very considerable. According to the wealth of the person, the book is more or less long, from ten lines to a volume. They already appear before the Thirteenth Dynasty, the oldest being of a queen of the Eleventh. In course of time the text suffered, interpolations are admitted, chapters are dropped, others added. The art of copying was, with many scribes, a mere perfunctory business. Hence the need of that collation of the manuscripts of the best period which M. Naville, happily for science, has undertaken.

The work is a collection of hymns and prayers without direct link, and placed in an order which seems to us wholly arbitrary, differing according to the date of the papyrus. Among all these detached pieces there is one of special interest, the judgment-scene. The deceased is introduced into a hall of columns, the Hall of the Two Truths, at the end of which Osiris is seated on a throne. This divinity presides over a court of four judges, aided by forty-two witnesses. In the centre of the hall is a balance, in one of the scales of which is placed the heart, in



Egyptian the conscience of the deceased, while in the other is the emblem of the goddess of Truth. While the heart is being weighed, the person to be judged addresses in succession each of the forty-two witnesses, and declares that he has not committed that one of the forty-two deadly sins with which this special genius is concerned. The code of Egyptian morals thus displayed belongs to our next article, but it must be here noted that the forty-two sins are not the same in all the texts. This chapter is the key-note of the Book of the Dead. The deceased had before him in all the trials of the Underworld this great test. *Acquitted*, he passed through a farther probation to final bliss; *condemned*, his intelligence wandered in space a tormented and tormenting spirit, until annihilated by the Second Death. Among the trials of the future state one of the most interesting is the cultivation of the Elysian Fields. That it was of supreme importance is seen in the abundance of the little figures found in Egyptian tombs, which represent the Ushabti, or "Answerer" invoked by the deceased to perform in his person the labour of this mystical country (Comp. M. Naville, "Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes," Lyon, 1878, i. p. 255, from which most of the statement given above has been epitomized).

It is important to note certain leading ideas that here show themselves, especially the finality of the future state, the wicked ending in what we may believe to be annihilation, a doctrine which has a tinge of mercy in it, though it is far from being the view of Origen. There are many transformations of the soul, but no metempsychosis in the Pythagorean sense; the justified soul returns to the source of all good, the condemned passes away to annihilation through torments which are not eternal.

While the Book of the Dead contains a moral system inculcating the dependence of the final happiness or misery of mankind on the actions of life, the greater part is taken up by magical prescriptions, to gain by knowledge that which was the prize of virtue alone. It is a strange contradiction, consistent with the mixed character of the Egyptian religion, and the arrest of its myths between the physical and the moral view. The primitive fetishism always asserted itself, and while it maintained its archaic formulas it showed its influence in repressing development.

The human soul could never be content with such an expression as this of its hopes and fears. Hence a series of attempts to construct a worthier picture of the future. The other compositions which, without superseding it, grew up beside the old document, if mostly wearisome and repellent in language, are, in some cases, more systematic in their order. The Litany of Ra, already mentioned, has indeed a finer style than the Book of the Dead; the book which describes the passage of the sun along the celestial stream, the "Uranes," between the Elysian Fields, is at least more systematic; the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys embody a more intense expression.

That which surprises us most in these ancient works is the precise



mapping out of the Underworld, and yet the different forms in which this geography appears. The idea of a definite knowledge of the unknown land is not to be rashly compared to Dante's arrangement in the "*Divina Commedia*." His letter to Della Scala shows that he employed a conventional system for the purpose of allegory. This can scarcely be the Egyptian notion, for the countless figures of the Answerers would not have been made had the Elysian Fields not been firmly believed in. How then can we account for the strong conviction? Surely it must be a survival of an ancient belief which flowed in the very veins of the race. But here we are met with the difficulty of the want of agreement in the order of the precise geography. Is this the effect of a later view powerful enough to disturb the arrangement without destroying that which was thus thrown into disorder? We can but guess.

What was the influence on the Egyptians of the great doctrine of man's future accountability? We should have thought that living in the perpetual presence of this idea, conveyed in the whole range of funeral ceremonies, and embodied in the Book of the Dead, they would have been vitally affected by so sound a principle of life. But their religion was too deeply imbued with the instincts of magic for this to be possible. It became in its relation to the Underworld purely perfunctory. For the simple faith in man's responsibility complex and costly services were substituted, and for the duties necessary to salvation money payment was the base equivalent. The pantheistic doctrine substituted the knowledge of prayers for the performance of deeds. At length the power of magic received a fatal shock by the contact with Greek philosophy, and there arose a profound disbelief in the whole future state, embodied in the well-known pathetic tablet of a high-priest's wife of the end of the Ptolemaic period, in which she addresses her husband from the land of shades, counselling him to enjoy life, for she has the experience of the dark oblivion of Hades. (Maspero, "*Étude*," p. 185 *seq.*) It is unlikely that the lady wrote this document while yet living; and we may conjecture from its general turn, and from a particular expression, that her husband wished thus to excuse himself for the intention of a second marriage.

#### COMPARATIVE VIEW.

The comparative aspect of the Egyptian religion in its relation to life can be but briefly handled. The subject is vast, yet its broad outlines may be sketched, and the reader will have no difficulty in filling up the details in most cases. Here we have rather to emphasize the strong resemblances and differences than to attempt a completeness which needs not a paper but at least a volume.

The Underworld, as thought of by the nations who dwelt beside the Tigris and Euphrates, is as yet a shadow-land to us. Their tombs are far less important, and convey far less information than those of Egypt. Some are certainly very ancient, and belong to a class in which



through a long period there was some attempt to furnish the abode of the dead. The most distinct ideas of the other world are ascribed to the Turanian Akkadians of Chaldæa; but we cannot tell whether they represent their primitive belief, or are later speculations under the influence of Assyrian or Babylonian thought. Until the texts from which the information is drawn are referred to their true dates, we must proceed with extreme caution. We are, however, struck by a similarity to Egyptian notions, which seems to indicate a common origin, and by a difference which would point to a very ancient separation. The Akkadian Hades would seem to be the Egyptian in a rudimentary form. Among its names M. Lenormant gives "Kur-nu-de," "the immovable land." The sound may be doubtful, as in many cuneiform readings, yet the similarity to the Egyptian "Kher-nuter," the Divine Underworld, the final "r" being weak, is to be noted. The difference of sense is a bar to the possible Akkadian source, unless we obtain proof that the Egyptians gave borrowed words new senses in their own language when these were appropriate. The meaning, "the immovable land," is more remarkable. One of the most common words for Hades in Egyptian is "Amenti," connected under the Empire with the root "amen," to conceal; but the oldest orthography, "Menti," would point to the root "men," to establish, make firm. (Cf. for all but the last derivation, Renouf "Hibbert Lectures," p. 130, n. 1.) The conception of existence beyond the grave seems, however, devoid of the Egyptian idea of rewards and punishments. The only hope of the dead was in a return to life, and this would appear to have been the exceptional fortune of a favoured few.

The Vedic ideas seem to have a distinct affinity with the Egyptian. The point of contact is in the notion of the ruler of the shades. Yama, or Death, is the soul of an ancestor, not a god. He and his twin-sister Yamî correspond in their relation, and in the similarity of their names to Osiris and Isis, equally containing a common root. Like the Egyptian divinities, they are solar. Yama rules the bright abodes of the happy dead; yet the way is barred by fierce dogs, four-eyed, thus the ancestors of Cerberus. It is very noteworthy that it is subsequently to the earliest period that Yama becomes a god, the judge of the dead. The Indian development was later than the Egyptian, and if the source be common, the assimilation is most remarkable. Mr. Renouf has pointed out the resemblance, but has accepted for comparison the later aspect in India of the myth ("Hibbert Lectures," pp. 110, 117, 118). It would be interesting to follow other analogies, but for this we need better materials than we yet possess on the Indian side. Obviously, ideas which cannot be traced up to the Vedic period are not to be used without extreme caution.

In early Greek customs and mythology, the Aryan and Egyptian doctrines which, if once common, had been long separated, meet and mix. The sepulchral rites perhaps present in their material form the strongest and most startling example. As early as the reign of Thothmes III.,



before B.C. 1500, Egypt had commercial intercourse with the islands of the eastern Mediterranean, at least with Cyprus. Already a material civilization, of Phœnician type under Egyptian influence, had spread so far. In the days of Rameses II., more than a century later, the Dardans, and probably Ilium herself, were allied with the Hittite king against the Egyptian. By the land routes of Asia Minor the commerce of Egypt, the most civilized nation of the time, must have travelled towards the western coast of the Ægean. Another century later, under Rameses III., took place that great mysterious movement of the maritime nations of the Mediterranean, which, though it must have shaken the better relations of the Greek and the Egyptian races, yet drew them into closer contact. The aggressors were beaten off the Egyptian coast, yet settlers remained, and intercourse by sea was no doubt more frequent. The stories which Homer makes Odysseus tell when he would disguise his identity, relate the repetition, on a small scale, of the old inroads, and show the familiarity with Egypt of the Greeks of the poet's time. We cannot suppose that these relations of commerce of war and of migration had no influence on the minds of the Greeks and their neighbours on the east and the south.

The old idea that one of the sources of Greek myth was Egypt must therefore be regarded as *à priori* not unworthy of examination. Now that we recognize the Vedic source of a part of the Greek Pantheon, and its generally Aryan character, we may fairly look elsewhere for that which is not Vedic, and most of all for that part which fills the nearly vacant spaces to be found in the primitive realm of thought. The Vedic Underworld is precisely the space which was most vacant, and which was afterwards filled by degrees with conceptions which are foreign to the old Vedic documents, with new individuals, new names, material ideas, fanciful theories, all alien to its line of thought.

The point of contact with Egypt, the meeting of the two streams, would be markedly shown in a mixed rite of burial at Mycenæ, if it be correctly surmised that the bodies discovered by Dr. Schliemann were embalmed, and yet half burnt, as if to conciliate two opposite theories. If embalming were derived from Egypt, why not the ideas which the Greeks saw surrounding the custom, the pictures of the Underworld with its judgment its felicity and its misery? We must leave the tempting comparison of the Greek and the Egyptian tombs and all they contained, a subject needing the most elaborate enquiry, and must give the little space that can be commanded to the conception of the world beyond the tomb.

The Islands of the Blest are placed by the Greeks in the West. The happy spirits bear a name *μάκαρες* recalling the Egyptian "makheru," (singular) triumphant, or justified. They abide in the Elysian Fields, the Egyptian Field of Aanru, where it must be observed that the "n" is a nasal, and that "r" and "l" are represented by the same letters. They are judged by Minos and by Rhadamanthys, in which latter name the Egyptian Ra of Amenti or Hades has been



recognized. We can account for the whole word except the second consonant, and it is useless to speculate whether it represents an Egyptian form or a Greek modification. The voyage of the soul, the rivers of Hades, have their direct counterparts in Egyptian belief. It is needless to overcharge this remarkable comparison with doubtful details; but a difficulty may be met, which, as often happens, is really a confirmation. Why have we Ra instead of Osiris as the judge of the dead? The intimate connection of the Greeks with Egypt began in the later days of the Empire, when the pantheistic Litany of Ra had taken the first place in the documents of the future state. What then more natural than that the worship of Ra of Amenti should have been more prominent than the older reverence of Osiris? If this doctrine was not unfolded to the generality, for this very reason it cannot have failed to have exercised an influence. Priests, scribes, artists, all who worked for the royal tomb, would have thought more of what was a hidden doctrine, and attached the utmost consequence to a leading idea that could not have escaped them. If the identification of the judge Rhadamanthys be accepted, we can thus obtain a date for the first germ of the novel view of the Underworld in the Greek mind.

The relation between the Egyptian and the Hebrew faith is again the most interesting subject of study. Moses, we know, was "educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and must have been well acquainted with one of the most popular parts of their belief, the doctrine of the future state, with its rewards and punishments. Yet in spite of the similarity of the Law in its ceremonial side to Egyptian rites, Moses nowhere teaches the doctrine which was in Egypt the religious basis of moral duties; he does not even mention the other world. The doctrine has failed, and he puts it out of sight. He does not so much as enjoin burial rites. He publishes no enactment as to the form of tombs. The later traces of sepulture are of the simplest kind until we reach the luxurious age of the kings.

It must be admitted that in Hebrew, as in Egyptian, it is often difficult to tell whether the grave or Hades is spoken of. A single Biblical term is usual for both. Even in the Pentateuch, as in Jacob's lament for Joseph, we see the secondary meaning, for the patriarch could not expect to rejoin in the tomb his son whom he thought had been devoured by wild beasts. Yet we fail to recognize this meaning in the teaching of the Law of Moses. But from the elasticity of the term for the grave, like so many others, we can readily understand the gradual expansion of the idea it conveyed. We may even believe with Origen that a like higher meaning lay, as it were, in the germ in the temporal rewards and penalties of the Law, from which it came forth in its completeness in due time. However this may be, nowhere is the independence and originality of the Law of Moses so clear as in its bold setting aside of a noble belief which had become a base superstition.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

## NOTES FROM A GERMAN VILLAGE.

IT was the writer's fortune last summer to spend between two and three months in a small village in Germany almost untouched by the English tourist, and not much affected even by his German analogue. A region where the march of time has left the ancestral customs so unchanged that the inhabitants of different villages can be distinguished by slight differences in costume, and where, nevertheless, the feudal tenure of land has given way to a system of contented peasant proprietors, presents many points of interest to a traveller, and some results of his observation may not be uninteresting to others.

The little village of Gross Tabarz lies on the northern slope of the long ridge of the Thuringian mountains, about ten miles from its north-western end. It is two or three miles distant from the Schloss Reinhardtsbrunn in which our English Queen has more than once been a visitor, and lies within the territory of the dukedom of Saxe Gotha of which our Duke of Edinburgh is the heir presumptive. To the north the land, which, in the immediate neighbourhood of Tabarz, is at an average height of twelve or thirteen hundred feet above sea level, slopes gradually down to a widely extended plain, the *Goldene Aue*, rich with waving harvests of corn, and dotted here and there with villages, the tall spires of whose churches form conspicuous objects in the landscape. Across the *Goldene Aue* on a clear day can be seen a very distant range of blue hills which belong to the Harz and among which the highest point is the far-famed Brocken. In the midst of the plain glitter in the sun the domes and spires and groves of the little city of Gotha, the capital of the principality.

Immediately south of the three contiguous villages of Gross Tabarz, Klein Tabarz, and Cabarz, the gradual slope of the elevated plain is almost suddenly broken by the steep wooded crags which form the



northern rampart of the Thuringian range, a range whose outer summits attain a height of about two thousand feet above the sea level, while in the interior its highest points, the Inselsberg, the Schmucke, &c., rise to more than three thousand. The whole of this mountain range, extending over seventy or eighty miles in length, and with a variable breadth of from ten to forty miles, is covered with a luxuriant growth of forest trees, whose cultivation and protection afford occupation to a large number of the inhabitants of the neighbouring lowlands, while the profit derived from the sale of the timber forms no inconsiderable portion of the revenues of the various dukedoms in which the forest lies.

Merely from the point of view of the lover of natural scenery this Thuringian forest is well worth a visit. Within the space of a walk of two or three hours, the variety of scenery is something which requires to be seen in order to be believed. Starting, for instance, from the Schiesshaus, the principal inn at Tabarz, to walk up the Laucha Grund, the tourist leaves the open plain and extensive views, and passing through meadows where in September the ground is purple with the autumn crocus, soon finds himself in a narrow valley scarcely wider than is necessary to allow space for the carriage road and its brawling neighbour, the rapid, foaming Laucha, which gives the name to the glen. The mountain sides, so steep that it seems almost a miracle that trees can find a resting-place, are nevertheless covered from top to bottom with *Fichten* and *Tannen*, and all the various kinds of pine and fir. On one projecting crag these darker growths are replaced by the majestic beech and quivering birch, and ever and anon there juts up a steep precipitous rock, reminding the spectator of a gigantic Egyptian obelisk only partly hewn out and left to stand in its native wilderness by the disappointed workmen. A turn to the right will take us up a narrow valley, down which a babbling brook runs with many a waterfall, and whose moist rocky sides are overgrown with ferns and mosses of many kinds and colours. Suddenly the glen opens out into a broad expanse of mountain meadow whose greenness rivals the far-famed verdure of Ireland. Behind this is a long slope of beech and pine woods reaching right up to the top of the Inselsberg, on which, nestling among the trees, we can see the two hostelrys which allure the traveller to spend the night in hope of seeing the sunrise which is as fickle here as on Snowdon or the Righi. Or if, instead of turning up this Felsenthal, we follow still further the high road that skirts the Laucha, we shall ascend by turns and zigzags, which remind one of the final steps in an Alpine pass, and presently find ourselves on an elevated table-land from which we can catch glimpses of the gentle slopes and fertile valleys of the south of Thuringia, and in the blue distance the hills of the Rhön Gebirge. Up here, too, we can walk among glades of beech-wood such as those under which Robin Hood and his outlaws may have danced and drank, while the appearance at times of an antlered head between the trees may serve to complete the resemblance. Steep crag and mountain pasture, beechen wood and dark



pine forest, the broad highway and the narrow track which it requires some of the agility of the goat to climb—all that the pedestrian who can be contented without snow or lakes requires, is to be met with in the Thuringian forest.

Historically, the district is by no means uninteresting: ruined castles on many a lofty point tell of manners and times and valiant deeds for ever passed away. For the Protestant Englishman one name, however, overshadows all other interests—the name of the great and brave Martin Luther. It was at Eisenach, just on the borders of the forest, that he begged his bread as a chorister, and at Erfurt, not many miles across the plain, that for many years he lived as a monk. The Wartburg, where he was confined by friendly violence, is a conspicuous object from many of the higher hills in the region, standing as it does on an isolated point just above Eisenach. In this old castle the curious stranger may still see the room which Luther occupied, and gaze out of the window on the glorious view, which, while so much has changed, must be in its main aspects the same which Luther saw. It was in one of these forest glades that the hare running from its pursuers found a refuge in the arms of the great Reformer. Here was the birthplace of the German Bible, the most precious gift of all that Luther gave to his country.

Still the name of Luther pervades the place: Luther's Catechism is learnt by the boys and girls in the village schools; Luther's portrait hangs in the most conspicuous place in the one church which serves for the associated villages of Tabarz and Cabarz, and in many others too. Whether to any great extent the spirit of Luther survives in the hearts of his countrymen is another matter, but even at this day his influence may perhaps be traced in the great contrast between the intellectual and spiritual freedom of the Thuringian peasantry and the abject superstition of such a population as the Bretons of Finisterre.

The writer and his family lodged for some weeks in a little house on the outskirts of Gross Tabarz. The windows of our *Stube*, or sitting-room, looked out across a meadow to the wooded ridge of the hills with the opening of the Laucha Grund just opposite. Close alongside was the village school where the *Herr Schullehrer* and the *Fräulein Schullehrerin* instilled the three R's, the catechism, and the practice of singing into the village youth. At seven every morning they began by singing, and by two in the afternoon the school work was done. The *Schullehrer* was a tall, dignified gentleman, who spent most of his leisure time in recalling his geese from committing trespasses on his neighbours' patches of grass, and on Sundays superintended in a majestic manner the singing of the choir in church. The whole of the meadow between us and the mountain was divided into narrow strips, each strip being the portion originally allotted from a clearing of the forest land by the *Gemeinde* or Commune to some one family, who enjoy the perpetual right of use, subject to certain customs of cultivation. During a certain



number of weeks in summer all trespass on the neighbours' strips of grass is strictly forbidden, but after about the middle of September, when the second crop of grass is cut and gathered in, the cows of the village, under the charge of the village *Hirt*, are taken to feed over the whole pasture land indiscriminately. The geese of the *Schullehrer* appeared to have a thorough dislike of law, and always contrived three or four times in the morning to escape across into some neighbour's land, all the nicer because forbidden.

To the right of this meadow was a path leading to the forest, and again to the right a sloping field also divided into narrow strips, but arable land. One strip would have a crop of oats, the adjacent one would be filled with potatoes; the slender stalks and blue flowers of flax covered a third, while barley and wheat were the produce of others. The appearance of the cultivated land, as seen from some of the heights adjacent, reminds the spectator forcibly of one of those patchwork quilts sometimes seen in the cottages of thrifty housewives, in which the colour, order, and size of the different patches appear to be regulated by no law except that of the material that happens to be at hand.

The economic state of the village, which is only a type of many others in the district, is decidedly primitive. Every well-to-do family has its little strip of ground, or sometimes several such strips have been accumulated in one family by inheritance or intermarriages. The village butcher, with whose family ours was soon on tolerably intimate terms, was the owner, or at least the cultivator with perpetual rights, of many little fields situated in almost as many parishes. On these fields they raise the corn of which their bread is made, the potatoes, turnips, beet-root, &c., which help to provide them with food, and the flax which forms the raw material of their linen underclothing. The flax is spun at home by the women during the winter months when field work is impossible, and is woven into long pieces of linen by village weavers in old-fashioned looms, such as could be seen fifty or sixty years ago in the homes of manufacturing villages in England. Each family also has its cow and its three or four geese. The latter, in addition to the profit derived by selling or eating their flesh, furnish a perennial source of revenue from their feathers, which are plucked at regular intervals from the living breasts and sold for the purpose of making pillows and feather beds for the inhabitants of more luxurious climes.

During the spring and summer, while the grass in the meadows is allowed to grow for hay, or for *Grummet*, as the second crop is called, the cows and geese are alike banished from the private land, and are taken under the charge of a *Hirt* on to the common land, the borders of the roads, or the small bits of mountain meadow among the forests not allotted by the *Gemeinde* to private owners.

Early every fine morning we were awaked by the blowing of the *Kuh-hirt's* horn as he passed through the village, and any one watching his progress would see a cow turned out from one out-house, two more



out of a second, and so on, the procession gradually increasing until, on leaving the village, the *Hirt* and his assistant would have from eighty to a hundred and twenty cows and bulls under the charge of themselves and their two dogs. In wandering in the daytime through the forests we often heard from a distance the tinkling of the large bells which the cows carry, and in a few minutes would meet the whole procession coming gently along the high road or narrow lane, somewhat to the alarm of the more timid members of our party, but by no means to the diminution of the picturesqueness of the scene. By six o'clock in the evening the *Hirt* had gathered his flock together and driven them back to the village, where the ox knows its owner, and, unbidden, each turns into its own stable.

The *Ganse Hirt* is usually a little boy or girl, to two or three of whom the village geese, often numbering two or three hundred, are confided for a similar, though not commonly so distant, an excursion. It is exceedingly amusing to see one of these winged armies returning at night and to notice the manner in which these birds, in England esteemed so foolish, turn from the main road in small parties down the lanes which lead to their respective homes. Woe to the goose-herd if any are missing or have been injured in any way during the expedition! He had better keep out of the way of the angry words, or worse, of the *Bauerinn* who owns them.

After the second crop of hay has been all gathered in, which is supposed to be achieved by the beginning of September, and for the gathering in of which the village schools have a special holiday, the meadows are open to the cattle and geese of all the inhabitants, and the *Hirts* have no longer such an arduous task. The pasture land becomes again for the time the property of the Commune, the "common land" which it originally was, and is dotted with red oxen or snow-white geese. During the months of July and August, the whole population, male and female, is for the most part occupied in getting in the crops of different kinds, which seem to form a continuous series, beginning with the first crop of hay, at the beginning of July, and ending with the *Grummet*, or second crop, early in September. The women are by no means behind the men in the severity of their labours. During this time work begins at four A.M., and lasts till dusk. The crops are gathered without the assistance of the machinery which an English farmer would consider essential. A very short scythe, of primitive shape and make, is used for the grass and corn. The men employ a great part of their evenings in hammering these scythes, so as to give them a harder and sharper edge, and the continuous clang of the hammers is by no means an attractive or soothing feature of life in a German peasant proprietor village to a stranger in search of quiet. Mowing, we may notice, appears to be the one dignified agricultural work which a woman cannot do. Occasionally I have seen a woman use the scythe for a few minutes, but it was always with a sort of apology on the part of the



woman for intruding upon masculine functions, and seemed to be regarded by the men with compassionate toleration. Women and girls are competent in Thuringia to carry burdens of sixty, eighty, or even a hundred pounds weight in great baskets for miles to the nearest market-town, but they cannot mow, or at least public opinion decrees that they shall not.

The produce of the small strips of land is taken to the poorer homes, either in curious baskets suspended like a knapsack by two straps passed over the shoulders, and carried always by women or children; or on wheelbarrows, which have the advantage of taking a rather larger quantity at once. The wealthier inhabitants employ rudely-constructed wagons, and generally in this case the men superintend the operation. The whole process of gathering in the harvest is carried on by each family for itself. A few hired labourers there are, but very few, and these cannot be got to work for so long hours or so energetically as the farmers themselves. Of course any volunteer assistance is eagerly welcomed. During our stay in the village, a regiment of infantry passing through on its way to some autumn manœuvres was *einquartirt* in the village. Each house-owner had to entertain with bed and board so many *Männer*, and sometimes a *Pferd* as well, the number of each being chalked up ostentatiously on the doors of the houses a day or two previously by a commissariat officer, who had come on in advance. There was some grumbling at the prospect on the part of the villagers, many of whom thought sixpence a day scarcely sufficient remuneration for feeding and housing a stalwart soldier. However, the day was fine, and the soldiers, as soon as their necessary military duty was done, set to work to assist their hosts in getting the harvest in. There was little grumbling in the village the next day, but only regrets that the regiment could not stop still longer.

To our children the gathering in of the harvest was a source of unmitigated satisfaction. The help, which it was amusement to them to give, was a serious gain to the peasantry; and so the result was mutual satisfaction and the formation of pleasant acquaintances between the English children and the German *Bauermädchen*, which resulted in many bouquets of flowers and much weeping when the necessity arose for us to leave Thuringia and return to home duties.

The wants of the villagers for food and clothing are thus nearly supplied by their own labour on the small patches of land they cultivate. Black bread and a piece of *Wurst* or sausage furnish the staple of the ordinary peasant's meal. On Sundays, and the few holidays which they take, the fare is varied by the flesh of a home-reared kid, or rabbit, or hare, with which latter the woods and fields abound, and for the protection of which no game laws exist. A German never kills anything for the purpose of eating when it can be used for any other purpose, and thus their cows and oxen are either killed as very young veal, to save the trouble of rearing them, or reserved till their days



of usefulness as milk-givers or as draught-oxen are pretty well over. The Tabarz peasantry derive a certain amount of revenue from the sale of their surplus stock of calves or worn-out cows to furnish the *Kalbsfleisch*, or *Rindfleisch* of the hotels in neighbouring *Kurorts*, and can thus provide themselves with a few luxuries which their own fields do not yield. Among these may be reckoned the *Schnapps* or brandy, which is a favourite drink, and which can be obtained in the village *Restaurations* for a few pence the litre. Coffee, not always so bad as the German coffee described by Mark Twain, is the ordinary accompaniment of the indoor mid-day or evening meal, and on holidays and for favoured guests chocolate. Beer of various kinds and colours is in plentiful use, and is even given to the schoolchildren on occasions of festivity, when in England we should give tea or milk-and-water. The forests on the hills furnish employment, especially during the winter months, for a great number of the men of the district. In regular order, under the direction of the ducal *Försters*, the trees are marked for felling. When felled they are stripped of their smaller branches and their bark where they lie; the branches are cut up and conveyed on baskets or wheelbarrows to the village, and arranged in carefully piled conical stacks for future use as fuel. The great stumps are then taken on sledges in the winter, or on long wagons in the summer, down to the plains, and from thence transported to many distant places. The sale of the timber produces an important part of the ducal or grand-ducal revenues, and the money paid as wages for cutting and preparing it is an element of great importance in the economic position of the peasantry. As each band of the forest is cleared, the space where the stately trees were is planted thickly with young pines reared from seed in sheltered nurseries on the hill-sides, and, as they grow larger, protected only by boards exhorting *Schonung* on all whom it may concern, they are gradually thinned out until the survivors have room to grow to their full dimensions.

The forest not only supplies work and wages to the men, while the women till the fields and spin the flax, but furnishes also close at hand the material for the framework, and most of the covering of the houses. A Thuringian house rises from the ground even more swiftly than a row of contract-built cottages in a Durham pit village. A quantity of tall pines are brought down from the nearest clearing in the forest. A couple of men set to work to saw them into planks, or square them into corner posts. Before many hours are past, there rises on the appointed site a framework of beams cunningly interlaced and carefully nailed together, not unlike a magnificent birdcage, or, to compare small things with great, the scaffolding with which the tower of Cologne Cathedral was for so many years enveloped. In the neighbouring field at the same time we may observe a rapid process of brickmaking going on: rows of unburnt square lumps of clay are put out to dry in the sun, and when sufficiently hardened, they are used to fill up the



spaces between the beams of the framework, with the exception of those intended for doors and windows. In the humbler of the cottages, the addition of these latter, and a coating of plaster and whitewash inside, completes the house. In the better class, the outside of the mud bricks is usually protected by planks of pine or rows of slates nailed over the whole, and the wall inside, after being plastered, may sometimes attain the dignity of being papered too.

Of fuel there is no lack. On two days in the week the men employed in cutting wood are allowed to bring back two barrowfuls of wood, which they are permitted to cut as they like for their own use. At all times, when they have leisure, the women and children can go to the forest with their huge baskets on their backs, and pick up and bring home as much as they can carry of the broken wood lying about. Yet, with all this abundance, no waste is sanctioned by public opinion or custom. When the harvest is over, the wood that has been loosely piled up around the cottages is all carefully stacked, one stack being built with the small sticks, and another with the logs, which have been reduced by the hatchet to a convenient size. Not a stick is allowed to be lost. While we were staying in the village, a gale, which amounted to a hurricane, swept over the district, and laid many a fine tree in untimely hour on the ground. In two days, every one of these within a considerable distance of Tatarz, was sawn and chopped up, and the loose branches and logs piled into a compact heap, near to where the tree had stood, to wait till the harvest should give leisure to take it home.

Food, clothing, house, fuel—for all these things the peasant proprietors of Thuringia are substantially independent of the outer world. The export of timber and the surplus of dairy and agricultural produce, enables them to supply their own deficiencies in the prime-necessaries, and even to add a little, though not much, of what may be called luxuries.

It ought, perhaps, to be added, that in the gypsum mines and stone quarries which exist here and there throughout the forest, we may see another source of revenue by means of which the labour of the peasant can be turned into additional comforts or luxuries for his home. The result is a contented population enjoying fixity of tenure, fair rent, and I suppose free sale of any improvements they may have made in the land, if they choose to give up cultivating it. Of the actual sale of his rights by a peasant proprietor, no instance came to my knowledge, nor, I imagine, does such a thing often, if ever, take place.

There are darker lines in the picture, it is true. The life of the peasants is so laborious that few attain to what we call extreme old age. The records of death on the wooden tombstones in the village churchyard seldom state an age over seventy, and not very often one over sixty, while a person between forty and fifty is accounted aged. The old people, when they are past work, are apt to be thrust aside and neglected as useless incumbrances. An old woman would some-



times remark in a sad way to the English stranger children, that it was time for her to die, as now she could do nothing but be a burden on her family, and the feeling she expressed appeared to be in many cases felt by the active breadwinners in relation to those whose days of work were past. Goitre, a disease brought on apparently by overwork and under-feeding, combined with climatic conditions, is very common among the women, and occasionally an epidemic fever sweeps off a large portion of the children and the weakly folk. With all this, however, the fact remains that in a district with a damp and somewhat cold climate, with land of irregular and rocky surface, not particularly fertile naturally, and not particularly favoured by the influences of the skies, fixity of tenure of the soil has produced a population not below the English agricultural population in point of material comfort and health, and considerably in advance of it in real independence and intelligence, a population which does not need to remedy its condition by emigrating in masses across the Atlantic, and which, in spite of the demands made upon its strength by compulsory military service, is one of the most loyal and stable elements in the German Empire.

In comparing and contrasting the case of the Thuringian peasant with that of his Irish brother, it is not possible to ignore one great difference already slightly alluded to—the permanent and abiding influence of the Reformation. It would be untrue to say that the religious belief of the Thuringian peasant impresses a stranger as being a very prominent element in his character. That which is commonly taken as the easiest and most open test of religious fervour, the attendance at church, varies very much in accordance with the weather, and is small if the weatherwise think it desirable to hurry on the gathering of the harvest. The character of the Sunday Service, too, does not imply any great intensity of emotional religion, nor a very deep or wide acquaintance with theological doctrine on the part of priest or people. In many of the details of the service, the bowing to the Crucifix, the crossing himself by the minister, and the intoned prayers, the stranger is reminded of the Romish Church, or of its Anglican imitators; but the general effect of the demeanour of the people, the slow and deliberate congregational singing of many hymns, and the extempore or carefully-read sermon, occupying half the time of the entire service, is much more akin to that of a Presbyterian kirk in a Highland glen. The social influence, however, of the weekly gathering is great, and of a very different character from that exerted by the confessional and the priesthood of the Roman Communion. The Lutheran minister is a man among his fellow men, a messenger of God possibly in some sense, but in no way a vicar of God on earth with power to bind or to loose. His words and acts are freely and fully commented on and criticized, and though among the flock there is much ignorance and imperfect knowledge, it is far from degenerating into the credulous awe of the Breton peasant-woman towards her priest.



The Sunday morning service is the best time for seeing the picturesque costumes of the villagers. Before the hour of service arrives, groups of men, women, and children, assemble in the churchyard, the girls having for the most part no covering to their heads save such as is afforded by their own abundant hair tightly plaited in coils round their heads. The elder women wear a most elaborate head-dress, composed apparently of broad silk ribbons, so arranged as to stand up over the forehead in a sort of tiara, while down the back the ends hang in four long broad streamers. All the women wear, even in the hottest weather, great cloaks of divers patterns and colours, very full all round and pleated round the neck, somewhat after the manner of an Elizabethan ruff. As each woman wears from three to five or more thick skirts, and this cloak over all, the apparent dimensions of a Thuringian peasantess rival those of our ladies in the days of crinoline. The men have for the most part given up their old peasant costume and adopted the hideous garments of civilization, and, apparently conscious of their want of picturesqueness, slink into the background. Presently the bell begins to ring, and women and girls stream into the ground-floor of the church. Men and boys are relegated to the three rows of galleries which, one over another, line the walls of the church up to the very ceiling. The bell stops, the organ begins to play, and the precentor starts a tune which is at once taken up by the people, who sing slowly and solemnly one of their old German hymns. During the singing the minister enters, and as soon as the hymn is done reads the prayers. These consist of a few general prayers, similar to those in the English prayer-book, with a few responses from the congregation, and the collect, epistle, and gospel for the day. Then there is more singing, during which the minister goes out; and, when the hymn is finished, reappears in a different gown, ascends the pulpit and delivers a discourse which is usually an amplification and dilution of the Gospel for the day. Then another hymn, the benediction, and then yet another hymn, during the singing of which the minister retires and the people follow his example as they list. The whole service usually occupied about an hour or less. For the rest of the day the natives work in the fields, stroll about the village, or sit in the *Restaurations* and drink beer and schnapps.

It may be that the religion, whose chief public formal expression we have thus sketched, is not of very great value as a motive force in the upward direction. But there is this to be said for it, that if it does not act forcibly upward, at least it does not tend in the downward direction. As far as it goes it does encourage thrift and industry. It gives no sanction of religious virtue to the mendicancy and the laziness which are elevated into saintly attributes in many Catholic countries. The elevation of the present state of the peasant population of North Germany above that of the cottier tenants in Galway and Connemara, is assuredly due in part to the influence of that Reformation whose religious fire has long ago burnt itself out to ashes. In part, however, it is

also due to those changes in comparatively recent times which have given to the Thuringian peasant that fixity of tenure on fair conditions which is now asked for Ireland. While we can hardly hope that corresponding changes will at once produce similar contentment in our sister isle, we may, at least, hope that they will tend in that direction. If we cannot by legislation undo the effects of centuries of oppression and debasing religious practices, we may achieve something by honestly endeavouring to make our land laws and customs in Ireland, and England too, similar to those which have helped to create a contented peasantry elsewhere.

W. STEADMAN ALDIS.



## MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

### I.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S Philosophy has at least one conspicuous merit—it can claim to be the most comprehensive, or rather ambitious, of English Philosophies. It is in its psychology distinctively English and empirical; but in its spirit and endeavour, distinctively encyclopædic and transcendental. In many respects its constructive and comprehensive character entitles it to cordial admiration and praise. Its outlook, backward, forward, and outward, is so immense that it powerfully affects the imagination, which the traditional Philosophy of England has, with the splendid but only the more illustrative exception of Berkeley, been too prosaic and narrow to touch or to stir. To conceive a system so positive and universal as Mr. Spencer's is in itself an education to an age, and its extraordinary influence is an evidence that the modern intellect is neither so sceptical nor so critical as it is said to be, but loves, as intellect ever has done, to believe a system, stated in terms it thinks it understands, that promises to explain the universe presented to its senses and represented in its thought. The English mind has been rather inclined to make merry over the philosophies of Germany, especially the Hegelian, which has so adventurously essayed to fit the universe into its dialectic network; but the approbation which has greeted Mr. Spencer's attempts at a "Synthetic Philosophy" is proof enough that the English contempt for transcendentalism is due to insular peculiarities, not to say ignorance, rather than to intellectual disability or insufficient sympathy with constructive aims. His system, indeed, seems so little metaphysical, so concrete, intelligible, real, it so speaks the language of science, is made so striking by brilliant generalizations, and so vivid by abundant, even superabundant, illustrations, that it has come to a people inclined by their mental habits to despise metaphysics and respect science almost as a revelation of the true nature and method of

creation. But it is hardly too much to say, Mr. Spencer's philosophical weakness is the secret of his strength. Had he been a better philosopher, he could never have built his system, and it would have been a calamity had the wonderful structure which bears his name never risen before our eyes.

Mr. Spencer's system is remarkable as an attempt to achieve from the side of Empiricism what Empiricism had not simply been unable to accomplish, but had existed expressly to prove impossible of accomplishment by any system whatever. Perhaps it may be best characterized by being named a transcendental Empiricism. Whether it owes its distinctive character to greater philosophical thoroughness is, to say the least, a little dubious. Perhaps it would be hard to find a philosopher who did his work with less knowledge of philosophies; but this does not necessarily involve the condemnation of his own, though it may explain certain elements in it more provocative of wonder than admiration. For one thing, the student of philosophies finds himself rather sorely taxed to understand a system that combines methods and principles, elements and aims he had been accustomed to consider, and see considered, as opposite and incompatible. An Empiricism at once transcendental and constructive he may have come to think absurd, and he may be sceptical as to the legitimacy of the proceedings by which it has been made both. And the more he looks into the older Empiricisms the more sceptical he may become. For their history is here not very reassuring, though its lesson is one we can only most briefly summarize.

Modern Empiricism really begins with Locke. Sensation was his primary, reflection his secondary, source of knowledge. The mind was void of ideas till the senses conveyed them in. Knowledge was worked in us by the action of what was without us, Nature or Matter, or rather its primary qualities. The effects of these were the originals of all knowledge, and the order of our sensations determined the only order we knew. But this doctrine involved consequences very abhorrent to Locke; it soon blossomed into a rank Materialism. If the senses were the primary sources of knowledge, then the matter or material qualities that acted on and through them were its cause. But if so, did not Matter become the maker of our reason, the creator of what is to us the rational order of the universe? And if our original ideas were ideas of sense, could they ever be made to speak of anything else or more than what the senses revealed? These were the questions that created Berkeley. He tried so to develop the Empiricism of Locke as to overcome the materialism it had produced. He accepted Locke's first principles—the senses are the primary source of knowledge; he denied the inference—the ideas they convey in are effects of material qualities. The Ideas of sense were ultimate, real—were things. They had no being save as perceived. Subtract mind, and they ceased to be; they were only as the conscious and percipient mind was. The very arguments Locke used to prove the



subjectivity of the secondary qualities enabled Berkeley to prove the subjectivity of the primary ; and with their objective being Matter lost alike its causality and reality. And where it had stood Berkeley placed God. He became at once the one real causality and the one causal reality. Man knew because God knew. His omniscience was the original of our knowledge, his ideas the archetypes of ours. Our ideas, indeed, were a sort of divine speech, Nature a visual language spoken by God and interpreted by man. Berkeley came so near the truth that we wonder how he missed it, but in his premisses was the fatal first falsehood that vitiated his conclusion. His truth was falsified by the falsity of his first principles. The logical inference from them he did not draw, Hume drew. What Berkeley had done with the objective, he did with the subjective factor in knowledge, and so reduced the sensuous theory to its simplest and most logical form. The ideas of sense, which he named impressions, were in every respect ultimate, the only realities. There was nothing but impressions and ideas, the faint copy or remembered image of the impressions. Man was but a stream of these, a succession of sentient states, his being summed up in the sensation of the moment. Their order was inexplicable, a species of chance, or custom, or habit ; their cause undiscoverable, the sensation speaking only of itself, saying nothing as to whence, or why, or from what, it came. Our supposed fundamental beliefs were the creatures of custom, or chance association. Relations of succession created the idea of time, of contiguity the idea of space, of antecedence and sequence the notion of cause ; but these terms denoted simply relations between our sensations, could denote no more. And here Empiricism reached its logical and most perfect result. It could explain nothing, for to it sensation was the ultimate thing, and cause unreal. It could find no rational order anywhere, for all its relations were due not to reason but to chance association. When knowledge is illusive, being is illusive as well ; constructive thought not in any one department simply, but in all departments, impossible. There is no permanence, for sensations are perishing, and they alone are ultimate. As no man can wade twice in the same stream, a sensation, once experienced, returns no more, and so personal is as fugitive and unreal as universal being. And thus the one courageously consistent Empiricism of modern times made science of every kind impossible, leaving to man as his only alternatives the most hopeless nescience or the most absolute scepticism.

The immediate effects of Hume's philosophy are familiar common-places. It roused Thomas Reid, creating through him the philosophy of "Common Sense," the homely Scotch translation of the prouder Universal Reason, and it awoke Kant from his "dogmatic slumbers." But what concerns us here is its effects on Empiricism. Men, indeed, like Hartley and Tucker, Priestley and Paley, so far as they have philosophical significance, lived as if Hume had never been. But in the higher and more distinctive empirical thinkers it might be said to



paralyze the speculative faculties, forcing them to ignore the loftiest problems—which have been, perhaps, simply as problems among the mightiest and most beneficent educative agencies in the history of our race—and to busy themselves with inferential and psychological questions alone. Perhaps it were unfair to specify Bentham, in whom the practical interest had in any case been supreme, but James Mill was a keen, clear, vigorous thinker, too dogmatic to love uncertainties, too large of intellect to be without thought as to man's ultimate problems. Yet the utmost he could attempt was a Psychology—an "Analysis of the Human Mind," made by combining the methods of Hartley and Hume; but in its essence a confession that a Psychology was the only possible Philosophy; that as to its vaster problems, as to being, the relation of thought and being, the cause and end of being, reason must simply be dumb. Comte, too, had, if not a speculative soul, the hunger of the true system-builder, satiable only by an order that could be formulated, ambitious to classify and organize knowledge, to demonstrate the laws of human progress, and create the only real and possible conditions of human happiness. But he understood Empiricism, as Hume had made it, knew well the iron lines, the blank impenetrable walls it had built round the spirit, and he loved logic too entirely to seek to transcend them. So he declared phenomena to be all men could know, proclaimed the search after a cause vain, placed the very word "cause" under a rigorous ban, and, as if to show his feeling to the author of the limitations, he dismissed Psychology from the circle of the sciences, and planted Physiology in its stead. And his early English interpreters were here specially emphatic. One brilliant scholar wrote a History of Philosophy especially to prove that Metaphysics was the search after the illusive, that their reign had ceased, that the birth of Positivism was the dawn of a millennium, when barren problems should cease to trouble, and only fruitful facts and phenomena engage man. The subtle and assimilative intellect of John Stuart Mill felt the same paralyzing influence. His metaphysic was but a psychology, his criticism of Hamilton weak, because conducted from a standpoint which forbade the critic to be constructive. The permanent, the real, he could not reach; Matter was the permanent possibility of sensation, Mind the permanent possibility of feeling; but how these permanent possibilities stood related to each other, how they came to be, which was cause and which effect, were problems he did not try to solve, knowing, as he did right well, that to Empiricism the problems are not simply radically insoluble, but even incapable of rational statement and discussion. So far, the shadow cast of Hume had proved impenetrable, and men who started with Sensation had to be contented with accounting for the phenomena and so-called faculties of mind.

But Science was growing mightier and more speculative, getting every day more subtly penetrated with the spirit and problems and aims of Metaphysics, forcing to the front the old invincible questions as to the



beginning of things, the origin of life, of species, the mode of creation, the cause of all the effects that constitute our world. The impulse was too strong to be resisted. The Physicist became a Metaphysician in spite of himself; the Empiricist looked about to see how he could follow transcendental speculations without professing transcendentalism. While Mill resisted, seeming to stand by his old positions and lines—though his posthumous Essays show curious misgivings and infidelities as to his own Metaphysic—G. H. Lewes forgot his early admiration of the paralyzed nescience of Comte, and began to lay “the Foundations of a Creed.” But Mr. Herbert Spencer, as he was the first to feel, was also the foremost in comprehending and commanding the new impulse, in reading its meaning, grasping its problems, and seeking to solve them. Were it allowable to speculate as to the genesis of a Philosophy, we would say that the solution was worked out in its main lines by the physical factor alone, and the most heroic feat of the master was his so introducing the metaphysical as to make it seem not only to harmonize with the previous process, but even to complete it. Indeed, the relation between the metaphysical basis and the physical superstructure is such as to be explicable only on the supposition that the superstructure existed before the basis. But it is precisely here that Mr. Spencer’s genius is most manifest—in the clearness with which he saw that metaphysics were necessary to his system; and the deftness of his eclecticism, selecting from conflicting schools the doctrines that would best serve his purpose. He saw that his philosophy must be empirical, for no other would allow him to trace the genesis of life and mind out of the forces he assumed as alone creative and real. But it must be a Realism as well as an Empiricism, for the old sensuous Idealism left him no objective world out of which to evolve the conscious subject or self, and no constitutive reason or laws of intelligence that could enable the subject to transcend its sensuous limitations, and the stream of impressions and ideas to think and reason like a real and permanent Ego. And so he had doubly to transform Empiricism, on the one hand into a Realism which is described and distinguished from the old as “transfigured,” and on the other hand into a species of transcendentalism, where the “organized experiences” of the race play the part of *à priori* forms of thought. By means of the first, the objective was realized; a real world confronted us in our sense-perceptions; and so the terms “matter and force” became names of real things. By means of the second, laws or tendencies of thought were created, which “obliged” the subject to think “a reality” or an “absolute” beyond consciousness—*i.e.*, to infer an ultimate and real though unknown cause for all that is. For, it is to be noted, that Mr. Spencer’s reality could not be allowed to become too real—since that would have been to transform his system into Materialism—and so it had to be qualified almost, if not altogether, out of existence. Hence, while all knowledge was made to come through the senses, sensuous knowledge was made symbolical—*i.e.*, representative,



speaking of a reality beyond consciousness, an object unknown while real, perceived in its effects, not in itself. And thus the new "transfigured Realism" blossomed into the old and crude sensuous Idealism, which existed before the merciless and dexterous logic of Hume had made it conscious of its own character and being.

Mr. Spencer's system may then, as regards its ultimate philosophical characteristics, be thus described:—(1.) It is an Empiricism that it may the better deal with the Evolution of Mind and Thought in terms that do not imply a constitutive or constructive reason, either in man or the universe. (2.) It is a Realism that it may the better plant its feet on an actual and objective world, deal with its forces and factors, relations and laws, as real things, so escaping the "paralyzing shadow of sensuous Idealism, with the subtle Scepticism in which it dissolves mind and matter alike, reducing, as is confessed, "the doctrine of Evolution to a dream." (3.) It is an Agnosticism, that it may, while speaking in the terms of "matter, motion, and force," the better stand distinguished from Materialism, and escape its burdens and limitations.

Mr. Spencer's system is thus built on certain radically incompatible positions and principles. It is at once an empirical Idealism, a "transfigured Realism," and an Agnostic transcendentalism. He is critical by virtue of the first, constructive by virtue of the last, though as qualified, interpreted, and finally repealed by virtue of the second. His ultimate metaphysical principles are empirical, and as such cancel his constructive purpose and leave his constructive performance void of foundation. His Agnostic transcendentalism is neutralized by his empirical Idealism, and his "organized experiences," meant to supersede the old *à priori* forms of thought, are dissolved by necessities of analysis and argument into "states of consciousness," that, in spite of "cohesions" and "aggregations," remain but a series, states successive but unorganized, because incapable of organization. If consciousness is used to explain its environment, the environment cannot at the same time be used to explain consciousness. What is made necessary to the very existence of phenomena cannot in the same breath be treated as their product, at once the condition of their existence and the result of their action. But the curious and complex, and at times even grotesque, inconsistencies in which these incompatible positions and principles involve Mr. Spencer, would require a minuter analysis than the one to be here attempted. What is here intended is to discuss, with special reference to the underlying Metaphysics, not his whole system, but a particular, though also a most vital, part—his doctrine as to Religion. This has, perhaps, hardly received the attention it deserves. He deals with it specifically in two places—in his "First Principles," and in his "Principles of Sociology." In the former he is concerned with religious ideas and the abstract idea of religion; in the latter, with its origin and development, its birth and growth as a concrete historical fact, and as a distinct factor in the evolution of Society. The two are intimately related; satisfactory discus-



sion of his position in the one is impossible without prior discussion of the philosophical principles stated in the other. The rise of religion is a stage in the process of evolution, and we cannot understand its significance, or see its fitness or necessity, still less reason with intelligence concerning it, till we know something as to the cause that determines the process, and as to the nature of the process so determined. The points that demand discussion are thus two:—(1) The constructive principles or fundamental ideas of the system, and (2) their application to the interpretation and explanation of Religion as a concrete, historical, and sociological fact, or series of facts. These must be dealt with as distinct but necessarily related parts of what claims to be a reasoned and homogeneous system.

Mr. Spencer's fundamental philosophy exists in two parts, which, as respectively concerned with what he calls "the Unknowable" and "the Knowable," may be distinguished as his Primary and his Secondary or Derivative Philosophy. In the first we have his ontology, or theory of pure Being; in the second his theory of realized or phenomenal Being—*i.e.*, of the universe as empirically known to us and scientifically interpretable by us. In the Primary Philosophy he argues that the highest Reality is unknowable, that our ultimate religious and scientific ideas are incomprehensible and inscrutable, that they are so because the very attempt to conceive or think them lands us in contradictions; that it does so because of the radical incompetence of the reason, or the necessary relativity of knowledge. But it is confessed that this very relativity does not allow an absolute denial of the absolute or non-relative, for the very law of thought that would abolish the absolute would annihilate the relative as well. We know that there is an Unknowable, and it is held that on the basis of our ignorance religion and science can be reconciled, can be made to stand together alike awed and humbled before the "utterly inscrutable Power" which is manifested to us in the universe. In his Derivative Philosophy he seeks to conceive and explain the universe as the manifestation of this Mysterious Unknown, to conceive it alike as regards its causal energy or creative force, and its process of becoming, or method of creation. Here his ultimate fact and factor is Force; from it and its persistence and relations all that is is derived. This is the region of the Known; here Science can accumulate and Philosophy unify Knowledge; but their Knowledge is of the Seeming, of the Symbols that everywhere manifest, yet nowhere reveal, the inscrutable Power.

The Primary Philosophy is thus an Agnosticism, but the Derivative an empirical Realism. These terms indeed are hardly correct. The Agnosticism is too positive to be altogether nescient; the Realism too ill-formed and incoherent to be altogether real. But what meanwhile concerns us is this—How do these theories or doctrines affect the Philosophy of Religion? The short and true answer is—They simply abolish it. A Philosophy of Religion is possible only provided religion



be real. What makes religion unreal makes a philosophy of it absurd. And religion can never be real if it be a purely subjective thing, a relation to the confusions and bewilderments of our own thought, realized in the savage by the deification of his dreams and in the sage by the apotheosis of his ignorance. Two things make religion possible, the reason in man and the reason without him; and it is realized only as these know each other, and act as mutually knowing and known. Reason and Spirit are one, and it lives only as it knows, and it cannot know unless it is and can be known. What denies that the ultimate Being can be known, denies that it is Spirit; what declares that the philosophical interpretation of the universe ought to be made in the terms of matter and force, declares that Reason is last, not first; the creation of the mechanical, not the Will that moves and guides it. And so Mr. Spencer's Philosophy makes religion doubly unreal—deprives it, on the one side, of its real object and creative source, deprives it, on the other, of its real root and reason in man. If his Agnosticism be true, then the only logical issue is—there is no God; if his Realism be true, then Force is the father of Spirit and all its works. But if faith be only transformed force, then its rise, its functions, and history are questions in physics rather than philosophy, and common veracity as well as intelligence ought to require their statement and discussion in physical rather than spiritual terms. In maintaining, then, that a Philosophy of Religion is possible, we deny the truth of Mr. Spencer's fundamental ideas alike in his Primary and Derivative Philosophy, and a critical examination of these ideas is necessary, not only to justify our denial, but to show the utter inadequacy of Mr. Spencer's doctrine of religion in the abstract and his philosophy of it in the concrete.

Our criticism will follow the division just made, dealing first with the Primary and then with the Derivative Philosophy. But an initial criticism is necessary. Mr. Spencer's method is admirably adapted to the work of formal systematizing, but altogether unsuited to the work of a seriously and rationally Constructive Philosophy. What he terms "first principles" are ultimate principles; the last deductions from a system, not its primary and basal axioms. His criticism of mind ought to have preceded his criticism of its ultimate ideas, for it depends on his psychological doctrine as to whether he can competently reason as to these ideas, whether they must be analyzed into creatures of association or custom, or handled as products of a veracious and transcendental reason. His method enables him to reap a double advantage—to appropriate principles formulated by systems radically alien to his own, and to use these as fundamental, reserving the real basis of his structure, that it may most innocently appear as the third storey. It is not easy to deal with a foundation so skilfully placed high up in the air. The building has risen so far without it, and been prepared so naturally for it, that it seems quite in its proper place, and you cannot cast it down without spoiling the symmetry of the structure, and making



all the past labour seem in vain. It is, indeed, a piece of splendid, if unconscious, audacity to reason from borrowed premisses, subtly weaving your own into what seems the rigorous logical conclusion. Yet this is precisely what Mr. Spencer's method means. The validity of his ontological reasoning depends on the truth of his psychological doctrine, but the doctrine, though foreshadowed, is not scientifically formulated and developed till the fifth volume of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, while the ontology is explained in the first. And here it is needful to protest against the use Mr. Spencer makes of Kant and Hamilton. They did not start, as he does, with a discussion of the most abstract ontological ideas. They began with the criticism of the Ego, an inquiry into the conditions or laws that made experience or knowledge possible. And their criticism of mind made their criticism of knowledge scientific, an earnest and philosophical attempt to determine the relation of thought and reality. And under the seeming similarities of the new and the older systems there lie radical differences. Kant's reason was altogether unlike Mr. Spencer's series of conscious states, fashioned out of vivid and faint aggregates; was at once an ideal and rational reality; *à priori* full of the intellectual and moral potencies that made knowledge and action possible. It might never be able to reach the *Ding an sich*, but it was Reason, *there*, with its necessary forms of thought, the condition and creator of experience, not its product or result. And so space, time, substance, causality, being, had a rational import and philosophical worth to Kant that they have not to Mr. Spencer; spoke of what was transcendental and potent, rather than what was empirical and impotent in thought. And his criticism discovered freedom and law as well as reason in man. Will was free, Conscience was at once imperial and imperative. By his freedom man stood above the fateful sequences of mechanical changes; by the moral law revealed in conscience he stood under authority, but above the forces that move, convert, or are converted, but never obey. And these differences at once descend to the bases and mount to the summit of the two systems; make them even where, as regards ontological doctrine, they seem to touch both dissimilar and incomparable. And what has been said is almost as true of Hamilton as of Kant; each understood his work too well to fancy that a rational criticism of knowledge or ultimate ideas was possible without a prior criticism of reason. One can ill imagine the horror of great darkness that would have fallen on the lucid soul of Kant had he found his own "transcendental dialectic" transformed into Hume's "first principles," and made the first book of the "Treatise on Human Nature." Had he lived to our day he had tasted the horror; but he was *felix opportunitate mortis*, and so he rests in peace.

But now, passing from formal to material questions, let us examine in succession each of the above specified sections of Mr. Spencer's *Philosophy*, dealing first with—

*The Primary.* In this section the points that specially challenge



attention are two—the metaphysical and the religious doctrine, or the Ontology and its religious significance.

1. The Ontology. It may be described as a relative Agnosticism, or an Agnosticism so qualified as to escape the paralysis inseparable from absolute nescience. While ignorance as to the highest object of knowledge is affirmed, it is so modified and explained as not to involve denial of either the existence or the reality of this object. Mr. Spencer never wearies of saying “the power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable.”\* “The reality underlying appearance is totally and for ever inconceivable by us;” and “from the very nature of our intelligence it must be so.”† And so “it is alike our highest wisdom and our highest duty to regard that through which all things exist as The Unknowable.”‡ The arguments used to make good this position are partly logical and partly metaphysical; the logical show that our ultimate religious ideas are, when “rigorously analyzed,” “absolutely unthinkable,” every attempt to formulate them giving rise to “alternative impossibilities of thought;” the metaphysical prove that all knowledge is relative, and can be only of the limited and conditioned. These arguments are, indeed, only formally unlike, are but the negative and positive aspects of the same conception. To affirm that it is impossible to conceive or think the absolute and infinite is but to affirm the relativity of knowledge—that thought is by its very nature bound to the relative and finite. What transcends thought, transcends speech; what is inaccessible to reason cannot be articulated in any rational form or by any rational process.

But Agnosticism, while a most efficient instrument for executing ancient dogmatisms, is a rather dangerous edge-tool for the man who means to build with it. It requires a dexterous hand and nimble wit to build science on nescience, to evolve the known from the unknown. The criticism that dethrones one creator does not readily become the authority which enthrones another, especially when it consists, not in the denial that he is, but that he is accessible. What proves knowledge impossible, proves speculative and constructive thought the same; where thought is impossible, affirmation and denial are impossible too; predication of being, or anything else, unwarranted and irrational. So Mr. Spencer, the moment his face is turned towards the necessities of his own system, subtly relaxes the rigour of his Agnosticism, and, leaving behind the systems, Atheistic, Pantheistic, and Theistic, sacrificed to his heroic logic, escapes into the freer and less exhausted atmosphere of “a dim” or “indefinite consciousness” of the absolute. So with characteristic and vigorous emphasis he says, “It is rigorously impossible to conceive that our knowledge is a knowledge of Appearances only, without at the same time conceiving a Reality of which they are appearances; for appearance without reality is unthinkable.”§ And “though

\* “First Principles,” p. 46.

† *Ibid.*, p. 113.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 88.



the Absolute cannot in any degree or manner be known, in the strict sense of knowing, yet we find that its positive existence is a necessary datum of consciousness; that so long as consciousness continues, we cannot for an instant rid it of this datum; and that thus the belief which this datum constitutes, has a higher warrant than any other whatever.\* And so the ostracized is recalled, not indeed to full citizenship, but to a debateable or border land, where he may be owned or disowned as the varying fortunes of war may make convenient.

Now, let us consider first the absolute, and next, the modified Agnosticism. The ultimate Reality, or God, or what is conceived as occupying his place, is unknown and unknowable, because, on the one hand, the forms under which we think him are antithetical and mutually contradictory, represent "alternative impossibilities of thought;" and, on the other, all knowledge is relative. The logical separated from the metaphysical argument is but dexterous word-play. What are the Absolute, the Infinite, the Unconditioned? Abstractions, terms created by a dialectic process and for a dialectic purpose. They represent abstraction carried to the farthest possible limit, where the symbol of thought becomes the negation of its object, and the absolute is conceived in its logical abstractness rather than cognized in its concrete and infinite fulness. The contradictions are between, not the objects, but the symbols of thought; between not the real infinite and absolute, but a given defined and determined sense of the same. And the unreality of the argument is evident from this: to pursue it is to disprove it—the very terms disown the uses to which they are put. The thought which creates the absolute annuls it, can only reason about it by asserting the relativity the name was coined to deny. Absolute implies relative, cannot be conceived without its correlative, and the relation of the correlatives is in each case alike real and alike necessary. But if thought must conceive the absolute as the correlative of the relative—if the relative is as inconceivable without the absolute as the absolute without the relative—then the illegitimacy of the ratiocinative process is manifest; for the very law that forces us to correlate the relative and the absolute, destroys its abstract absoluteness, and restores to thought what had been violently taken from it. The real absolute, indeed, is no vacant abstraction; it is pregnant with the universe, the cause and ground of all relation, the union and source of all difference. An unrelated absolute is unthinkable, because unreal; cannot be conceived, because it could not be. What is charged to an impotence of thought is due to a potency; a rational inability, the inability to conceive the unreal. And Mr. Spencer is himself an illustrious example of the fallacies worked by his dexterous dialectic. He cannot move a step forward till he has expel "absolute" the meaning that made it so deadly in his lo. First, he has to assert knowledge of it, next its reality.

\* "First Principles," p. 98.

activity. "To say that we cannot know the Absolute is, by implication, to affirm that there *is* an Absolute," present to the mind, too, "not as a nothing, but as a something."\* But what once gets into consciousness, however vaguely, gets into all those dreadful limitations and conditions that had made the victim of his own merciless logic quite despair of knowledge. And this is not all; the Absolute thus related to consciousness is by consciousness placed in relation to the world. Mr. Spencer makes his ultimate Reality underlie all appearances, his Known manifest the Unknown; in a word, his Absolute become the Cause of all that is. The correlated absolute of thought becomes the ground of all phenomenal being, in and through which all relations are realized. The contradictions of the abstract dialectic are vanquished by the necessities of constructive thought, and, with a heroic inconsistency it were hardly possible to overpraise, the Unknown is sacrificed to the interpretation of the Known, and the Absolute victoriously passes over into the Related, if not the Relative.

And this brings us to the modified Agnosticism, which asserts that while we do not know *what* the Absolute is, we know *that* it is. Now, looking at the two positions relatively, we may say, either the first went too far, or the second does not go far enough. They are not so much complementary as incompatible and contradictory, corresponding, in a degree, to a certain definition of matter as "a double-faced unity," or what is neither matter nor mind, but something which is at the same time both. Only the agreement is with a difference; there are two faces, but there are also two positions, each the opposite of the other. The first affirms the essential relativity of all knowledge, the second affirms that the being of the Absolute is known. Grant the first—all knowledge is of the Relative—and what becomes of the second? In declaring that only the Relative is known, we necessarily declare that all we know is relative, and all knowledge, definite or indefinite, of Absolute Being as absolute, impossible and absurd. Grant the second position—we know that the Absolute is—and what becomes of the first? If "the positive existence" of the Absolute be "a necessary datum of consciousness," then the doctrine as to the essential relativity of knowledge perishes before an exception to it so splendid and immense. To be conscious of the Absolute is to know the Absolute; but is it true that where the Absolute is known only the Relative is known, and we can as little transcend it as leap off our own shadow? Either position may be logically tenable, but not both. In proving the first, too much is proved to allow a justified existence to the second; by maintaining the second, the first is so limited and qualified as to be radically changed. Yet while mutually hostile, each is alike necessary to Mr. Spencer's system—the one to his critical, the other to his constructive, design. Without the Agnosticism which builds on his doctrine as to the relativity of all knowledge, the expel spirit and thought from the



primal cause; without his "consciousness of the Absolute," of "the reality behind appearances," he could not lay a stone of the extraordinary edifice he calls his "Synthetic Philosophy." But logic does not so accommodate human designs as to abolish its laws that they may be fulfilled. And there its alternatives are inevitable. If the first position be true, all transcendental speculation is vain; man can in no respect reach the Ultimate or reason his way to the Absolute, but must settle down in contented ignorance, resolved to forget the limits that narrow his being and mock his thought. If the second position be true, then Agnosticism is not only false, but a philosophical interpretation of Being is possible; the Absolute consciousness knows consciousness can interpret, though it must be in terms as rational as its knowledge or its thought. Where Agnosticism is used to disguise a rude physicism, it is abused; a consciousness of the Infinite or Absolute which is not interpretative of its being or character, is no rational and moral consciousness.

And this brings us to the other point, whether Mr. Spencer, in his second position, has not gone too far to be able to stop where he does. In the discussion of this matter there are many points that might be criticized, such as the account of what the consciousness of the Absolute is, and how we come by it. For example, Mr. Spencer describes it as "the abstract of *all* thoughts, ideas, or conceptions."\* This Abstract he represents as formed "by combining successive concepts deprived of their limits and conditions." This is certainly not a very luminous remark in the mouth of one who had so strenuously reasoned that "to conceive was to condition, to limit;" but such as it is, there it stands. What does it mean? That by removing the conditions or limits under which individual objects are conceived, there remains "the indefinite thought" of the Unlimited, or, in our philosopher's own words, "by fusing a series of states of consciousness, in each of which, as it arises, the limitations and conditions are abolished, there is produced a consciousness of something unconditioned." Now, is this in any sense an adequate or veracious account of the consciousness of the Absolute or its genesis? In the first place, not to criticize the curious and significant interchange of the terms "concepts" and "states of consciousness," the notion of what has lost or is without limits is altogether different from the notion of the Unlimited. The first is no notion of the Infinite, but only of the Indefinite, and the Indefinite can never be equal to the Unconditioned. In the second place, the notion is a growth or accretion, the *residuum* of "successive concepts;" but if so, it must be always expanding, ever pushing back its limits, widening its circumference, becoming vaster and less bounded. But this is to throw the new Absolute back into the old Relative, for our consciousness of it will never be completed; every moment will add new elements to it, and the Absolute of to-day will ever become the Relative of to-morrow. In the next place, abolish the conditions and limits under which a given

\* "First Principles," p. 95.



thing is conceived, and what remains? Has an object (our author being witness) any being to thought, save as conditioned or limited? If it brings the particular object under the general category of being, why? Does not the very delimitation of it presuppose the idea the delimitation was invented to create? If there is no general idea of being, how can you remove the limits without annihilating the conception of the object? If the consciousness of the Absolute is, it is by virtue of what is in mind, not by the fusion of any number of those faint and vivid aggregates usually called Man and his Universe, otherwise named Manifestations of the Unknown.

But now, leaving Mr. Spencer's natural history of this specific consciousness, let us come to his peculiar doctrine. What does an "indefinite consciousness of the Absolute" mean? There is no point Mr. Spencer has so laboured to make lucid, and none on which he has so little succeeded in shedding light. Of course, this may be due to our invincible obtuseness or inveterate blindness, but, at all events, the darkness is there. Does "indefinite consciousness of the Absolute" mean consciousness of the indefinite Absolute? Many things seem to hint as much. He uses "absolute as the equivalent of non-relative," and explains that thought, involving relation, "implies that both terms related shall be more or less defined, and as fast as one of them becomes indefinite, the relation also becomes indefinite, and thought becomes indistinct."\* "Indefinite" seems thus to qualify the object, but can an "indefinite Absolute" be an Absolute at all, or be described as an Ultimate or a Reality, or any positive thing whatever? To speak of an Absolute that cannot be defined as ultimate or real or necessary existence, is impossible, for either these terms cancel the indefiniteness, or the indefiniteness forbids the use of the terms. But does "indefinite" qualify "consciousness"? This is what Mr. Spencer certainly means and intends, and so he notes that the Absolute is "a consciousness," not "a conception," and distinguishes "between those modes of consciousness which, having limits and constituting thought proper, are subject to the laws of thought, and the mode of consciousness which persists when the removal of limits is carried to the uttermost, and when distinct thought consequently ceases."† But it is not simply "distinct thought" that "ceases," for it is said, "when one of the (related) terms becomes wholly unknowable, the law of thought can no longer be conformed to, both because one term cannot be present, and because relation itself cannot be framed,"‡ The "indefinite consciousness," then, is one that cannot conform to a necessary law of thought, can give no account either of itself or its object—i.e., is not rational consciousness, and is quite incapable of logical expression or articulation. But further, the reason why it cannot conform to the

\* "Essays," iii, pp. 292, 293.

† *Ibid.*, iii, 293. The passage in this volume, pp. 292-6, is extremely interesting both in a logical and psychological point of view.

‡ *Ibid.*, iii, p. 295.



law of thought is this—one of the terms, viz., the Absolute, is “wholly unknowable,” and so “cannot be present” to consciousness. Let us see now whether we can translate Mr. Spencer’s doctrine into the formula he has provided for us—The “indefinite consciousness of the Absolute” is a consciousness of “the wholly Unknowable,” and so a consciousness which, as one of the relative terms necessary to thought, “cannot be present,” “can no longer conform to the law of thought.” In short, translate “indefinite consciousness of the Absolute” into what in Mr. Spencer’s system is precisely identical, “the indefinite consciousness of the wholly Unknowable,” and it becomes entirely, even grotesquely absurd, and it only needed the further explication that this “consciousness” does not conform to his own highest law of thought, to be in its own order perfected.

And here it becomes evident what was meant when it was said, “Mr. Spencer has gone too far to stop where he does.” The moment he brings his Absolute into consciousness, his Agnosticism is at an end—it remains as a form of speech, but no more; useful as pious phrases are to men who love liberty, but hate martyrdom. What exists to consciousness is known; speech of it is possible only where knowledge is. What can be described as positively existing, as real, as ultimate, as the Power manifested in the Universe, is known. In interpreting the Universe we are interpreting this Power, determining its character by its works and acts. It is impossible to place cause and effect in relation, and then declare the cause non-relative; it is as impossible to affirm a consciousness of the Absolute, and then declare it unknown. Whatever manifests it to consciousness reveals it; in all its manifestations, its nature, its method, its character, are made known—must be if it is so related to them as to be the Power that acts through them and upon us. Declare this Power unknown, and we must divorce it from all relation to the universe and consciousness, to the phenomena alike of nature and mind. Nay more, we deny that it is a rational Power, for, reversing Spinoza’s maxim, we can here say, *negatio est determinatio*; to deny is to affirm. The Power whose being we affirm, but knowledge of which we deny, is a Power we define. It is a Power that cannot speak, cannot say anything of itself, or in any way make itself known. The Being we cannot apprehend is a Being that cannot make itself apprehensible by us—is for all rational and intelligible purposes dumb, impotent, unreal. But to say so much is to deny that it is intelligence or spirit, to affirm that between it and us rational relations are impossible, and that not simply because of the limitations of our knowledge, but because of its rigid incapability to speak—i.e., its being neither reason nor will. And so the Agnosticism falls over into a very definite Gnosticism, at least so far as its negations are concerned. The Ultimate Reality must be denied to be spirit, or interpretable in terms that denote intelligence and reason. An Agnosticism that negatives spirit and interprets the universe in the terms of matter and force is but an ill-disguised Materialism.



Here, then, is the position we have reached—If the Absolute be known to consciousness, it must be interpretable by consciousness; if it be manifested in the universe, the terms that best interpret the universe best interpret its cause. And what are these terms? Must we regard force as “the relative reality” which best “indicates to us the Absolute Reality by which it, and through it all phenomena, are produced?”\* Now one thing is evident, “the Unconditioned Cause” of all that is must be, as it were, the unevolved Universe, having immanent in it the potencies, the wealth, the meaning, the means and ends of all that is to be. The more splendid the order, the more immensely rich, complex, and manifold the results, then the vaster must have been the resources, the more prescient and inexhaustible the energies of the Cause. On the other hand, the Effect must ever be the interpretation of the Cause; knowledge of the universe is in the deepest sense knowledge of its Creator. When the system within which we live is described as “the established order of the Unknowable,” it is ill-described.† For where an order is regarded as established, the orderer cannot be regarded as unknown; knowledge of the order is knowledge of its Maker—to spell out its nature is to spell out his. But if the universe, confessed by Mr. Spencer to be an effect of his Absolute, and a manifestation of his Unknown, is to be interpreted, it must be by Mind; but Mind is able to interpret only—Mind. What does not express or reveal reason is neither apprehensible nor explicable by reason. If the universe does not articulate thought, it cannot be intelligible to thought. The very intelligibility of Nature means the affinity of the intelligence in it with the intelligence in man, their respective capabilities to speak to and understand each other. And what is interpreted by Mind must be interpreted in its terms. To imagine Nature mindless and making Mind is impossible, for the Nature so imagined is a creation of Mind, endowed by it with the attributes and energies needed for her work. Even suppose Force the ultimate known cause, it is Force as known to Mind, with its modes and laws of action formulated by Mind; Force as it is and operates within an ordered and organized world. Outside Thought it is impossible for Thought to get, for every symbol it uses has been framed by its own act and is the result of its own processes; the only coins that can pass into its currency being those with its own image and superscription indelibly stamped in. And so the universe can be interpreted only in terms Mind makes, and it is but transcendent impertinence or irrelevance to imagine Force more ultimate than Thought. But if there is this fundamental reciprocity, or as it were rational affinity, between Nature and Mind—if the order that is about us, like the order within us, must find its final and highest expression in the terms of Mind, then it inevitably follows, that the reason that interprets the universe is its interpretation, the creative process, which culminates in Mind and is intelligible to it, proceeding also from Mind.

\* “First Principles,” p. 170.

† *Ibid.*



The Cosmos that so lives to thought and in thought must be the intended and articulated product of thought.

2. The religious construction of the Spencerian Ontology. There is no more remarkable feature in the philosophy of our day than its endeavour to baptize its highest ideas in the emotions or even enthusiasms of religion, to penetrate its ultimate doctrines with something of the theistic spirit and power. This, perhaps the most common and characteristic tendency of all our modern systems, is due to many causes—to the nobler and more reverent spirit of the age; to the sense of weakness deepening in man with his growing consciousness of the immense energies he has, but the still immenser work they have to do; to the larger sense of humanity that marks our culture, making men sensitive to human misery, conscious of kinship with the suffering millions of the present and the mightier millions that have suffered in the past; to the new feeling of the omnipotence of the order that reigns around us, the almightiness of the law that binds into an ordered and organized universe the infinitude of material atoms and the multitude of spiritual units, each by itself so feeble and wayward, but altogether so mighty and harmonious. But however the tendency may be explained, it is there, urging men of all systems to find a symbol or substitute for Deity, a field and law for the religious emotions. Comte, when he had abolished God, laboured at the apotheosis of humanity and the institution of the new sacerdotal system which has been well described as Catholicism without Christianity. Pessimism, after having struggled in Schopenhauer to make hateful the Will that caused the idea or world, has endeavoured in Hartmann's "Unbewusstes" to find a name that would at once denote the Creator and relieve Him from the responsibility for the creation. David Strauss, when he had in his old age renounced alike the Idealism of his earlier and the Rationalism of his later manhood, deified the Cosmos, and investing his *Universum* with the attributes of righteousness, goodness, and truth, bade man worship it as his now only possible God. Matthew Arnold, after having exhausted the resources of his exquisite raillery against the notion of a personal God, formulated the idea that had displaced and was to replace it in the phrase, "the stream of tendency, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." And Mr. Spencer has his own endeavour in the same direction. While he grandly dismisses all religious systems as "unthinkable hypotheses," he does not mean man to be without a religion. As he boldly essays the reconstruction of the universe, it is but proper that he should introduce man to a new deity, and inaugurate a religion conformable to the new order. And what so fit as that this novel deity should be the extraordinary entity, or nonentity, which he has so variously named the Unknown, the Unknowable, the Ultimate Reality, the Unconditioned Cause, the Inscrutable Power, the Absolute, the Non-Relative, the Unconditioned Being, and the Unknown Force. This polynomic, extensively described, but



indescribable. Somewhat, is to be the God of the future, and awe for this multifarious and multinominal Inscrutability its Religion.

But is this even a possible basis for religion? Can the spirit, emotions, virtues necessary to it, live by faith in the Unknowable? Observe, the proposed object of worship is, as has been well said, but "the apotheosis of ignorance,"\* and reverence for it only reverence for the creations and abstractions of our own brain. This is not only a bad sort of idolatry, a kind of fetishism in logic, but it is the idolatry of a symbol as nearly as possible emptied of all rational significance, and utterly void of moral power. Religion is at once a rich and complex state and relation of the spirit, and involves among other elements these: (1) Conscious dependence on the Power that caused our being and now sustains it; (2) admiration for the character and attributes of this Power as revealed in our own nature, and the system that surrounds and comprehends it; (3) reverence for the Being on whom we depend, not simply as possessing the majesty of might, but the infinitely more excellent majesty of moral and intellectual perfection; (4) the inspiration that comes from faith in an order that expresses a beneficent Reason and realizes a righteous Will; (5) fellowship with a Nature akin to our own, who can be to us a conscious speaker and hearer, as we can be to him; (6) respect and obedience to his authority wherever manifested, in conscience, or nature, or man, making us every moment conscious of a law that transcends and commands our will, that we have no power to make or unmake, that we may disregard, but ought always to obey. These are elements analysis may discover in even the lowest and grossest religions; but they are, with the doubtful exception of the first, utterly evaporated in the one that has been formulated for the enlightened ignorance, or rather ignorant enlightenment, of our age. We cannot reverence, or love, or obey, or worship the Unknown; these imply that we know the object, and are known to it; that it possesses the moral qualities that can awaken our reverence and love, and command our obedience and worship. We cannot be humbled before the Unknown without transmuting it into the Known, and arraying it in attributes that at once annihilate our ignorance and touch us with awe. Yet, while we deal with it as unknown we are inherently and invincibly conscious that we are dealing with a subjective deficiency, not an objective efficiency, the creation of a strenuously reasoned doctrine of mental impotence, not the Power that is at once the Sufficient Reason of the world and its living order. And how is it possible that the symbol of our mental impotence should, on the one hand, be awful as a god, and, on the other, create in us the humility that begets the joy of love and the inspiration of obedience?

But let this transfigured religion of omniscient Agnosticism be tried by a simpler test—is it capable of realization, of practical embodiment? Could this deification of mental impotence, this worship of mental abstractions, teach men to live justly, to order their lives nobly, to be



patient in sorrow, passionate against wrong, dutiful to humanity, hopeful amid the confusions and losses of our troubled and changeful time? Of what sort are its moral energies? Has it any? Can it reform the bad, inspire the feeble and fallible with enthusiasm for virtue, make the stern tender, the harsh gentle, the ignoble and false magnanimous and true? David Strauss, speaking of Julian's attempt to restore heathenism, has well said: "Only a book scholar (the cloistered student, victim of his own fancies) could imagine that a phantom, woven of poetry, philosophy, and superstition, could occupy the place of real religion."\* And is not the saying as true of the modern Agnostic as of the ancient Neo-Platonist? I confess to a secret regard for the Religion of Humanity. It has moral passion and purpose in it, is capable of creating and directing enthusiasm for the rights and liberties and against the wrongs and oppressions of man. But this religion of Agnosticism, this humiliation of the reason before a blank abstraction, created by thought to paralyze thought, is but an insult to the spirit, an insolent yet feeble mockery of the hopes, the loves, the ideals, the inspiration, the consolations, and reverences, that have been at once symbolized for our race and realized in it by the grand old thing named Religion.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

\* "Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cäsaren," p. 12.

## "THEY WERE A GREAT PEOPLE, SIR."

A CONTRIBUTION TO SOME VEXED QUESTIONS IN IRELAND.

ANY person leaving Euston Station at 8.25 P.M., and travelling by Irish Express Service, *vid* Holyhead, Kingstown, and Dublin, may find himself at twelve noon on the following day at a railway junction in the centre of the South of Ireland, some 430 miles from London. Changing trains at this junction, he will reach Limerick an hour later, where a second and final change will place him in a carriage marked "Ennis."

After a certain lapse of time, his new train, moving out from Limerick station, will run slowly through some rich low-lying meadows—will run slower still across a bridge spanning a large full-fed river flowing towards the West, and finally will achieve the slowest measure of railroad progression as it puffs and blows up the steep grades that lead from "Shannon's Shore" to the high level of the Cratloe Hills in Clare.

And now, as stations come and go along the line of railway, the traveller, apart from a keen enjoyment of bits of rare landscape beauty intermixed with bare brown stretches of bog and treeless waste, will become conscious of a new sensation. He will find himself in a world where time has no value, where punctuality is a precept recognized only in its incessant infraction, and where "rail-roading"—as it is termed in America—is a business completely divested of those characteristics of bustle, speed, energy, and animated human effort which are usually associated with its practice throughout the world. We will take one station on the line as a sample of the routine of traffic more or less observable at all.

With many sudden jerks, and harsh sounds of iron in contact with iron, the train comes to a stop—a lazy-looking porter walks along the platform shouting the name of the station in a deep, rich *patois*—the guard and the station-master greet each other after the manner of



friends who have not met for years, and may not meet again for life. Apparently overcome by emotion, they retire into the recesses of the station-house. A man comes along with a grease-box for the wheels; he is about to proceed with his avocation when, recognizing a friend in the middle of a third-class compartment, he lays down his box, suspends all lubricating effort, and devotes himself to a prolonged shaking of hands through the carriage-windows, his "How are ye, Mickey?" being borne in tones of genuine welcome along the train. Nobody appears to be getting in or out, nor does there seem to be any reason whatever—mail, baggage, or otherwise—why the train should have stopped, unless it was for the benefit of the two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, the single car-driver, and the half-dozen idlers of both sexes, who stand on the platform, or the other half-dozen less privileged individuals who are looking over the station wall, blankly staring at the proceedings. The car-driver is near our carriage-window, and we engage him in conversation.

"They stop a long time here," we remark.

"They do, yer honour—but the hill was agin her from Limerick up, and she do get hot over it," he replied.

"Is it all like this?" we ask.

"It's mostly the same up to Ardsollus," he answers, "but from Ardsollus down she gives great value entirely. But shure, it's better for her," he goes on, "to take her coorse aisy; last year she was on her time at Cratloe crossing—the gate was shut agin her—the porter's wife ran out to open it, and got killed."

Suddenly the station bell interrupts our conversation, the engine whistles, and we move off from the platform. Now ensues much confusion in the interior of the station. The guard rushes out followed by the station-master, the first-named official masters the position at once—a shout, and an impatient wave of the hand brings the train back again to the platform—this done, the guard turns fiercely upon some idle urchins who are standing in suspicious proximity to the station bell.

"Which of yez," he demands, "was it stharterd her?"

There is no reply.

"Ave I caught the one that gave her the bell, I'd——," here words fail him to express the vengeance he would wreak upon the delinquent ringer, the boys separate and run, the guard gives the final signal of departure, and we move slowly off at last, one hour and twenty minutes behind time.

Despite "the value" given from Ardsollus down, a remunerative proceeding solely due to a steep down grade which "she" was utterly powerless to control, we are fully an hour late at Ennis station. To the people in the train, or to those out of it, the hour lost matters little, but with thirty long miles before us, ere the halting-place for the night is reached, the delay makes a serious difference.

There is a bright side, however, to the picture. If the rail-roading



has been slow and bad—the car-driving is destined to be rapid and excellent. Our few traps are neatly and expeditiously packed "on the well," the driver takes his reins and the off-seat—touches the little brown mare with the whip, and we are soon outside Ennis, holding a steady pace of seven miles in the hour into the West. There are still four hours of good daylight before us, and we are only twenty hours out from London.

Only twenty hours of time, yet an age of scene and surrounding. It is midsummer—the blue-grey limestone road stretches away over hill and dale—dustless, grass-bordered, and silent. On the ditches, over the fields, and up the rounded hills the grass is green as only Irish grass can be—soft-green in the shadows, golden-green where the sun, now sinking slowly towards the west, touches it with slanting beam—many meadows are deep in yellow flagger lilies, the corn-crake is loud amid the tufts of meadow sweet, and the outline of the hills lies in wonderful clearness against the sky; there are dark patches of bog and lighter bits of heather scattered here and there, with acres of potatoes in blossom and fields of

"drooping coats

Through which the poppies show their scarlet coats."

Now and again, on either side of the road a solitary shattered tower stands out upon a bare hill-side, or rounded "rath," fringed with thorn bushes, is seen, and often the ivied gable of a roofless church rises near the roadside—the ruined reminders of forgotten times.

After two hours driving we stop at the door of a roadside public-house, on the white-washed wall of which a board informs the traveller that Fanny O'Dea is licensed to dispense spirits and entertainment for man and beast. The driver gives the mare "a white drink," takes a darker one himself, and then we go on again towards the west—the daylight of the long June evening still glorious over the land.

The driver has now become loquacious. He is loud in praise of the beauty of Mrs. O'Dea. He tells us that when he first knew her she "had a waist like the shaft of his car." He tells us, too, that he remembers the bad times, but that personally "he didn't get much of the famine." He informs us that the country through which we are passing, and the castles which we see rising up, grey ruined towers on the green slopes, "all belonged once to the MacMahons, that they held the land, far and near, from six miles on this side of Ennis to the rocks at Loop Head; that they were a great people, but that they are all gone from the land now."

"Where did they go to?" we ask.

"Devil a one knows, yer honour. It's likely they hanged some, and transported more, and maybe them that was neither hanged nor transported drank themselves out—anyways they're gone out of it this many a day."

"And who's in their place now?" we inquire.



"There's many a one," he replies; "there's S——, and S——, and S——, and a lot more."

The road now begins to ascend a long incline: we alight to walk the hill. Before we are half-way to the top the driver has forgotten the MacMahons, and is enlightening us as to how it was he had never got married, "though there was a girl of the Malonys," he says, "about two miles off the road on the left, that was even then breaking her heart for him."

At last we are on the top of the hill. Below—at the further side—the land spreads out in many a mile of shore, ridge, and valley into the golden haze of sunset. The estuary of the Shannon opens westward into the Atlantic; from shore to shore many miles of water are gleaming in the evening light. A large green island lies in the estuary, and from its centre a lofty round tower rises above many ruins—dark in the sunlight: back from the shore rolling ridges spread westward, green, wild, and treeless. These ridges, this long line of shore far as eye can reach in front, was all MacMahon territory; behind us, farther than we can look back, was MacMahon's land too.

So much for the scene, as it presented itself to us on this summer's evening. Let us see if we can add something to the driver's "They were a great people, but they're all gone, root and branch, from the land now, sir."

To do so we must go back a long way. Among the many Celtic names in the early history of Ireland from which the English reader turns in perplexed indifference, there is one which seems to have caught in more lasting cadence the modern memory. It is that of Brian Boru—Brian of the Tribute.

This favourite hero of Celtic bard and historian fell fighting, as everybody knows, or ought to know, on the field of Clontarf; or rather he was slain towards the end of the battle by some fugitive Danes, who found him praying in his tent—like Moses—for the success of his people. He was at this time eighty-eight years of age.

Many of his kith and kin perished in the same battle. His eldest son, Murrough, we are told, used his battle-axe with great effect upon the Danes, until his right hand and arm became so swollen that his blows were unable to deal death through the armour of his enemies. In this condition he was set upon by the Danish chief, Arnulf. Seizing his enemy with his left hand, Murrough first shook him out of his armour, and then killed him with his axe; but it is said that the Dane, in his last moment, snatched his opponent's knife from his belt, and plunged it into his side. Tordelback, or Turlough, son of Murrough, and grandson of Brian, also died hard that day. He was only a boy of sixteen, but despite his youth, the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" tell us that his body was found after the battle floating in the tideway of the Tolka river, with both his hands twisted in the hair of a Dane whom he had followed into the sea.



Fortunately for the future of the MacMahons, some of Brian's children survived this famous day at Clontarf. Tordelback the second—son of another son—left a child, Murrough, who afterwards became King of Ireland in 1100. He left a son, Mahon O'Brian, the first MacMahon of Corca Basca. That the family came of a good fighting stock we think the above details will sufficiently attest. By what process his Mahon O'Brian became chief of Corca Basca,—namely, of all the shore-line, hill-side, river, vale, and meadow we have looked at from the height of land on the summer evening lately described,—there is now no record; but title to possession could not have proved a matter of grave difficulty to the kin of Murrough, the armour-shaker, or Tordelback, the hair-twister.

We may pass over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in a few words. Corca Basca lay a long way off. Unless its chieftains made themselves conspicuous by seeking their enemies, their enemies were not likely to go looking for them. That the MacMahons, and their cousins, the O'Brians, did issue forth across the Shannon is, indeed, frequently on record. We hear of them in many a fight against the early Norman settlers, and once as wreaking "great fury" upon a body of Ostmen or Danes in the service of the Normans in 1170.

But all through their wars, whether against Dane, Norman, or rival Celtic chieftain, they appear to have shown considerable knowledge of that second string to the bow of force—diplomacy. The lords of Thomond were never adverse to treating with their foes. Even the great Brian of Clontarf, destroyer of Danes though he was, could give his daughter in marriage to a Danish prince, and take to wife the widow of a Danish king—indeed the family seemed fond of foreign alliances. Harold, the last king of the Saxons, was brother-in-law to O'Brian of Thomond.

When King Richard the Second made his first attempt to conciliate the Irish chiefs after two hundred years of fruitless fighting, O'Brian of Thomond was one of the four "Kings of Ireland" who were selected for the experiment of having knighthood conferred upon them. The reply of the chiefs was characteristic. "At seven years of age," they said, "our sons receive knighthood: we assemble in an open space, the boys, mounted on horseback, run tilts against shields hung in the centre of the plain; the boy who breaks the largest number of shafts is first in the list of knights." It was explained that in Norman chivalry knighthood was an honour so high that prince and king might aspire to it. Finally, the four chiefs were induced to accept the distinction, but notwithstanding all the pomp and display lavished by the king upon the ceremony of the installation, the Celtic chiefs received their honours with feelings not altogether unlike those with which some Maharajah in India who traced unbroken descent from Timour, or Mahmoud of Ghizni, might regard the insignia of an order which he held in companionship with Sir Bumble, the Mayor of Modbury. For nearly two hundred years following this event we hear little of the O'Brians or their



cousins, the MacMahons. Corca Basca lay beyond Thomond. Thomond was itself a long way from every place—shut in between the great ocean, a large river, a lake, and trackless swamps.

Early in the fifteenth century, however, a great change was begun in Thomond, as it was in many another portion of Ireland. It was the substitution of property for clanship, landlord for chief, tenant for people—a change the ultimate effect of which we have not yet arrived at. The archives of the family tell us that in the middle of the fifteenth century the MacMahon of that day, Donough-na-Glanna (the six-fingered one), divided his territory among his three sons, the third and youngest receiving as his share about 12,000 acres of the country lying around the spot where to-day the white-washed hostelry of Mrs. Fanny O'Dea promises rest and refreshment to thirsty bipeds or quadrupeds travelling the Ennis highway.

It is our intention to follow the fortunes of this younger branch, as it has fallen out that a moiety of the 12,000 acres thus bestowed by the six-fingered chieftain upon his third son has survived the wars and attainders of Irish history, in the possession of the MacMahons, or their representatives, and this moiety, lying, as it were, islanded amid an ocean of confiscation, may prove a useful standpoint from which to gain some insight into the question of land possession in Ireland, shorn of those complications which successive forfeitures have added to it.

Between applying themselves to the management of their internal affairs at home, and giving a general support to the English interest, the house of Thomond, and that of MacMahon, prospered during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs which proved so disastrous to many other noble names in Ireland. Through the long strife of twenty years which in Elizabeth's reign turned fertile Munster into a wilderness, the lands of Thomond, though separated only by a river from Desmond, remained untouched—Malbie, Perrot, Carew, St. Leger, Grey, and a score of lesser though not less hungry adventurers hovered around the borders of Thomond, wasting the "Kingdom" of the last Earl of Desmond; but when the storm that wrecked that proud house and laid low the O'Neil had passed, Clare, from Lough Derg to Loop Head, was still O'Brian and MacMahon. Even Malbie, who could ever find but scant measure of good word to bestow upon Irish chief or people, thinks it possible to write to Leicester commending "the good disposition of the young Earl of Thomond, who is Leicester's true follower and faithful friend."

The service given to the Tudors was continued to the Stuarts.

In the rebellion of 1641, Lord Inchiquin became the chief support of English power in Ireland. He served Charles, he served the Parliament, and, again, he served the king; and, again, when Ireland emerged from twenty years of struggle, Clare was still O'Brien and MacMahon.

The end of this long dominion was, however, approaching.

When James II. made his last stand, Thomond and Inchiquin were with him to a man. With the fall of his cause in Ireland, O'Brien and



MacMahon fell too. Indeed, these two names may be said to have formed the point or apex of that great "flight of the wild geese" from Ireland which began at the close of the seventeenth century. How well they carried themselves on the wide stage of European history is now an old story. Wherever life was to be lost or honour won over all that great battle-field that lay between "Dunkirk and Belgrade" there the exile from Clare was to be found.

For fully one hundred years following the capitulation of Limerick, the deep bays and secluded harbours of the south and west coasts of Ireland saw strange vessels standing in at nightfall from the open sea; at daybreak next morning a sail would be visible on the horizon's rim, fast fading into space; and up in the treeless hills of Corca Basca, or on the lonely shores of Moyarta, there would be weeping eyes and breaking hearts for the boy who had gone to take his place in the ranks of Clare's Dragoons or Inchiquin's Foot, and to lay his nameless dust by Danube's shore, or Rhenish hill-side, in the great game of European history.

Poor Corca Basca! During all this eighteenth century it lay a dreary blank upon the world's face. Out beyond the great ocean—which day and night ever sobbed against Moyarta's rocks—the names of O'Brien and MacMahon were high on the rolls of honour in the service of France, Spain, or the Empire; but the old home knew them only in whispers. At times the echo of a great fight came homeward over the sea, and then there would be joy in some old castle, or some lowly cabin, at the news that Donough had done well at Ramilies; or Turlough had carried himself bravely at Cremona; or Murrough had met a soldier's death at Marsiglia. Joy would there be, too, but of a different kind, among the new lords of the land, when tidings came of the death of some gentleman of the old stock who had followed fallen fortunes over the sea. Perchance, it would be the name of a big one among the exiles who had gone down, some lord whose shadow, while he lived, ever seemed to fall across his rifled acres, and to forbid the new proprietor to rest in peace upon them. But the fall of the exile in foreign parts did not always bring the coveted rest to the new man in the old acres. The stock was as prolific of birth as it was generous to death, and there were MacMahon cadets and O'Brien claimants still lingering around the old scenes—sometimes as tenants-at-will, upon lands which their fathers had possessed in fee; sometimes as broken gentlemen fast sinking into disrepute.

A dark century, truly, for Ireland was this eighteenth. The old leaders gone, the men whose brain-power could and must have led the ranks beneath them into the paths of progress, banished from the land; giving leaders of armies to half the States of Europe; their places at home taken by men who possessed not one attribute that could command from the people the obedience given to birth or yielded to distinction.

Even in the reign of Elizabeth, the new element introduced had been



chiefly of gentle blood, and the link between chief and people, broken by confiscation, had become again recoverable; but Cromwell's conquest, and the forfeitures that followed the fall of the Stuarts, had introduced a new race of proprietors. It was no longer the cadet of some noble house from England or Scotland, it was the rough trooper from the Lincoln fen, or the Fifth-monarchy man from Wapping or Bristol. In Elizabeth's reign, it is true, a castle and a thousand acres could be given for a breakfast, but the recipient was a Walter Raleigh. A Lord Deputy's clerk could get a lordly gift from Desmond's rifled acres; but the clerk was Edmund Spencer. Fifty years later, the price given for lands or castles had not sensibly increased; but the deed of the new ownership was likely to be made to a Bradshaw or an Axtel.

If a man attempted to carry off the Crown jewels from the Tower, if he had signed the sentence of death against King Charles in Westminster, or had struck his death-blow on the scaffold at Whitehall, there was sure to be some castle in Clare, some manor in Meath, some church-land in Cork, to give him ready refuge and sure reward, and the extremes of escape from punishment in one country, and the reward for crime in the other, seemed to meet in the mutual detriment of Tyburn and Tipperary, which were alike defrauded of their legitimate rights.

But to return to the MacMahons.

The beginning of the eighteenth century found but a broken remnant of chiefs or gentlemen in the old lands of Moyarta and Clonderalaw—they had totally disappeared from the wild West Coast; further to the east one Donough held precarious tenure at Clenagh. In what way he managed to survive the surrender of Limerick is not apparent, but so long as Queen Anne lived he could not have lacked powerful friends in high quarters. His wife had been a Barnewall—a name often repeated in the Rolls of Attainder, but her grandmother was sister to Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, and no one who could call the great Sarah grand-aunt, was likely to suffer much at the hands of any man-made law.

After the death of Queen Anne things changed; Donough had too many friends and relations "over the water" to bide long in quiet over his land. His wife's three brothers were fighting in Spain, Turkey, and the Low Countries, his own kith and kin were marching and countermarching under the orders of Villars, Vendôme, or Villaroy. It was all too much for Donough, he got a couple of thousand pounds on a last mortgage of the estate, made Clenagh over in trust to a cousin, one Sir Donough O'Brien, and, taking ship at the Shannon mouth with his eldest boy, sailed away, for ever, from the old home.

Sir Donough O'Brien, the trustee, had become empowered to hold property in Ireland by a process not unusual in those days. His mother, Monie Rua MacMahon, a few years earlier had conformed to the Protestant religion. She "renounced the errors of the Roman Church and embraced those of the Established religion,"—as an Irish newspaper, a few years later, announced a similar change on the part of a nobleman,



with a remarkable expression of opinion which deserves record. "Better one old woman be damned," she said, "than O'Brien and MacMahon be beggars." Verily, the blood of Boru had not degenerated—water could not unclasp the youthful Tordelback's grasp from the hair of his enemy. Seven hundred years later fire was powerless to drag from the old dame, Monie, the acres of Corca Basca!

When Donough MacMahon sailed away from the Shannon, with the world all before him, he could have been no stranger wheresoever he turned. It is not too much to say that during the first half of this eighteenth century he would have found himself at home in any army in Europe. There were MacMahons and O'Briens lying asleep under the turf at Ramilies, Blenheim, and Almanza; there were Barnewalls and Hamiltons (wife's people) quiet enough at Marsiglia, Malplaquet, and Sauverne; but there were plenty of others still left to take their places in the great game.

When Berwick falls at Phillipsburg, a few years later, one kinsman standing by his chief will be wounded by the same cannon-shot, as another kinsman, a generation earlier, had stood beside Turenne at the final moment at Sasbach. Five others are still to fall at Fontenoy; at Lauffield three more are to go down, and there is a Barnewall (wife's brother) to fall fighting the Turks, at Critzka, in Hamilton's (wife's uncle) regiment of Imperial Cuirassiers.

Amid all these, and many more, kinsmen and relations, Donough had a wide field of war to choose from. He selected the service of the Empire, and in the year 1753, like the son of the great Napoleon, "died an Austrian Colonel." Terence, the eldest son, was also an officer in the Imperial service; he never revisited the land of his birth; there was plenty of work for him in Silesia, Poland, and Bohemia, and the hills of Corca Basca and the castle at Clenagh must have remained to him only as a vague memory of boyhood. At last there came back from over the sea one Stanislaus Maximilian James MacMahon, a right noble-looking young man, whose Christian names give a glimpse of the strange conglomerate of royalty which he served. He came back to take up the old castle of Clenagh, and to redeem the acres. Better had he remained in foreign parts to lay his bones on some Silesian battle-field fighting the Great Frederick for Maria Teresa. Better the big war in Carinthia against the Turk than the petty strife against penal code and law process in Clare. True, Clenagh was still his own; O'Brien had kept trust. Stanislaus set up in the old castle, and for a time all went well. He was tall, good-looking, and graceful, as well he might be—the blood of beauty was in his veins. Milesian through forty known generations, and twice as many unknown ones, he had also in him the Hamilton strain, which held the blood-royal of Stuart and Bruce in its veins. He married beauty, and an only daughter, Lucinda Esmonde; but all that could not shake off the grasp of the mortgagee upon Clenagh, or lift the old name to its former level. There were mort-



gages still running that went back to 1670, and charges for marriage portions that dated from the reign of Henry VIII. ; nor could the encroachments of the new interest be successfully resisted. The documents from which this narrative is compiled contain sundry allusions to various "townslands which have been purloined by Mr. Scott and others of the adjacent neighbours."

Amid such pleasant neighbours, and with so many embarrassments, poor Stanislaus did not long hold out. It is not unlikely that the strain of foreign blood (his mother was a German lady) may have weakened the native fibre of the MacMahons. Worry, to some natures, is more fatal than war; and in 1757 Stanislaus was added to the great majority, leaving behind him a young widow with two children,—a son, Donat, afterwards a priest in Paris, and a daughter, the last of her name, who carried with her as a marriage portion to the Coppingers of Cork, some 4000 acres of wild upland pasture, all that was saved from sale, foreclosure, and forfeit of the once wide lands of Clenagh.\*

And now to the moral of our narrative—the question of the ownership and possession of the land in Ireland.

In one of his recent essays, Ruskin, speaking of the people of a country—"the ground-delvers"—in distinction to the conquerors, says that while the invader, Frank, Goth, or Roman, may fluctuate hither and thither in chasing or flying troops, "the rural people must still be diligently, silently, and with no time for lamentation, ploughing, sowing, and cattle-breeding!"

And so they were in Corca Basca as elsewhere, in roughest and most outlandish fashion—growing their scanty crops farther up the hill-sides year by year, as ever the rising tide of more prosperous acquisition forced them into loftier altitudes.

All through this eighteenth century the people—tillers of the soil—turf-cutter, potatoe-planter, and oat-sower—were sunk in hopeless misery. The leaders were gone, never to return, and between the new proprietors and the old poverty-stricken peasantry there was a gulf of hopeless difference.

The people could not "cotton" to the new order. The Irish peasant could serve the Norman noble with matchless fidelity. He could accept as his leaders the younger son of a Hamilton or a Herbert in Elizabeth's and James I.'s confiscations, but he could not give hand of serviship, or heart of obedience, to the regicide of 1649, or the undertakers of 1689. Nor could he blot from his memory the race that was gone.

Ruskin says "the people of a land must plough, and sow, and cattle-raise, with no time for lamentation." They may not weep, but they will think,—the ploughman as he follows the furrow will sometimes

\* This remnant was destined in the course of time to come back again to Celtic ownership. A brother of Daniel O'Connell (the Liberator) married the grand-daughter of Stanislaus, and Clenagh stands to-day in the name of the infant son and widow of the late Morgan John O'Connell. To Mrs. M. J. O'Connell, daughter of the well-known Charles Bianconi, the writer is indebted for the family particulars above related.



unearth a human skull; the sower will scatter his seed upon a battle-field; the herder of cattle will seek shelter from the tempest among the walls of some crumbling castle, and amid the pauses of their labours they will think,—at least the Celtic peasant will, building up in his own fashion the ruined edifice of the past, endowing the old race with strength, symmetry, open-handedness, and valour that will ever show in poor comparison the "gentleman" of the present.

When the "wild geese" sailed away from Ireland they carried with them the heart of the Irish people: the tribes lived on in a shattered and disordered peasantry; the chiefs and leaders vanished from the land; for a time there was the stupefaction of despair, and then amid the darkness and gloom of the eighteenth century the lurid lights of lawless faction and of midnight outrage began to show themselves. Towards the close of the century the master-mind of Edmund Burke could detect plainly enough the cause of the malady, while he was, like others of later date, powerless to cure it. "A plebeian oligarchy," he writes, "is a monster, and no people, not absolutely domestic, or predial slaves, will long endure it."

It was doubly unfortunate that this "plebeian oligarchy" should have been set up in Ireland before the condition of land ownership, which is to-day in vogue, should have had time to take deep root in the minds and habits of the Irish people.

When, as we have before stated, Donough-na-Clanna divided his territory of West Clare among his three sons, he was in reality adopting, for the first time, the new law of possession which marked the termination of the tribal tenure, and the substitution of landlord and tenant for chief and people. This change—the most important that any people can be called upon to conform to—has at all times evoked opposition from the tribe. The change from chief to landlord, from clansman to tenant, has not been willingly accepted even where chieftainship and landlordism have been but different titles in the same family. How much less was it likely to prove successful where a complete change of masters supervened almost immediately upon the change of tenure. For, although the beginning of the fifteenth century witnessed the first attempt of the chiefs to place themselves in the actual ownership of the soil on which their people dwelt, it was not until two hundred years later that the full consequences of the change made themselves apparent to the people. From the close of the reign of Mary to the beginning of the reign of Anne, Ireland was a prey to almost incessant strife. The long wars of Elizabeth with Desmond and O'Neill, the conflict of James with Tyrone, the rebellion of 1641, and subsequent strife of twenty years, the struggle following the revolution of 1688—all these fierce and sanguinary wars prevented the realities of the new system being brought home to the people. At last there was peace, the peasants stood face to face with the new tenure, but the old leaders, the gentlemen who might have rendered the transition



possible, who might have been accepted as landlords by the people over whom they had ruled as chiefs, had wholly vanished from the scene.

Where were they gone? We have already partly answered. They were scattered above ground and below it over half the States of Europe. O'Neill was in Rome, O'Brien in the Camp at Grenelle, the Desmond's headless body lay mouldering in the little churchyard of Killanamana, Ormond was an exile at Avignon, O'Donnell was in Spain; Nugent, De Lacy, MacMahon, Esmonde, De Burgh, Dillon, O'Connor, MacCarthy, and a host of others, were fighting and falling in the cause of every king and country save their own. They were hopelessly gone, and in their old places stood a new race of men alien in nationality, hostile in faith, opposite in sentiment to the people beneath them; men who felt and lived as a foreign garrison in the land, men who hated the people and were in turn detested by the people; men who drank "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory" on the anniversary of one king's death, with religious observance, and sat down to a dinner of calf's head on the 30th of January in mockery of another king's execution; men who stood almost as completely isolated from their fellow-beings beneath them as though they had been the white garrison of a Western prairie fort amid a wilderness of Red Indians. Here, then, was lost, and lost for ever, "the touch," to use a military expression, of the Irish people. Henceforth there would be wild, spasmodic effort of law to force the reluctant people to accept "for worse," if they would not take "for better," the new order of things; there would be oscillations of government, outbreak of people's passion, repression, and the rest of it; but of the kinship that comes of common race, the bond of a faith held together, the union that holds hopes, fears, and dangers past and to come, linked in an undivided destiny, there was not to be one chord of sympathy vibrating through the social structure of Ireland. On the one side, the "new interest" would find itself year by year forced into more exclusive isolation, but growing weaker through absenteeism, the spirit of modern opinion, and the influence of New World ideas. On the other, the people, ever drifting farther away from the memory of obedience and regard for their old masters, would become more hopelessly estranged from the classes above them, more prone to wander after wild experiments, to listen to the teaching of dangerous doctrines, to catch the echo of distant democracies, remaining deaf to the solid sound of sense that also comes from them.

Such has been the history of Ireland and its people during the last hundred and fifty years, until to-day the nation, like some ship to which movement is danger, and repose is impossible, drifts hither and thither upon a stormy ocean, her captain and officers all gone, her crew sulky and mutinous, her helm held by men who seek vainly in the darkness for those headland lights of Peace and Progress which lie the smooth waters of Content.

W. F. R

## A SPECULATION ABOUT DREAMING.

THE dialogue of which I am about to give a report is not altogether imaginary. The sum and substance of it was actually spoken last Easter Day at a very pleasant place on the south coast of fair England, with the waves of the sea dancing and laughing close at hand in the sunshine. The dream, which serves as its text, was actually dreamt on the preceding night, when the sky was bathed in the full splendour of the Paschal moon. It was difficult to be downcast at a time so bright and hopeful.

A. I had a very vivid dream in the night. I was present at the funeral which, as you know, makes it necessary for me to go up to town the day after to-morrow. I moved about in the house among the mourners, without being in the very least degree able to realize the death of my friend as a cause for mourning. I saw the coffin placed in the hearse, and in due course I was marshalled to a place in the funeral procession, which place proved to be, not in a mourning-coach, but in my own carriage. By my side, in the shadow, sat a gentleman who, after being silent for a short time, said to me in a well-known voice, "I agree with you in thinking that death ought not to be regarded as a subject for mourning, and that 'the trappings of woe' are out of place on an occasion like this." I looked up to see who it was who had thus divined my own thoughts, and saw, without the least feeling of surprise or fear, that the speaker was no other than the friend whose body was then in the hearse on its way to the grave. It seemed to me to be quite natural that he should thus divine my thoughts and that we should be together, he talking and I listening, as if death had not parted us. It also seemed to me to be quite natural that a moment or two later he should vanish away as he did, and I be left alone as I was, with a strong conviction



that I *ought* to be able to come and go and divine and speak as he had done. What do you say to all this?

B. Every one, I suppose, may be set down as more or less crazy when he loses the guidance of his senses as he does in dreaming.

A. Very generally, no doubt, but not always. At all events, it does not do to trust too implicitly in this guidance.

B. Why so?

A. Because, in so doing, you are in danger, sooner or later, of coming to look upon yourself as a mere animal whose life is dependent upon certain changes in a mortal material mechanism which must cease at death.

B. There is, I think, small risk of my sticking fast in the mire of matter in this way, for I am ready to believe, not only that matter may be much less opposed to spirit than it is commonly supposed to be, but also that my life must have a firmer foundation than any that can be found for it in my ever-changing mortal body, and that the death of this body does not necessarily mark the end of this life. I err, if I err at all, by being too much inclined to idealism.

A. Matter, as you say, may not be so much opposed to spirit as it is commonly supposed to be. It is certainly more than—what is implied in its old Greek name, *ἔλν*—mere building material. Instead of being made up of inert, impenetrable, and indivisible atoms or particles, it may be made up of active, penetrable, and infinitely divisible centres of force. What is visible and tangible as a solid or fluid at one time may, without doubt, be invisible and intangible as vapour at another time. In a word, the ever-shifting view of material objects, which may or may not present itself when the senses are closed in a dream, may be nearer the truth, as regards matter, than that comparatively un-shifting view which is commonly presented when the dream is over and the senses are open.

B. It may even be necessary to get beyond the notion of centres of force, and to look upon *matter* as a visible and tangible *form* into which *spirit* may resolve itself, and upon this form as resolvable back again into invisible and intangible spirit; and so, by regarding matter as a mode of spirit, to reach the point at which the dreamer has arrived, whose movements hither and thither are, in spirit at least, unopposed by anything in the shape of a material obstacle. An idealist like myself may talk in this way.

A. Nor is the popular notion which regards your body as something *constant* more satisfactory than the popular notion of matter. For, so far from being constant, this body, like the passing cloud which is produced by the condensation of watery vapour, is being continually remade out of fresh material, and as continually unmade, with this only difference, that the process of remaking and unmaking is less complicated and more rapid in the case of the cloud. Only let the process of remaking and unmaking, of reappearance and disappearance, be sufficiently *æo* and it is quite conceivable that the body, which, at first



to be so constant, may appear and disappear and reappear as suddenly as it does do in a dream—that the dreamer may, in very truth, be a *spirit*, in the body at one moment and out of the body at another.

B. I can easily fancy that all this may be true.

A. If so, then I think you may go with me a little further, and come to believe, as I do, that anything so constant as your actual self, as you yourself, cannot be dependent for its existence upon your inconstant mortal body, and that the death of this body *need not* mark the end of your life. Nay, without any great difficulty you may come to believe that this life has its beginning rather than its ending in the death of this mortal body. The manifestation of life in any of its many modes is clearly connected with a slow combustion or disintegration of the body which is of the nature of death. In order to continue to live, you have to continue to die, and in every case the amount of this life is directly proportionate to the amount of this death. As to this fact there can be no doubt. And therefore it is quite conceivable that the complete death of the body, instead of being the ending of life, may only be the beginning of a fuller life, in comparison with which the life which is lived in the body may be death rather than life—may be actual death, though not perhaps the deepest mode of death. In a word, I am more or less at liberty to believe that there may be no impassable gulf between the dead and the living; that the dead and the living may exist together in a world of spirit, in which the so-called living are less living than very many of the so-called dead; that, in fact, the dead may come and go as they do in dreams.

B. Oh!

A. And if I may go so far, I may probably be justified in thinking that my true relations to time and space are not exactly those which I believe them to be when I am most awake. In point of fact, my imagination at once sets at naught the notion which measures time in moments and space in footsteps, by continually wandering about hither and thither, backwards and forwards, from one moment to any other in time, or from one point to any other in space, without the least feeling of having made any movement. And how is this? How is it that I am thus at once introduced into a world of spirit, in which there is, as it were, no time and space, in which I lose the distinction between now and then, between here and there? I do not explain the fact by saying that it is a mere fiction of my imagination. Imagination is a manifestation of my own being. Where imagination can be, there I must be—in spirit, at least. I can see no escape from this conclusion. In a word, I do not see how to account for the operations of my imagination in time and space, without supposing that I must be a *spirit* which is truly alive in the past and future as well as in the present, and which is, in the true sense of the word, ubiquitous. And so it may be that my true relations to time and space are made known to me more clearly in a dream than at any other time.

B. I am not at all disposed to put implicit trust in the guidance of my



waking senses. On the contrary, I am much more disposed to agree with you than to differ from you. But I must know more, much more, before I can believe, as you seem to do, that dreams have any serious significance; and I do not know how to set about acquiring this knowledge.

*A.* You may begin very properly by enquiring into the significance of conscience; and afterwards, as properly, you may extend the enquiry so as to take in sympathy, and memory, and imagination, and reason, and will, and faith. What do you say about conscience?

*B.* I feel myself obliged to look upon *conscience*, not only as a power within me which has the knowledge of good and evil, but as a power above me which rewards me when I choose the good, and punishes me in the contrary case—as a power which is altogether opposed to evil. I also feel myself obliged to look upon this power which is at once in me and above me as *spirit*, for good and evil are abstract conceptions which can only be entertained by a power which is spirit in the full sense of the word. What then? Is there that in me which is really divine spirit? Am I in any true sense of the word the image of God?

*A.* I think the history of conscience is only intelligible when it is supposed to point to a Divine Spirit above me who is absolutely opposed to evil, and to myself as really participating in this spirit. Is it not so?

*B.* I am quite of that opinion.

*A.* I am also led to conclude that I am not wrong in thus interpreting the history of conscience by the fact that I respond as I do to the calls of *sympathy*. If there be, as so many think, only a material basis for life, in which imperfect and independent centres of being are ever striving to better themselves at the expense of other centres, similar and dissimilar, there is room enough for antipathy, but none, that I can find, for sympathy. If, on the other hand, the true basis of my life be a spirit which as spirit is so far all-pervading as to interpenetrate all other beings higher or lower in rank than my own, then it follows as a matter of course that all other beings are scarcely less parts of myself than are the parts of which my own bodily frame is composed, and that I may, nay must, sympathize with them as parts of myself. I see an explanation of sympathy here: I see it nowhere else. Indeed, by looking into the matter from this point of view, I can in a measure see that in order to become *perfect*, I *must* enter into communion with God, and man, and all other creatures, so far as to lose sight of myself as having any selfish or separate interests, so far even as to *love* God with all my heart and soul and mind and strength, and my neighbour as myself—that I must be the subject of a process of transformation which is altogether opposed to that which forms the basis of the doctrine of evolution which has found so much favour in the present day. And thus, by enquiring into the significance of the sympathy without which my being is altogether imperfect and evil, I find that instead of being a mere mortal body, isolated and independent and alive for a



short time only, I may be a spirit which can very properly lay claim to being really akin to The Omnipresent Supreme Spirit who is revealed to me as evermore living and lovable and loving.

B. I have nothing to say in contradiction.

A. Nor can you deal with the history of *memory* satisfactorily in any other way. By an act of memory the past is recalled and made to live over again in the present. Or rather it is as if you had never ceased to live, as if in the act in question you had to do with a spirit which repudiates the idea of death, and does not clearly recognize the bounds of time and place as insuperable. Is it not so?

B. It may be so. I can see some light by looking in this direction. I can see nothing but utter darkness in the view according to which there is, somewhere in my brain, which is held to "secrete thought as the stomach secretes gastric juice," an indelible hieroglyphic record of every moment in my past life which must be turned over and read whenever I remember that moment. I cannot connect the notion of anything so imperishable as the phenomena of memory with anything so perishable as brain-pulp—with anything perishable; and I am ready to agree with you in thinking that these phenomena must be regarded as a proof that I am an ever-living ubiquitous spirit which even now ignores the past by ever leading a divine life in the present.

A. The more I look into the subject the more am I convinced that no sound theory of memory can be built up upon any narrow material basis. I must, for example, look upon the musicians, and the audience, and the concert-room as in a very real manner *within* me, if I am to understand at all how it is that the grand symphony of Beethoven which I heard a few nights ago is in no way confounded with other symphonies, or with the same symphony heard at other times. How do I know that never before did I hear this particular symphony played so well? Surely not by comparing any notes of different performances which I have made for myself in my mortal body, or which have been made for me in this body. Such a notion is barely conceivable in the case of a solo: such a notion is altogether inconceivable in the case of a symphony which so far transcends my power of comprehension. Indeed, I am altogether in the dark until I remember that I may be a living ubiquitous spirit which is more or less in communion with the musicians and audience and concert-room; and that each musician, and each listener, and the very concert-room, as parts of myself, may be helping me to receive and retain that which I hear. In this case each musician in an especial manner does, as it were, the work which I wrongly suppose to be done for me by a brain-cell, and keeps for me the notes which he is instrumental in producing; and I need not perplex myself by wondering how it is that I do not forget his way of rendering the notes, or confound it with the way in which the notes have been rendered by himself or another musician at another time. In this case each member of the audience and every part of the concert-room saves me trouble by keep-



ing for me that particular memorial with which he or it is concerned. And as with the memory of this particular symphony, so with all other memories ; I am altogether at fault until I begin to see that I must look upon myself as to a certain degree *identified* with the persons and things remembered by including them in my own spirit, and keeping firm hold of them. For without this power of including and keeping firm hold I must be ever living a new life, in which there can be no old surroundings, in which there can be nothing to be remembered.

B. You make a demand upon fancy here which few, I fear, will be disposed to grant.

A. Not a greater than that which I must make and you must allow if we are to deal at all satisfactorily with our next topic, which is that of the *imagination*. Here, very plainly, you have to do with yourself as a power which refuses to be "cabined, cribbed, confined" within the bounds of mortal body or any bounds, and which claims to be poetic in the true sense of the word—that is, creative. Here, very plainly——

B. I allow that the phenomena of the imagination are utterly unintelligible unless there be in man a *spirit* which participates in the nature of The Creator so far as to be, not only, as you have already indicated, superior to time and space, but also, as you now add, truly poetic or creative.

A. Nor have you to come down from this high level to a lower when you want to investigate the more sober workings of your *reason*. Here your senses are wanted rather for the purpose of verifying truth after its discovery than for the discovery itself. As with Solomon in the dream in which wisdom was given to him, so with you when you are enlightened in any way, the wisdom or light would seem to enter your mind in a sort of dream, by intuition, by inspiration, by revelation. You are, almost or altogether, as passive in the matter as if you were led merely by instinct. The child is passive, and the glimmer of light it receives is not delusive, because—because, it may be, its *angel*, which may be the *spiritual body* of which St. Paul speaks, beholds the face of its Father in heaven, who is the "Father of lights." The animal which is only led by instinct is also passive, and because it is passive the light which it unconsciously receives from the same source, enables it, by what is called instinct, to do surely the right thing at the right time. Indeed, I can very well imagine that I should have "a right judgment in all things," that all my rational movements would be as wisely directed as the movements of instinct, that the line of demarcation between reason and instinct would be undistinguishable, if I could put myself in the same passive attitude as that which is occupied by the mere animal, if I could continue to be sufficiently child-like, or rather if, in addition, I could be so far wistful as to long for wisdom and light as Solomon did when wisdom and light were given to him. But I am going further than I need go, for all I wish to do is to give a hint or



two which may serve to show that the workings of reason are not to be accounted for satisfactorily except on the supposition that there is in me and above me a spiritual power which in its fullest development is none other than that of omniscience, a spiritual power which can only proceed from Him who is omniscient.

B. I am quite of your way of thinking here.

A. And certainly there is nothing contradictory to these conclusions in the history of your *will*, for who can study this history without again and again entertaining the thought that there is much of the nature of The Omnipotent Spirit in this Titanic power.

B. As one of the subjects to which my attention was to be directed in the present inquiry, after mentioning *will*, you mentioned *faith*. Why did you do so? Is that wonder-working power of which the history is written in words of fire in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to be dealt with in the same way as conscience and sympathy and imagination and memory and reason and will? Is it a subject for ratiocination? Am I to believe in miracles?

A. If what I have said about the significance of dreams have any truth in it, a point of view is gained from which it is easy to see that in very many cases what seems to be unnatural, supernatural, miraculous, may be quite natural. From this point of view you may see that the notion of matter may, as it were, be sublimated until it becomes spirit, and that the notion of spirit may, as it were, become precipitated as matter. From this point of view you see that you may look upon yourself as spirit, which may be *incarnated* at one time and translated out of reach of the senses at another. From this point of view you may see that changes are being continuously wrought in yourself which are of the nature of incarnation and resurrection and inspiration. From this point of view, indeed, enough is seen to make it even possible to believe that the doctrines of The Incarnation, of The Resurrection, and of The Baptism with the Holy Spirit, are quite in keeping with the ordinary course of human nature, and may have a direct bearing upon the rational interpretation of that nature. In a word, if you can come to believe, as I do, that the mystery of your being is more clearly revealed to you in certain dreams than in the waking state, you must allow that much of what is held to be unnatural, supernatural, or miraculous, may be quite natural, that all that is said about the power of faith in the chapter already referred to is not at all incredible. Indeed, if it be true that you are a spirit which may become more and more perfect by entering into communion with God and man and nature generally, and which can only become perfect in this way, there must be in you, potentially at least, a divine power over Nature, which power cannot be less or other than that which is ascribed to *faith*.

B. In what you have just been saying you have divined my thoughts as clearly as did your dead friend yours in the dream which has served



as the text for our conversation. And how is this? How is it that my heart is open to you when my lips are closed? Is it that your spirit is in communion with mine, and that you are in my heart, my *cor cordium*, wherever that centre may be, almost as much as I am myself? Is it that you, by thus being at one with me, may divine my thoughts as they spring into existence, in the same way as that in which God is able to divine them, in the same way as that in which inspired men are admitted more or less into the secret counsels of God? What do you say?

A. I say that it may very well be so. Nay, I do not see how it can be otherwise.

B. You cannot look upon the state of life after death as necessarily more perfect than the present state of life—or death if you will have it so.

A. Certainly not. I believe that the life after death may ever tend to become more and more perfect, if the tendency before death was upwards, God-wards, by becoming more and more unselfish and sympathetic. I believe that the life after death may tend to become more and more imperfect, if the tendency before death was downwards, devilwards, by becoming more and more selfish and antipathetic—but *not for ever*, because I cannot but believe in the final triumph of good over evil. I believe, indeed, that the life after death is in direct continuation with the life before death, that it preserves the same upward or downward inclination which it had before death.

B. After what you have said I can find a meaning which I never found before in the myth of the blind old soothsayer Teiresias, who went on living year after year for many ages, and who found his way about with his golden guiding staff more surely and speedily than he had ever been able to do with his eyes and feet. For may it not be that this man was blinded by Athené in order to teach him that no adequate conception of herself as an ever-living, all-wise, ubiquitous goddess was to be formed from anything which could be taken in by the eye, or by any other of the senses? And may he not have received from Athené, afterwards, the power of prophecy together with long life and the wondrous golden guiding staff, in order to show that any full measure of wisdom and life and dominion over time and space—a dominion which may be typified in the possession of the golden staff—could only be bestowed by her upon him whose eyes are blinded as in a dream?

A. It may be so. At all events I am quite ready to agree with you in thinking that much truth lies hidden in many of those delightful myths which tell of celestial beings who came and went among men without any regard to any material or mortal obstacles, and of men who were in like case. I cannot discard these myths as meaningless without also discarding as meaningless the most essential particulars in a history which has the most sacred claim upon my attention. And this, most assuredly, I am in no way disposed to do.



*B.* Do you seriously believe that the scriptural view of man is the view which ought to be accepted on rational grounds?

*A.* Yes. I would have you look upon man as under a cloud now, and believe that, when this cloud is lifted, you will find reason enough to believe that man was really created in the image of God, that his present state is one of degradation, and that his future state may be one of more than complete restoration. I would have you look upon man, not as the mere head of animate creation, but as a fallen god,—as a being who is actually in a state of sin and death while he remains in the mortal body,—as a being who is not properly alive until he is literally born again by a Pentecostal process which carries with it the transfiguration and resurrection of the mortal body,—as a being whose real body is, not the mortal body which is always manifest to the senses until it vanishes away in death, but the immortal spiritual body underlying this mortal body and giving substance to it, which may or may not be so manifest,—as a being whose foundation and essence is a divine spirit, closely akin in nature to The Divine Spirit, of which the necessary manifestation *in form* is, not the mortal, untransfigurable, degraded, un-risen body which now is, but the immortal, transfigurable, glorious body to the existence of which poets and prophets and apostles alike bear testimony,—as a being, in fact, whose real nature is most clearly revealed to us in the history of Christ the Saviour.

*B.* I can easily look upon man in this way and believe as you do. I can also believe that there may be not a few who “have not bowed the knee to Baal,” but—

*A.* But the vast majority will think us fools for talking in this way. This, I suppose, is what you were about to say when you stopped short, and this is what you might have said very properly. At all events, cost what it may, I feel constrained to talk in this way, and also to say, in addition, that there is, as it seems to me, no key to the mystery of human nature except that which is only to be found by seeking for it in the pages in which the mystery of One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity has been revealed to us. Nay, I would even venture to go further still, and say that there may be that in the ordinary history of man which, when fully read, may serve to make this mystery of mysteries much less mysterious.

*B.* As it seems to me, more attention must be paid to the evidence of the senses than you seem to be disposed to pay.

*A.* I am not all disposed to make light of this evidence. On the contrary, I appeal to it as strongly confirmatory of the conclusion to which we have been already led by the evidence which has been under consideration. For what do I find when I make this appeal? I find that the senses testify, not only to real differences in nature, but to a unity in these differences which is not less real. By this testimony I arrive at the conviction of the truth of the doctrine of archetypal unity in all living beings. By this testimony, I arrive at the conviction of



the truth of the doctrine of correlation in all modes of force, physical and vital. And thus, without any difficulty, my senses alone may serve to carry me to a point in which an actual unity is seen to underlie every diversity in form and force,—in which the one prevailing impression made upon the mind is, not that of isolation and independence anywhere, but that of communion and interdependence everywhere,—in which all material forms and forces are, as it were, about to be absorbed in the unity of spirit. And it is, I think, well to try and arrive at this point were it only for the sake of the light which may be gained there respecting more than one physical problem of importance.

*B.* How do you make good this latter statement?

*A.* I want more time than I have now to make it good: indeed, now all I can do is to illustrate what I mean by hinting that this doctrine of communion and interdependence of all bodies in a sort of atmosphere of all-pervading spirit makes it possible to believe that there is, for example, no occasion to lose one's breath in trying to keep pace with a ray of solar violet light through 185,000 miles in a second, for upwards of 90,000,000 of miles, and to watch it vibrating or trembling all the way at the rate of 700 million million times in the same short period of time, or to suppose that any of these rays are wasted in empty space in accordance with the doctrine of the Dissipation of Energy.

*B.* Indeed!

*A.* By supposing that all bodies are component parts in a grand whole of which the substance is all-pervading spirit, it becomes more difficult to look upon any one of these bodies as an independent and distinct centre of force, and upon force as being, to a great extent, wasted or dissipated by radiation into empty space, than it is to suppose that force is generated in the mutual reaction of two or more of these bodies in lines between these bodies and nowhere else, and that, for want of this reaction, all signs of force would be absent if there were only one body in the universe. As it would seem, this idea of communion and interdependence carries with it the idea of co-operation, and at the same time oversets the notion of independent centres of radiant force, and with it the doctrine of the Dissipation of Energy which is based upon it. Nay it does not do to be content with putting the notion of connecting lines of force in place of the notion of rays of force, for when the subject is regarded from the point of view which is found in the notion of all-pervading spirit, the idea of force is lost in that of spirit, and the lines of force, however long they may be, at once shorten down into points or lengthen out indefinitely, as the attention happens to be turned in this direction or that. And, furthermore, a point is reached in which it is possible to cease to wonder at the rapidity of a beam of light across "the wide and airy deep," for however rapid this movement may be it cannot by any possibility keep pace with a spirit which, by being at once anywhere or everywhere, does not even recognize the existence of

any gaps between here and there in space, or between now and then in time.

B. This mode of reasoning will, I fear, find little acceptance with the majority of thinkers now.

A. So do I. At the same time I maintain that this is the way in which thought ought to be directed. But I have said more than I intended to say when I set out, for my intention was simply to show that the regal dignity of human nature may shine forth more clearly in some dreams than it ever does in the waking state,—that a dream like that which has served as the text for our conversation is highly significant in this respect,—that, in fact,

“We are such stuff  
As Dreams are made of: and our little life  
Is rounded with a Sleep !”

C. B. RADCLIFFE.



## TUNIS.

THERE is a curious phenomenon, periodically recurring at every phase of modern French history : whenever the men at the head of public affairs in that country find themselves more than commonly harassed and embarrassed by the difficulties of their home policy, they are tempted to resort to some desperate shift of unexpected foreign adventure ; and it almost invariably happens, as a Nemesis of their rashness, that the very stroke of statecraft by which they hope to avert their apprehended downfall, becomes, if not the immediate cause, at least one of the principal instruments of their actual overthrow. That phrase, *Il me faut déborder*, with which the greatest of gamblers who ever sat on the French throne—Napoleon III.—greeted Cavour, whom he had summoned to the Plombières interview, in August, 1858, describes the state of mind which at all times determined the Emperor's own conduct, as well as that of his predecessors and successors.

The political game in which Napoleon happened to be engaged, urged him to play a great card ; and he who was, at that very moment, garrisoning Rome for the benefit of the Pope, took up that cause of Italian nationality of which, from the beginning of his reign, he had been considered a consistent foe. And it was that very principle of nationality which made him a conqueror at Solferino that ultimately involved him in antagonism with Germany, and prostrated him at Sedan. It was, in Napoleon's opinion, a necessity for that turbid river, France, to overflow its banks ; and it seemed as much a matter of indifference to him whether he fought for or against Italy, as it was for "Garibaldi's Englishman" whether he showed his skill with the rifle by shooting Austrians or Piedmontese.

It has always been so : when the ministers of Charles X. were in that condition that *Il n'y avait plus une seule faute à commettre*, they

advised that expedition to Algiers of 1830, which preceded only by twenty days the expulsion of the last of the Bourbons. Louis Philippe, who followed, looked upon that African enterprise as a popular measure, and made it his own. He thought that the conquest and colonization of that territory would admirably answer the purpose of diverting the people's attention from domestic distress, and wasted thousands of lives and millions of livres in the furtherance of a brigand warfare of which, after eighteen years' reign, he only saw the "beginning of the end." And when the end came, just about two months after Abd-el-Kader's surrender, it was the turn of Louis Philippe to cross the Channel, a fugitive from the wrath of those Parisians whom he had vainly hoped to amuse and cajole by the display of the Emperor of Morocco's umbrella, and the humiliation of the heroic Kabylean captive.

But French rulers never tired of the mischief that their ill-omened North-African colony wrought them. It was only when they came into conflict with the Germans, in 1870, that they perceived to what extent the practice of petty skirmishing with scattered enemies behind the bushes, which had won so many of their Zouave officers the marshal's baton, had demoralized their army, and unfitted it to withstand the shock of big battalions. It was only when in sober moments they balanced the profits of that hard-won province against the outlay it had caused, that some of their wisest men wondered whether *le jeu valait la chandelle*. At the close of the siege of Paris of 1871, France seemed disenchanted on the subject of military glory. "The Devil fell sick; the Devil a monk would be." France had to put her house in order, and renounce foreign ventures, and the pride with which she had for years looked upon her trans-Mediterranean conquest had visibly subsided into a feeling of disappointment and vexation.

But all is changed now: "The Devil got well," and we know what became of his vocation for a monastic life. It had never come into any Frenchman's mind that Algeria, cost what it might, could or should be abandoned. It might be of no more value to them than Moses Primrose's gross of spectacles, but it was all that France had to show for her money; France and the colony were wedded for better or worse. Algeria must never be lost; it must not even be endangered; its boundaries must be strengthened; its territory rounded off; its frontier line "rectified." And France could not consider this done, France could never have rest, till that line reached the ocean over Morocco, on the one side, and till, on the other, it extended over Tunis and Tripoli to Egypt.

To the present, as to the late, ruler of France, *il fallait déborder*. M. Gambetta had manifold obstacles to overcome before he could openly enjoy that dictatorship which he has long wielded under the nominal Presidency of M. Grévy. His scheme of a *scrutin de liste* which is to make him the Elect of all France, has only been carried by a very



feeble majority in a still imperfectly disciplined, and not yet thoroughly packed assembly. His triumphant progress to Cahors, like his previous visit to Cherbourg, has been an experiment of somewhat doubtful issue. Gambetta, like Louis Napoleon, must have it in his power in any emergency to throw himself on the people; to appeal from a France sober, to a France intoxicated. He must humour his Frenchmen by playing on their vain-glory. He must dazzle them by some exploit flattering their Chauvinism. And, for want of better things, he feels that it will be something for him, if matters come to a *plébiscite*, to be able to stand up against all opponents as the conqueror of Tunisia.

But although it is easy and natural, at this moment, thus to refer the Tunisian difficulty to the above causes, no doubt there existed of old in that Regency such germs of international jealousies and dissensions as could not fail in the long run to lead to serious complications and violent outbreaks. Before Italy existed as a nation, there was already an Italian colony—a cluster of Italian colonies—near the site of old Carthage. Four of the former petty states of the Peninsula—Piedmont, Naples, Tuscany, and Rome—not to mention San Marino—had their consuls accredited to the Bey of Tunis. The natives or descendants of natives of those states far outnumbered the subjects of all other countries; and, bound together as they were by the ties of blood, language, and religion, they were further united by the bond of common interest. Genoese and Neapolitan seamen almost monopolized the coral and tunny fisheries on the coast; and the only medium of communication between the natives and all foreign settlers was the *lingua Franca*, formerly spoken all over the Levant, which is nothing if not bastard Italian.

At the time of the first onset upon Algiers, in 1830, it seemed natural to political speculators in the two Peninsulas of Southern Europe that the French, apprehensive of a joint effort of all the Moorish powers against them, should wish for the co-operation of their brethren of the Latin race in their chivalrous enterprise. And it was suggested that as the French assailed Algeria, the Spaniards should effect a settlement in Morocco (where they had already a *pied à terre* in Ceuta, Mellila, and other strongholds), while the Sardinians should do as much in Tunis, and the Neapolitans in Tripoli. Unfortunately, Spain was about that time in the throes of her Carlist troubles; the Italian States were too hard beset by Carbonari conspiracies, too utterly weakened by the disaffection of their subjects, to give in to any temptations of transmarine achievements: *Non tali auxilio*, said France; and as she had to withstand all the brunt of the battle, she very naturally considered herself entitled to the whole prey.

When the Italians rose to the rank of a nation, united and independent, between 1859 and 1870, they found themselves already quite at home in Tunis, as they boasted there a population of 15,000 of their subjects against 10,000 English (chiefly Maltese, and naturalized Levantines from all parts), and only 1,000 French. And the great proximity



of Tunis to Italian shores—barely 80 miles from Sicily—naturally gave Italy the benefit of the most frequent intercourse between the two Continents.

It was not, perhaps, the least of the serious calamities of Italy at her second birth, that when propitious circumstances enabled her with but little effort to attain the fulfilment of her longing of many centuries, she was led into the fond conceit that she would be, not only a great country, but also a great Power. A prudent, unaggressive policy, a wise and well-guarded neutrality, would easily and thoroughly have insured her against a repetition of those barbaric invasions which had for so long a time ground her to dust. Italy should have been neutral, and allied to all neutrals—to Holland and Belgium, to Denmark, Sweden, &c., and especially to Switzerland—a combination with whose forces would have enabled her to place the Alpine chain as a barrier to prevent collision between emulous continental peoples. Above all things, Italy had no occasion to covet remote colonies or possessions, as she had in her backward Southern provinces, and in her islands, fully one half of her territory, into which, by a gradual and spontaneous movement of her more advanced and enterprising Northern population, she could introduce thorough husbandry, trade, industry, and all the arts of civilization, with better effect than she could obtain in those ports of the Levant, and in those South American Republics to which her children flock by hundreds of thousands.

But other views prevailed: Italy cast the biggest canons; she built the largest ironclads; she sat as "the Sixth Power" in the European councils; and strove to weigh with all her might in the scale of the world's diplomacy. Above all things, she hoped to make the most of her position in the Mediterranean, of her large settlements at Alexandria, at Pera-Galata, but especially in Tripoli and Tunis.

A Christian settlement in one of these Mohammedan regencies, with a consul at its head, is a State within the State. The "Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent," as he is styled, is an important personage. He has a little Court about him, and a body-guard, in some cases consisting of not the very best characters among the stray adventurers and rough customers who seek in those regencies an asylum where not too many questions are asked. The great man himself is often a Levantine by birth or descent; for those consular offices, owing to the necessity of a practical familiarity with Oriental languages, are frequently hereditary, and the members of the same families monopolize the same employment from generation to generation, sometimes rooted to one spot, sometimes shifted from place to place. It would imply no disrespect to a body of public functionaries consisting, as a rule, of worthy and useful individuals, to hint at the fact that black sheep must necessarily appear in any large flock. The authority these consuls exercise as representatives of their respective States, is unshackled by any constitutional restraint, and placed above all responsibility by distance from the mother country,



and unfrequency of official intercourse. Invested with all legislative, executive, and judicial power in a country where there is for aliens no other law than his, with an armed force, a tribunal, and a jail in his establishment, a consul rules over his sovereign's subjects as a satrap, and can doom to a very dog's life any of them who should presume to dispute his will or thwart his pleasure. With his colleagues of other nationalities and their families, the consul is generally on intimate, if not actually on the most friendly terms; and their visiting at each other's houses, and joining in picnic, garden, and other pleasure parties, and riding and boating excursions, give rise to a state of society which is not without its peculiar charms of variety and freedom from restraint. But, in spite of his manifold avocations, a consul has not much to do, for a considerable part of office drudgery devolves on the vice-consul, the chancellor, and a whole host of clerks and dragomans, with other subordinate and supernumerary assistants. Such leisure as the consul has he employs in what he calls "diplomatizing"—i.e., in bullying the Mussulman authorities, bearding the Bey in the tone said to have been familiar to the "Great Elchi," Sir Hector Stubble, in his intercourse with Sultan Abdul Medjid, and intriguing against those of his colleagues whom he suspects of a design to undermine his personal ascendancy, or to challenge the preponderance of the power of which he hoists the flag above his chimney-tops.

It so happened that at this present juncture France and Italy were represented at Tunis, the former by M. Roustan, the latter by Signor Maccio, two officials apparently endowed with an equal amount of zeal and ability, but possibly both equally deficient in temper and discretion. Italy had been unfortunate in her appointment of a consul to the Regency after the death of Cavour, the choice of his successor, Rattazzi, having fallen upon an individual of whose presence in Tunis the Minister was, for certain reasons, anxious to be rid at any cost. The overbearing conduct of this functionary towards the Italian subjects in the colony so exceeded all limits that, had his tenure of office been prolonged, serious scandals and violent outbreaks would have been the more than probable consequence. Upon this man's recall, Rattazzi's successors deemed it just and reasonable to make amends for the offence given to the colonists by supplying them with functionaries in every respect unexceptionable, and rather likely to exceed than to fall short of their duties. The chief duty of a consul was, of course, in the abstract, to promote the well-being of his own people, and to enhance in the eyes of the Bey's Government the importance of the State he represented. Practically, however, there is added a constant endeavour to outwit his colleagues, and to win favour and influence over the Bey's divan at their expense. This task the Italian consuls, following upon one another during these last twenty years, accomplished with so much success, that the trade—at least the minor trade of Tunis—which had at all times been in a great measure in Italian hands, gradually became



a monopoly, while the ascendancy which even the divided four States of the Peninsula had always exercised on the Regency by reason of their proximity, attained colossal proportions now that Italy was a nation—to all appearance four times as great a nation as she had been before—and loomed upon the imagination of the astonished Moors by the magnificence of her quadrupled land and sea forces. Since the times of the English bombardment, and more lately of the French subjugation of Algiers, those Barbaresque States had considerably fallen from their own conceit, as well as from their high estate. There was an end to the piratical trade which had been their only business, and they were fit for no honest employment. Their strength was broken; their wealth and population dwindled; and their tone was now as abject and obsequious as it had hitherto been arrogant and defiant. In their conviction that they could only drag on their existence on sufferance, they so shaped their policy as to give each of the European states as full an assurance of their devotion and subserviency as they could venture to do without exciting the jealousy or wounding the susceptibilities of other Powers.

The Italians had, for a long time, an open field for their activity in Tunis, for France had her hands sufficiently full in Algeria, and since her disasters of 1870 she had been anxious to “efface herself,” as she said, and let others live. Still the progress of Italian influence over the Bey's Government, and over all the affairs of the Regency, was worm-wood to her; not so much, perhaps, from any dog-in-the-manger feeling—for she really was not, for the nonce, bent on *victoires et conquêtes*—but owing to the old rancour with which her heart had been filled by the triumph of Italian unity, and especially by the Piedmontese Bersaglieri storming of Porta Pia.

That in the mind of some—perhaps of many—short-sighted Italian Politicians, and even of some members of the late Cairoli administration, the idea had sprung up that Tunis might, at no distant time, become an Italian possession, is not at all unlikely; and it is also by no means impossible that the Consul Maccio, or some of his predecessors, with or without instructions or knowledge of the Roman Foreign Office, acted upon some plan aiming at that result. France, at all events, took this view of the supposed Italian designs; and, bent on thwarting them at any price, she soon came to the determination that, rather than allow Italy to have Tunis, she would take it for herself. For several years the two rival nations limited their action to underhand manœuvres, and an intolerable amount of mutual insinuations, denunciations, upbraidings, and recriminations. The squabbles about the Goletta-Tunis and Bone-Nelme railways, about the Biserta harbour and the Enfida estate, though they did not furnish sufficiently plausible pretexts for an open quarrel, served to keep up the hostilities between the two consuls, both backed by their respective Governments; and one of them, the Italian, countenanced also by his English colleague,



who, like all the other members of the consular body, could ill brook the domineering and offensive tone deliberately and purposely assumed by the Frenchman. Conquest of a new territory, or anxiety to strengthen and round off the old one, were not by any means France's main object, possibly not her real object at all. Her intent was merely to spite Italy; to pick a quarrel with that country—a quarrel in which she, France herself, might seem to be in the right, or in which nobody had an interest to declare that she was in the wrong; a quarrel in which Italy would be sure to be worsted if she ventured to fight, or in which she would be deeply humiliated if she declined the encounter.

The matter was not without difficulty; for the Italians, rash as they may be in thought, and foolish in speech, are peculiarly cautious in action, and would give the French no available cause of offence; and, on the other hand, France did not well see how she could dare to break the peace without reckoning with Bismarck; nor could she be sure that England might not have interests in Tunis indetical with those of Italy. Fortunately, the Russo-Turkish war of 1876, and the Berlin Congress and Conference following, cleared the horizon before France. Bismarck made no objection to France having her own way in the Mediterranean. Indeed, France was sure of Bismarck's approval. Ancient wisdom taught men to mistrust their enemies even when they proffered gifts; and the French ought to have seen that they accepted Tunis as a boon at the hand of their greatest foe. Bismarck is a perfect master of the art of using his enemy's hand as a cat's-paw. He will give an adversary length of rope, humour him, and even hound him on to the very course that may most surely lead the unwary to destruction. As he had, in 1876, exhausted Russia's forces by allowing, if not inciting, that Power to go to war with Turkey, so did he, two years later, hope to weaken France by throwing in that meagre bone of Tunis to set her and Italy by the ears; ready, for his own part, to sacrifice that Italian ally of 1866, to whom, in his heart of hearts, he harbours as little goodwill as to his Gallic foe of 1870. With respect to England, she had about that time compassed the secret negotiation which gave her Cyprus as a reward of her exertions in bringing about her "Peace with honour;" and, as it has lately transpired, she was won over to France by some hint about a commercial treaty, in which the material interests of British manufacturers should meet with due consideration; so that, when the subject of Tunis was mooted in the House of Lords, the Marquess of Salisbury was ready to agree with Earl Granville that "the least said about it would be soonest mended."

The field was, therefore, perfectly clear. The prey was within reach of France's grasp. She could now have carried Tunis with the high hand, sure that no one was able or willing to call her to account. But she chose to obtain her end by indirect means; by false declarations that no one believed; by underhand manœuvres which imposed on no one's good faith; by a sudden resolution that took no one by surprise,



For it seems to have become a rule of modern diplomacy, refining on the old-world maxims of Talleyrand and Metternich, that "a crooked path is always preferable, *even when the direct road is open and safe*;" and that "a lie, or a pack of lies, is always useful, *even where truth can do no harm*;" that "speech should never be used *except to disguise thought*;" that "one should cheat *for the simple pleasure of cheating*."

It was while France was massing a force exceeding 20,000 men on the Tunisian frontier, and her ironclads cruised on the coast of the Regency ready to lend a hand to the land-forces, that M. de Saint-Hilaire, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, emphatically disclaimed any thought on the part of the Republic either of conquest or annexation, any idea either of Sovereignty or of Protectorate over the Regency. The object of this warlike movement, said the Minister, was merely to chastise certain lawless native tribes, the Khroumirs, and repress their marauding incursions into Algerian territory. Against these tribes, whether they existed or not—for they were nowhere seen or heard of, and gave no sign of life—the French land and sea forces undertook a roundabout campaign, which overran a large part of the Regency, which placed Biserta in their power, laid the unarmed and ungarrisoned fortress of Tabarca in a heap of ruins under the fire of their redoubtable artillery, and brought them unhindered to the very walls of the Bey's capital, within two miles of the Bardo, his usual residence. Here a French general forced himself into that Pasha's presence, and compelled him, if not at the point of the bayonet, at least under terror of the French cannon placed in position as if ready for the bombardment of the palace, to sign a Treaty by which the Bey resigned his own rights and those of his Suzerain, the Sultan, and placed the government of the Regency, the administration of justice and finance, and, in short, all legislative and executive power, in the hand of the French invader.

The demoralization of all Mohammedan potentates is so complete and so general that it is difficult to know whether the Bey and the Sultan were deterred from all resistance by the consciousness of their utter impotence, or whether they were induced to acquiesce in the new order of things by a bribe. What is certain is that the Bey, after venturing on a protest which broke no man's bones, bestowed his highest honours on Consul Roustan, who had contrived his downfall, and on General Bréard, who accomplished it; that he sacrificed his own Prime Minister because he showed some disposition to kick against the pricks; and that he is now enjoying his leisure at his palace of Goletta, thankful for the military salute of the French soldiers, doing duty as a guard of honour or as jailers at his gates; while the Sultan, who at first showed a disposition to stand up for his vassal while he thought him faithful, and to depose him when he suspected his disloyalty, or was disgusted with his cowardice, was at once silenced by the intimation of France that any attempt on his part to "meddle with what in no way concerned him"



would be made a *casus belli*; and he countermanded the order he had issued to his squadron to make a demonstration in Tunisian waters. The French soldiers "came, saw, and conquered," with a rapidity that won them the thanks and plaudits of the National Assembly; the only blood that was shed in any encounter being either the result of natural outbreak of passion some of the Bedouins or Kabyles were goaded into by the arrogance and rapacity of their new masters, or of some untoward accident, like the death of M. Seguin, a newspaper-correspondent, who ventured perhaps too far beyond the limits that common discretion should have prescribed in his case.

The Tunisian campaign is thus more fully successful than even French Chauvinism could have ventured to hope or desire. On the part of Italy no serious opposition was apprehended, and none has arisen. Italy must pocket the affront: some of her subjects domiciled in Tunis may have to leave the Regency; Consul Maccio will probably be recalled; and there may also be some change in the *personnel* of the Italian Embassy in Paris. The disappointment and indignation of the nation has found a vent in the overthrow of the Cairoli administration, guilty of being the dupe of too gross and tangible French falsehoods; but for the rest the clamour in Rome and Milan has subsided, and Italy, far from indulging in vain complaints, is only too anxious to contradict the report that she had appealed to Bismarck, proposing to submit the Franco-Tunisian Treaty to European arbitration, and to repel the suggestion that she might seek in Tripoli some consolation for the French sleight-of-hand which has shut her out of Tunis.

For the clamour, more or less unanimous, that arose on the part of the European press, France must of course have been prepared. She must put up with loud denunciations of "an aggression for which it would be vain to look for a precedent, and justified neither by provocation nor by any political necessity,—of the occupation of the territory of a friendly power in the midst of a profound peace, without any previous declaration of hostilities, and, on the contrary, under repeated professions of amicable and benevolent intentions,—of a deed of violence perpetrated on the flimsiest pretences of imaginary grievances." France had made up her mind to hear all this and put up with it. She well knew how soon—too soon—the world learns to bow to *faits accomplis*; how well those who win can afford to laugh at the moral sense, as well as to tread on the public law of nations. Or she may attempt to justify herself on the plea that her invasion was undertaken "in the interests of civilization;" and if she assumes that a Mohammedan and Barbaresque State is not entitled to be dealt with the same weights and measures that would be meted to a Christian power, her assumption will very probably meet with little rebuke from statesmen who, with respect to Mussulmans, have adopted the "bag and baggage" theory.

We shall, in short, soon be expected to congratulate France on her easy conquest, even if we wonder what good it may eventually do to



her. Many years elapsed before Algeria paid her expenses; and Tunis, though its territory is described as far more fertile, is not likely to become a more profitable possession. Colonies those Regencies will never be; nor can France, with a stationary population, supply the elements of thriving foreign settlements. In Algiers itself, not all that is European can be said to be French. The charming villas rising everywhere in its neighbourhood are for the most part tenanted by English, Spanish, German, and other strangers; men who either are making their fortunes in the colony in the higher branches of trade, or who are attracted to the spot by its genial climate, which threatens to make the Dey's city a formidable rival to Nice, Cannes, Monte Carlo, and Mentone. As for any maritime strength that may accrue to France from the possession of a new Toulon at Biserta, commanding the highway to the East, all that need be said is that the sea will always be in the hands of the nation that musters the biggest war-ships; and that the bigness of a nation's war-ships must always depend on the multitude of its merchant vessels. The French will never be either the best of colonists or the best of sailors.

Against the little good that the Sovereignty or Protectorate of Tunis can do to France, one should set the grave losses, and the still more serious dangers, to which that possession may expose her. M. Gambetta, in his speech at Cahors, assured the world, that France "requires peace;" that she is resolved on "maintaining her dignity in peace;" that she repudiated "a policy of aggression, adventure, or conquest." He also ascribed all the recent calamities of France to the circumstance that "the nation had, at a sad moment, given itself entirely into the hands of a single man." All this just as the French nation seemed bent on forcing a dictatorship upon Gambetta himself, and more than ever anxious to entrust her destinies to the guidance of a single man; and also just as France, probably at Gambetta's suggestion, had ventured on a most flagrant stroke of policy of "aggression, adventure, and conquest" by the invasion of Tunis. France, by the mouth of Gambetta, disclaimed any intention of aggressive wars. But what about a war of revenge? She renounced all schemes of future annexations; but did she equally relinquish all hopes of a recovery of lost territory? Did she accept Tunis at Bismarck's hand as a compensation for Alsace and Lorraine? or had she come to some secret convention with the German, by the terms of which she might hope to indemnify herself for those provinces at the expense of some inoffensive but defenceless neighbour? Without some such understanding with Germany, France could not be expected to be at rest; and, indeed, if she had really been anxious for peace, what could we think of Gambetta's scheme of "training all Frenchmen to arms?"

On the other hand, if France was to go to war, and with Germany, would Tunis be for her an element of strength? Would the necessity of keeping a garrison of 20,000 men in Tunis, besides the 60,000



indispensable for the safe keeping of Algeria, add either to the material forces or to the moral self-confidence that France would need for a life and death struggle?

We have meanwhile reached and passed the middle of June, and the position of the French in Tunis continues to all appearance the same. The conquering army has bestowed no further thought upon the Khroumirs, who, indeed, turn out to be a very Mrs. Harris among the Arab tribes. The Bey is on the very best terms with M. Roustan, now no longer Consul but Minister of the French Republic, whom the Bey has laden with all the honours and titles at his disposal, and to whom he has referred for the transaction of all international, political, commercial, and judicial business the consuls of other nations; consequently, also, Signor Maccio of Italy, and Mr. Meade of England, with whom the Frenchman has been for years on such admirably cordial and courteous terms. The late French consul is thus, to all intents and purposes, General State Secretary and Prime Minister, if not actually autocratic Sovereign, of the Regency of Tunis; and one of his first acts, we are told, has been to impugn the legality of the contract of sale of the Goletta-Tunis Railway, the cause of the original quarrel between the Italian Rubattino Company and the French Messageries Maritimes, France thus claiming the right of sitting in judgment on her own cause.

Meanwhile, in her home affairs, France does not see her way equally clear before her; M. Gambetta's *scrutin de liste* has foundered, and the same fate has befallen his proposal of referring the question to the people by an immediate general election. It is not quite certain that Gambetta has played his cards well, or that he was justified in his reliance on an overwhelming majority in the Chamber. Were his party to collapse and break up, as some people anticipate, France would find herself without either an apparent or an actual leader, and Tunis, fatal at this juncture to Gambetta, as Algiers was half a century ago to Charles X., would remain a dead weight on the arms of the future rulers of France; Tunisia exhausting the resources and crippling the energies of that country neither more nor less than Algeria has hitherto done.

A. GALLENGA.

P.S.—Since the above was in type we have had tidings of sanguinary encounters at Marseilles between the native Provençals and the Italians resident in that city. This leaves little doubt, if any existed, about the readiness with which the two nations would be at each other's throats, if their rulers were not held back by a variety of prudential considerations. But are not the rulers responsible for the outbursts of passion to which their policy has goaded their people? Is there much reason to wonder if mobs proceed to murder when Cabinets stoop to conduct which it would only be euphemism to characterize as "sharp practice?"

## MR. BENCE JONES' STORY OF HIS EXPERIENCES IN IRELAND.

AMONG the many strange and stirring incidents which have marked the course of the Land League agitation in Ireland, the system of "Boycotting," as it is called, occupies a deservedly prominent, and will long hold a memorable, place. And among the many persons who in various parts of the country have been more or less subjected to that unpleasant process, there is none perhaps, after the notorious personage whose name it has fixed in the English language, who has attracted so large a share of public attention as Mr. Bence Jones. For Mr. Bence Jones is no ordinary or unknown man. He had been educated at Harrow and Balliol, was a lawyer on the Home Circuit, and counts among a large circle of friends and acquaintances many persons prominent in public life and in London society. Even in the seclusion of his Irish estate, his active mind did not cease to take a lively interest in public affairs, nor did the engrossing cares of agricultural pursuits extinguish his devotion to letters. From time to time his vigorous pen contributed articles on the prominent questions of the day, political, ecclesiastical, agricultural. Last year, when the Land question was becoming once more the burning question, Mr. Bence Jones had papers on it in the April, July, and December numbers of *Macmillan's Magazine*. Almost simultaneously with the last of these articles, he published a book entitled "The Life's Work in Ireland of a Landlord who tried to do his Duty,"—a book written entirely in the Landlord interest, which was well received by the London press generally, and which met with but little of hostile criticism even from papers supposed to be favourable to a large measure of Land Reform in Ireland. In truth, Englishmen seemed to think that whatever may be said of his views on the Land Question, Mr. Bence Jones had approved himself a model



landlord. If all had been like him, it was said, Ireland would be happy and prosperous. He was a resident landlord, spending in Ireland the income he derived from that country, and taking merely his holidays in London; he was an improving landlord, who had laid out thousands on his estates and in elevating the condition of his tenants; and he was a large employer of labour. As Magistrate, Poor-law Guardian, Grand Juror, he had been distinguished for fairness and firmness, intelligence and activity. Accordingly, when the English people entertaining these views read that Mr. Bence Jones had been "Boycotted,"—that his tenants refused to pay more than Griffiths' valuation,—that his labourers left his employment,—that he could not obtain provisions for his household in his own village of Ballinscarthy,—that his corn could not be sold in whilom Orange Bandon,—that more than one steamship company refused to convey his cattle to England,—and that even when they got to Liverpool, after many wanderings, it was not easy to get purchasers for them;—when the English people read that the Land League had done all this, their astonishment was only equalled by their indignation. The chief organs of public opinion called on the Government to use stern measures of repression against a body who, in the mere wantonness of their over-mastering power, had passed on Mr. Bence Jones a sentence more severe than the sentence of death, for no other reason, seemingly, than because he was a good landlord.

Nor is it at all surprising that the English people should have thus thought and acted. They judged of Mr. Bence Jones according to their lights. They had seen only one version of his doings in Ireland—the version which he himself had put forward at various times, here and there, in the English press. Sometimes, indeed, it happened that an English tourist had found his way to Lisselane, had been shown the large fields and straight fences, the well-fed kine grazing on the rich pasture lands which had been not many years before the haunt of the snipe and the heron, the model labourers' cottages built hard by the wayside; had had pointed out to him, too, some tenant of humble unpretending appearance who could show his bank deposit receipt for hundreds of pounds; and had returned to London to tell how at least one landlord in Ireland, by adhering to English ways, had achieved a brilliant and striking success. Substantially, however, and with the exception of some slight corroborative testimony, what the English people knew of Mr. Bence Jones was told by Mr. Bence Jones himself. No one will deny that Mr. Bence Jones is a good pleader, and does ample justice to his cause. His style is terse and trenchant. When he wishes to be clear, no one is more clear. When he wishes to obscure certain facts, he adroitly succeeds in doing so, without appearing to be obscure. The tone of his criticisms, indeed, is more in accordance with the mode which prevailed two centuries ago, than with the polite usage of the present day. He says harsh things, and he says them in short plain Saxon words, as Swift might have said them, and without clothing them even with the thin veil of



Swift's sarcastic humour. One person is "a schemer," and another "a scamp," and a third "a hopelessly lazy fellow," and a fourth "a drunken rake," and a fifth "as thorough a rogue and schemer as ever lived;" and "everything in Ireland is mixed up with scheming;" and "a credulous man would be there drowned in a flood of lies;" and "there is an *atmosphere* of untruth there, though there are individuals who tell the truth, God forbid there should not;" and "the lowest depth of untruth was reached by some of the bishops and most of the clergy of the Disestablished Church under the Disestablishment Act;" and "the charges brought against himself are a tissue of misrepresentations and falsehoods;" and "the Roman Catholic priest, in a letter to the London papers, added a number of mere inventions not having a shadow of truth in them;" and "it suits the purpose of the Land League to tell lies of him for the same reason that it suits the Roman Catholic priest to do so;" and "by the correspondent of the *New York Herald* a large number of additional untruths are added;" and "Father O'Leary, by suppressing facts, made that appear true which he knew was false;" and "Father O'Leary is an ignorant man;" and "Mr. Leonard Courtney is in a state of primeval ignorance;" and "Judge Longfield is as ignorant as others." Such are a few of the flowers of speech culled at random from the pages of "The Life's Work in Ireland," his letters to the *Times*; and his article in the *CONTEMPORARY*. However, the English people do not seem to find fault with him for this. They appear to regard him as an honest, candid, outspoken man, whose whole soul is filled with indignation at the chaotic medley of affairs in Ireland; the clear ring of his denunciations gives a piquancy and zest to his writings; and as there will be exceptions to most general rules, English readers seem to think that if a toleration is to be extended to anyone who violates those amenities which now rule the republic of letters, it may well be to Mr. Bence Jones writing on Irish concerns. He certainly has got a most favourable reception from the English public, a reception which in the untoward circumstances of his present position his most bitter enemy could not grudge.

Mr. Bence Jones, however, has the usual faults of most petted persons. Not content with having been himself heard fully, frequently, and even to wearisome iteration, he coolly, and as if he were preferring the most reasonable request in the world, seeks to deprive every opponent of his of a hearing. He writes to the *Times*: "The amount of falsehood regarding me in the Land League and Roman Catholic papers is beyond belief. Day by day I see silly things inserted of me, which any one used to writing can see by the form of expression, the writer knows or believes to be untrue. I shall answer all later on. In the meantime, I entreat all not to believe *one word* of the statements of ill-will between tenants or labourers and me, and such like." Now, if the English people act as Mr. Bence Jones entreats,—if they regard anything which tells against him as false for no other reason than because it does tell against him,—



if they make an act of faith in Mr. Bence Jones' universal veracity, popularity, and goodness, then indeed I have taken up the pen in vain,—I am performing a bootless task. I hardly think, however, that this will be the case. I know something of Englishmen from personal intercourse with a few, and from some slight reading of their literature, and I am of opinion that much as they will do for Mr. Bence Jones, they will not even for him bring themselves into what they would call the un-English habit of mind which he would desiderate. He is plaintiff in this case, he is his own advocate, and he is chief witness for himself. This surely ought to be sufficient. But when he seeks also to state the case for the other side, and to be sole umpire on the entire question, it is strange how such an able man, who has had, moreover, the advantage of a legal training, could have brought himself to make such an unreasonable application. In one of the troublous periods of Irish history our annals record the acts of a certain Hempenstall, who was "judge, jury, gallows, ropes and all," and Mr. Bence Jones would set himself up as a veritable Hempenstall in this controversy. No; English readers will judge this question fairly and according to the ordinary rules of evidence; and whilst predisposed in favour of Mr. Bence Jones, sympathizing largely with him, and disapproving of the terrible form of punishment which has been inflicted on him, they will hear what is to be said by one who professes to be able to throw some light on Mr. Bence Jones's position in Ireland, and to offer some criticisms on his writings, and who thinks he has a certain title to speak, inasmuch as in the preface to "*The Life's Work in Ireland*," and in the article in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*,\* he has been spoken of by Mr. Bence Jones in terms more candid than complimentary.

Mr. Bence Jones is an uncompromising opponent of the demands of the tenant farmers of Ireland, and the burthen and aim of his book is to show the impolicy and injustice of these demands. His mode of argumentation is intelligible. He professes to speak from an experience of forty years as an Irish agriculturist, and to judge of the Irish Land Question in general by the results of his management of his own estate in particular. And he tells us two things. He tells us, in the first place, that he has used his landlord rights to the utmost; that his mode of procedure has been diametrically opposed to that which would obtain under the Three F's system, or the Ulster custom, or a peasant proprietary; that he has managed his estates on "purely business principles," and "with the sole object of making money by them in a true business-like way." In the second place, he assures us that his plan has proved a complete success. His gains have been large, the value of his estate has increased, and, most important of all for his argument, his tenants, too, "have thriven," "given large dowers to their daughters," "are prosperous beyond their class," and "can favourably compare with the

\* For June, 1881.



tenants of Lord Portsmouth." In a word, on the Lisselane estate everything is *couleur de rose*. Nay, Mr. Bence Jones goes further and maintains that this happy state could not have been attained under the Ulster custom or the Three F's system. If then, he says to the Government, I can show you the best of all possible estates, flourishing under the present condition of things, why not leave well alone—why interfere with freedom of contract at the demands of political agitators or speculative theorists? Nay, Mr. Bence Jones goes further still, and not obscurely declares that the ills of Ireland are such as no legislative enactment can cure, and are no others than the moral evils of drink and debt, ignorance, indolence, and untruthfulness.

Such was the story which Mr. Bence Jones had to tell, and such the lesson which he sought to inculcate. But the end of his life's work was not reached when the last pages of the book had been written. Another chapter remained to be added, the chapter which contained the *dénouement*, as unexpected as tragic, which told of the way in which he had been repaid by the Irish people for having done his duty to them for forty years. And, in truth, the tale, though now tolerably familiar to the world, is terrible withal. To be placed in the circumstances in which he describes himself to have lived in Lisselane during the snows of the most inclement winter which our generation has witnessed; circumstances which, as he tells us, and as we can well believe, would have tested the patience of a Job, and which no less than the guilty conscience of Macbeth would have murdered sleep—

"Sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care;"

to be placed in such a situation would undoubtedly have been a dire retribution for the worst Pasha that ever oppressed a province, or the most rapacious landlord that ever extorted the hardly-earned substance of the poor. But when the victim in this case has been, as he tells us, a benefactor of the people, it is not strange that he should come to the conclusion that "the Irish trouble is nothing else than the outcome of the low moral and social state of the people" (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, page 875).

Such is Mr. Bence Jones's own account of his own doings. His name is now a household word in the United Kingdom, and yet it may safely be said, so far as Great Britain is concerned, that not one in a hundred who discussed his case had any knowledge of the facts, except what came directly or indirectly from him. What Homer has been to Achilles, Bence Jones has been to himself. It is high time that this should cease. His Boycotting is no longer a mere personal incident. He seeks to tie up with his own discomfiture the fair fame of an ancient nation. He seeks by endless repetition to fasten the truth of his charges on the public mind. And when these charges are made in the columns of the CONTEMPORARY



REVIEW, neither the well-known prejudices of the accuser, nor the absurd wildness of the allegations, nor the questionable taste and temper with which they are made, can dispense from the necessity of a reply. This reply I shall endeavour to give. I have at least one qualification for the task. I am eminently in a position to know all the facts of the case. Born not many miles from Lisselane, I have known from a child Mr. Bence Jones's dealings with his tenants and his relations with the public. I have been through every portion of his estate which is situated in this parish or on its confines, and am personally acquainted with the tenantry. I shall give names and dates, and places and figures. Should I then fall into error, it will be easy to detect it; though I am confident, both from my knowledge of the circumstances, and the care with which I have sifted facts, that the admixture of error in my statement must needs be infinitesimal. When I draw inferences, I shall put the reader in a position to judge for himself whether they are logically warranted, and should consider that I was trifling, or worse than trifling, with the reader were I to make general assertions without proof, or draw wide conclusions from particular facts, or quote the testimony of some unknown person as decisive of a controverted point. In fine, I shall leave it to the impartial reader who has heard both sides of the question to say whether Mr. Bence Jones is the model landlord he describes himself to be, or an exterminating, rack-renting, rent-raising, confiscating landlord as his opponents allege, and whether he who charges the clergy of the Disestablished Church, several individuals by name, the Land League, the Land League and Roman Catholic papers—in fact, a whole nation—with deliberate falsehood, has himself been telling the truth.

Mr. Bence Jones's estate consists of the whole or portions of the townlands of Lisselane, Aghalisky, Carrick, Mounteen, Liskubba, Cashelisky, Moulrous, and Skeaf, which he holds in fee. The townland of Clogheen, which adjoins the town of Clonakilty, he holds as middleman under Lord Shannon for a few shillings an acre; the under tenants paying him nearly three pounds an acre. When Mr. Bence Jones gave up his practice at the English bar, and the charms of English society, in order to take personal management of his Irish estate, it consisted of the lands of Lisselane, Aghalisky and Clogheen. At that time there were twenty-six tenants in Aghalisky, all holding, he tells us, farms above the usual size of Irish farms, averaging twenty-five acres each. There are but four tenants in Aghalisky to-day. Nor will these remain long. Dan Walsh, about whom we shall hear more further on, declares his determination to leave rather than pay the increase of £16 a year rent which Mr. Bence Jones demanded from him on his mother's death a few months ago. Mrs. Donovan is the "overweighted tenant" to whom Mr. Bence Jones refers in the last paragraph of the supplementary preface of his book. Mr. Bence Jones tells us in a letter to the *Times* that another,



Donovan, is getting into trouble. The fourth came in for £300 lately, on the death of his brother, so that he, excluding the bailiff who got a farm from which a tenant was evicted last year, is likely soon to be the "Last of the Mohicans," the sole individual who has outlived the extermination of six-and-twenty families, twenty-two of whom are already gone. In Lisselane Mr. Bence Jones has only one resident tenant. In Clogheen fifteen of the tenants, some of them shopkeepers in the town, had to throw up their farms. The case of Mrs. Dempsey, a poor woman who now lives in one of the back lanes of this town, will illustrate his treatment of these tenants. She held a farm in a part of Clogheen farthest removed from the town, at 17s. 6d. an acre. On the death of her father-in-law, Mr. Bence Jones took away two-thirds of the farm, and charged her nearly the old rent for the remaining one-third. Afterwards he evicted her son-in-law out of this portion, for what he calls "gross misconduct," for Mr. Bence Jones keeps a close watch over the moral conduct of his tenants. This is how Mr. Bence Jones's tenants "have thriven" under his management of what we may call his paternal estate. I now proceed to the lands he acquired by purchase; and Mr. Bence Jones tells us in his work, that "he felt himself under no engagements, express or implied, to the tenants on these lands, though in the case of the other tenants he considered it advisable to make concessions to the prejudices and feelings of the country."

Part of the townland of Carrick, on which there were then nine tenants, was purchased by Mr. Bence Jones about sixteen years ago. Six of the tenants have gone. Of the remaining three, on whom the *highest* rent ("The Life's Work," p. 16) was put, one is the heroine of the tale told in page 217, to whom Mr. Bence Jones sent a young Liberal M.P., anxious to see "a distressed tenant under ejectment for non-payment of rent," and the result of which gives occasion to Mr. Bence Jones to indulge in a grim pleasantry with which his pages do not often gleam. Well, he may do; so but should the young English Liberal M.P. come to this district during a future vacation, I shall be happy to show him in that widow's case the anything but laughable way in which the rent ~~will~~ be made up by an Irish tenant when it is a question between full rent or eviction. Many of these tenants were evicted under circumstances that would melt the heart of the hardest; but I shall not harrow the feelings of my readers by referring to such scenes. The last eviction in Carrick will be sufficient to give some notion of what may have occurred in other cases. The family evicted were orphans named O'Driscoll, whose father had just died, and the eldest of whom was a boy sixteen years old. The O'Driscolls were a family much respected in the district. They had many wealthy friends, especially an uncle who had returned to Ireland after having realized a large fortune in Australia. The rent was paid up, the friends and the uncle were prepared to give all necessary aid to the family, and to guarantee that the rent would be paid until the children could take care of themselves. But Mr. Bence



Jones was inexorable. He would not have his land in the hands of orphans; he wanted it for bullocks and higher farming; and so the O'Driscolls went away.

Cashalisky was another of his purchases. Most of the tenants held under leases not yet run out, but the largest tenant, a most respectable man named Edward Lucey, held from year to year. Lucey was at once informed that the rent, which had been 14s. an acre, should be £1 for the rest of his life, and on his death that a further revaluation would take place, when 6s. more would at least be put on. Lucey made every effort to come to an agreement. His heart was in the place, which he had beautified and improved during a lifetime of industrious labour; the dwelling-house, too, being in a charming site, midway up a hill, with a soft southern aspect. He would even pay an increase of 6s. an acre if he got a lease on those terms. He would leave the matter to any skilled arbitrator. But no, Mr. Bence Jones had only one word, which had been spoken, and Lucey went forth from the place—carrying with him a grief which overshadowed his remaining days and brought him to a premature grave. The leases of the remaining tenants but one will expire next year. I know them well; they are a most unhappy people. They see they too must share the fate of Edward Lucey. Already Mr. Bence Jones tells us that the land which they hold is worth three times its present rental, which they cannot afford to pay. One of them lives in a miserable cabin. I was called sometime since to attend his wife in her illness. I clearly saw that she never could expect to get strong whilst living in such a place; the small kitchen, begrimed with smoke, and the small bedroom mildewed with damp coming up through every chink of the floor, oozing out through every pore of the wall. The husband told me that he had some money in bank, and that he would long since have built a good house if Mr. Bence Jones would give any security for a fair settlement on the expiration of the lease; but Mr. Bence Jones would not do so, and so no change is made in the cabin.

The tenants in Moulrous, purchased by Mr. Bence Jones, hold under a lease of lives, one of which still survives. The half-dozen tenants at Mounteen, purchased in 1861, held also in part under leases not yet run out, and with the half-dozen tenants of Liskubba, have escaped the Scylla of extermination to fall into the Charybdis of rack-rents.

Now when we consider that the Irish tenant regards eviction from his holding as among the worst of temporal ills; that therefore each evicted tenant has the sympathy of every other farmer who fears a like fate for himself; and when we consider, moreover, that all the families who were forced to leave Mr. Bence Jones' property have relations and friends in the surrounding district, English readers can well understand the feelings of resentment which must have burned in the breasts of thousands against one whom they regard as a ruthless

I now come to the question of rents. Are



and reasonable,—such as, in the words of the instructions given to Sir R. Griffiths, a solvent tenant would pay to a liberal landlord for a number of years? I am well aware that there is a peculiar difficulty in being able to prove to persons at a distance unacquainted with the exact circumstances of the case, whether a given rent is a rack-rent or not. If I say that it is a rack-rent, and Mr. Bence Jones denies it to be such, who will decide between us? Still I am not without hope that I shall be able to put before my readers such criterions for judgment as will enable them to arrive at a proper conclusion.

Mr. Bence Jones has about forty tenants; of these, six hold under leases had before Mr. Bence Jones purchased the lands, and still unexpired. I shall take no account of these. Whether their rents be high or low, Mr. Bence Jones is not responsible for them. There are also two or three farms held by old tenants, on whose deaths the rents will be considerably raised, according to the custom in such cases (they are marked with an asterisk in the Table on next page). I subjoin the names of the tenants, their rents, and Griffiths' valuation. Now, I do not mean to say that Griffiths' valuation in all cases represents the fair rent. I give it for what it is worth, if not the full measure, at least a standard measure containing a certain definite well-known quantity; if not the goal we are seeking for, at least a finger-post which points a path which leads to that goal.

I shall adduce other standards of comparison, and even though none be complete or perfect in itself, they will all, I believe, when taken together, supply a cumulative argument, the force of which it will be difficult to resist. Moreover, it must be remembered that Mr. Ball Greene, who is now at the head of the Ordnance Survey department, who was associated with Sir R. Griffiths in his labours, and whose knowledge of the capabilities of the soil in the various counties in Ireland is admittedly unequalled,—it must be remembered that this eminent man, in the evidence given by him before the Duke of Richmond's Commission, stated that with the exception of prime pasture and first-class arable land, a small proportion over Griffiths' valuation represents to this day a fair rent, and in some places too high a rent. Now Mr. Bence Jones himself tells us that "his land is only land of fair quality, far from being thoroughly good land;" that "the soil is not far from the rocks, with the rocks often breaking out." According then to Mr. Ball Greene, Griffiths' valuation would represent a fair rent for farms of Mr. Bence Jones not improved by him since that valuation was made. But Mr. Bence Jones has made no improvements—with a few trifling exceptions, of which I shall speak later on—for which he has not charged an additional five per cent. not included in the figures which I subjoin.

Finally, whoever has read the letters lately sent to the *Times* by its Special Correspondent in Ireland cannot forget that on all the great estates visited by him, and especially on large well-managed estates, such



as the Duke of Devonshire's, Earl Fitzwilliam's, &c., the rents were not much in excess of Griffiths' valuation. I shall offer no comment on these figures—they speak for themselves:—

(1.)

## AHALISKA.

	Valuation.				Rent.		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Widow Donovan . . .	24	15	0	...	60	0	0
Tom Leary . . . .	28	0	0	...	50	0	0
Dan Donovan . . . .	38	10	0	...	83	0	0
Dan Walsh . . . .	33	5	0	...	58	0	0

## CARRICK.

Jeremiah Brien . . .	19	5	0	...	44	0	0
Mrs. Brien . . . .	23	0	0	...	44	0	0

## MOUNTEEN.

Patrick Hennessy . . .	57	10	0	...	100	0	0
John Walsh . . . .	69	10	0	...	139	0	0
John Dinneen . . . .	45	0	0	...	98	0	0
William Perrott . . .	19	10	0	...	43	0	0
Dan Collins . . . .	11	0	0	...	25	0	0

## LISKUBBA.

Joe Noonan . . . .	27	5	0	...	44	0	0
*James Barrett . . .	30	10	0	...	30	0	0
Denis Sullivan . . . .	27	10	0	...	36	0	0
*—— Cauty . . . .	25	15	0	...	23	0	0
—— Crowley . . . .	10	10	0	...	18	0	0
*Henry Norris . . . .	32	15	0	...	36	0	0

## CASHALISKY.

—— Daly . . . .	20	16	0	...	37	0	0
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## CLOHEEN.

Denis Hayes . . . .	28	10	0	...	74	0	0
Mrs. White . . . .	29	10	0	...	80	0	0
Sam Kingston . . . .	50	10	0	...	112	0	0
Charles Regan . . . .	48	0	0	...	130	0	0
Denis Coghlan . . . .	19	5	0	...	43	0	0
Widow Sullivan . . . .	8	10	0	...	20	0	0
Sam Helen . . . .	8	5	0	...	30	0	0
John Bateman . . . .	23	10	0	...	62	8	0
John Holland . . . .	5	15	0	...	22	0	0
Richard Holland . . . .	60	0	0	...	148	0	0
James Twohig . . . .	21	0	0	...	28	0	0
James Brien . . . .	9	0	0	...	34	0	0
Robert Phipps . . . .	17	0	0	...	42	0	0
Corly Donovan . . . .	22	10	0	...	28	0	0
Tom Hurley . . . .	10	0	0	...	28	0	0

(2.) Mr. Bence Jones's rents are far higher than the rents on the neighbouring estates. The proximity of Cloheen to the small town of Clonakilty has been assigned by Mr. Bence Jones as a reason for charging some of the tenants three pounds an acre—an English acre, be it always remembered—for the land which they hold from him there. Of course contiguity to a town adds considerably to the value of the land. But tenants who hold better land near the town under other landlords do not pay anything like the rents exacted by Mr. Bence Jones. The townland of the Mills is as near to the town as Cloheen. The tenants hold under Lord Shannon. William Gallwey holds a farm adjoining that of Charles Regan, and nearer the town. The valuation of Gallwey's farm is £32, the rent £24. So much for the Mills. The townland of Youghals is also held under Lord Shannon. Mr. McCarthy holds a farm there for 26s. an acre just opposite that of Mrs. White, on whom Mr. Bence Jones raised the rent to £2 an acre. Mr. Bence Jones states, in his preface, that a farm adjoining Mrs. White's let last year at 45s. 6d. This is not the case. It let at 35s. 6d. an acre, and Mr. Bence Jones omits to say that the tenant who held it previously, though an exceedingly industrious man, had to throw it up. Lord Bandon has land adjoining Kingston's farm at Cloheen; the tenants hold at about half Kingston's rent. Kilbree is the next land to Cashalisky. The Andy of whom the story is told in p. 185 of "The Life's Work" lived there. He bought a farm last year, of which the rent is 10s. an acre. Mr. Bence Jones says it is worth 20s. an acre. So that the tenants in Kilbree hold at about half the rent which they should pay if they were tenants to Mr. Bence Jones. It is needless to quote further instances.

(3.) In the third place, the number of tenants evicted by Mr. Bence Jones for non-payment of rent supplies us with certain data for determining whether they were rack-rented or not. Now Mr. Bence Jones tells us that nearly all his tenants were evicted on this score. "No tenant," he writes (page 109), "was ever turned out because I wished for his land. I just took up what the tenants could not live on." This proves that the rents were too high, or that the tenants were incapable, lazy, or drunken. The latter is Mr. Bence Jones's explanation. It is a very convenient theory. It is to him what the *alibi* was to Sam Weller. But Mr. Bence Jones's assertion is not proof. And, in fact, the theory is a mere myth. I take the tenants of Mr. Bence Jones to be types of their class, neither better nor worse than their neighbours, and I ask why has there been such a clearance on his estate whilst those holding under other landlords have remained fixed in the soil? In Lisselane itself there are several tenants not holding under Mr. Bence Jones, who live where their fathers and fathers' fathers had lived before them, prosperous, intelligent, and respected. We know that these tenants paid lower rents than their neighbours in Ahalisky; we have no reason to know that they were more industrious and sober,



and is not the conclusion therefore forced on us that Mr. Bence Jones' tenants failed because they were rackrented?

(4.) Again, Mr. Bence Jones has a farm unoccupied in Clogheen for the past eighteen months. It is a portion of the land held by the Mrs. Dempsey to whom I referred. Since Mrs. Dempsey's time three tenants have had that farm, and no one will take it at Mr. Bence Jones' rent. Now to see a farm vacant in this populous district, where there is a mania for land, where there is hardly any other industry than agriculture, and where, as Mr. Bence Jones tells us in page 186 of his book, the goodwill of a farm held from year to year under a good landlord brings thirteen years' purchase,—to find an unoccupied farm in these circumstances is regarded as a *lusus naturæ*, much as if one were to see a white blackbird. There is no other such instance in the district.

(5.) Indeed, Mr. Bence Jones' own statements prove that his rents are exorbitant. "I let them the land at the highest rent in my opinion it was worth to them" (page 16). "In bad years the utmost exertion and economy were necessary" and "*constant* steady exertion almost *compulsory*" (page 14). What he says about constant exertion goes far to verify the popular saying in this district, that Mr. Bence Jones' tenants cannot rest by night or by day. "In the estates purchased by me," he says, "the rents were *considerably* raised. I felt myself at liberty to make *my own terms* with these tenants, and there was *terrible* grumbling in every case." He naïvely adds, "Every single man has thriven." This was written in 1865. In 1865 he had nine tenants in Carrick. There are three of them there to-day. This is how every man has thriven.

(6.) But Mr. Bence Jones has one invariable argument to prove that he has not exacted exorbitant rents, and this argument is founded on the profits of his own farming. He has kept his accounts for thirty-five years, and gives us the result of his balance-sheet. He has, indeed, an uneasy feeling that accounts are sometimes misleading, even when they are not "cooked," and he again and again assures us that we need have no fear on that score, that it is clear he has not been "deceiving himself" or "cheating himself," and that his books are open to the inspection of any one who thinks well to do so. Well, I have not had the advantage of auditing his accounts; but I have looked over the figures which he gives us in his published work, and taking these figures and his own authority for what he puts down to capital and what to income, I regret to say that I cannot at all give Mr. Bence Jones a certificate for, if not deceiving himself, at least for not deceiving the public. I shall ask my readers to judge for themselves.

In pages 11, 12, and 22 of his work, Mr. Bence Jones tells us how much each acre farmed by himself realized for rent and *interest of outlay* for the twenty-three years from 1845 to 1867. The average for that time, as anyone who takes the trouble to sum up the figures can see, is something less than 21s. an acre per annum. Now these, Mr. Bence



Jones assures us, are *bond fide* results, after charging bailiff's salary and all expenses, not charging (the italics are ours) *landlords' improvements, as buildings, drains, and fences, and permanent improvements, which are charged to capital* (pages 11 and 12). Now, Mr. Bence Jones' outlay on permanent improvements during those years has averaged about £800 a year (p. 113), all of which—less about £100 a year expended on tenants' farms, and for which landlord improvements *they* pay 5 per cent.—has been expended on his own farm; and as he farmed about 700 acres of land during that time, it follows that the outlay in permanent improvements averaged over 18s. per acre per annum, leaving for the period in question, at the rate of 5 per cent. interest, a mean interest of outlay of nearly 11s. per acre per annum. Deducting this interest on outlay from the entire sum realized for *rent* and interest, we find that Mr. Bence Jones's rent for his own farm from 1845 to 1867 was 10s. per acre per annum. But its average rental, whilst in the hands of tenants, had been 17s. an acre; therefore Mr. Bence Jones's farm realized for rent annually for twenty-three years 7s. an acre less than the rent at which it had been let to the tenants. Mr. Bence Jones does not give in his work the results of his balance-sheet from 1868 to 1877, and I cannot therefore speak for these years. We have, however, the figures for 1878, 1879, and 1880, and the result for rent and interest during these three years was 33s. 2d. per acre per annum. Now, as the outlay has gone on in the same scale,—and must indeed, we are told, go on for many years more,—deducting the mean interest on an outlay of 18s. an acre each year for thirty-five years, or about 16s., we have 17s. for rent, exactly the figure at which the lands had been let forty years ago. This being the case, is it any wonder that the tenants of Aghaliska and Carrick are found in their old homes no more?

In the supplementary Preface to his book, we are told that Walsh ought to pay an increase of rent because Mr. Bence Jones clears nearly £2 an acre for adjoining land. This is not the case. Mr. Bence Jones clears nearly £2 an acre for rent and interest of outlay, which is a very different thing from clearing it for rent. In a word, had Mr. Bence Jones left in the hands of the tenants, even at a reduction of the rents which they had been paying, the lands which he himself farms, and invested the capital expended by him on farming in any other securities which would bring 5 per cent., he would, even on his own showing, have been a richer, as he certainly would have been a more popular, man to-day. He tells us that "in Norfolk it was thought that a gentleman could not make farming pay;" that in the Lisselane district "no instance was known of such farming having paid;" "that in the opinion of those best able to judge, the tenants could make land pay best;" and that "there were many instances of gentlemen taking up considerable farms, and after spending largely on them



for a few years, being glad to give them up again." It is, we think, open to doubt whether Mr. Bence Jones's much-vaunted experiment is likely to make the best judges change their opinion.

(7.) And, indeed, this very case of Walsh is in more ways than one a test case regarding his rack-rents. The Walshes paid for half a century £41 a year for a farm valued by Griffiths at £35. They paid this rent during the famine years, when Mr. Bence Jones' scientific farming realized 8s. an acre for rent and interest. On the death of Mrs. Walsh last September, Mr. Bence Jones sought to raise the rent from 14s. 3d. to £1 per acre. This increase of rent to the extent of about 40 per cent. was referred to by me as harsh and vexatious. In his work Mr. Bence Jones seeks to justify it. He gives figures to show that under the old rent the Walshes had during fifty years saved £820. Now his figures are not exactly correct. He does not mention that the Walshes had £100 hard cash when commencing life; that young Mrs. Walsh brought with her a dowry of £100; that at least £100 had been made by a pound of no value now; and that some profits had also been made by an outside farm held for some years under Lord Bandon. These sums would reduce Mr. Bence Jones' computation one-half. Neither does he mention the fact that five acres of the best land have been lost by a road made through the farm. However, taking his own figures, we find the Walshes saving about £16 a year for 50 years. Now the Walshes were a most industrious family. The very girls did farm work which is usually performed by men. They had also been fortunate, had no sickness in the family, and hardly any losses in stock. And now, what does Mr. Bence Jones do? He puts on exactly an increase of rent equal to what he calculates the yearly savings of that family to have been for the past half a century. Is not this enough? Imagine an English landlord computing the annual profits of his tenants, and adding that to the rent, and doing it, moreover, at a time when the country had only passed through a period of agricultural depression unequalled since 1848, when landlord after landlord is reducing his rents, and when foreign competition, becoming yearly more formidable, threatens nothing less than bankruptcy and ruin to the agricultural interests of these countries. Mrs. Walsh saved 10d. per day by which she was able to settle her family in life; and now, when young Walsh is commencing his career, Mr. Bence Jones demands that 10d. per day for himself. Surely he is a considerate landlord!

So much on the question of rack-rents. It is interesting to know that when Mr. Bence Jones "tried to let farms in good condition, with proper house and buildings, at a fair proportion below the rent he was making, no tenant of means and character would give him the rent," and that his objection to fixity of tenure being given to the tenants is "that those who would gain most by it are the landlords who had screwed up their rents to the utmost."



Mr. Bence Jones is a rent-raising landlord. Not only are his rents exorbitant, but he himself has made them so. Sometimes it happens that a person acquires by purchase or inheritance an estate on which the rents are too high, and though it is a poor defence of such a man to say that he left things as he found them, still his case is very different from that of the landlord who himself put on the increase. Now, there are only three farms on Mr. Bence Jones's estate on which he has not put an increase of rent. Not that these are to remain always exceptions. When the present tenants, who are now old men, shall die, these farms will be duly dealt with; and when Mr. Bence Jones puts on an increase, it is sure to be something substantial. It is rarely less than 25 per cent., generally from 40 to 50 per cent., and sometimes still higher. Some landlords in Ireland, as the evidence given before the late Commission shows, are wont to put on a small increase of rent from time to time. Mr. Bence Jones does not belong to that class. He raises the rent once for all. When he has fixed on "the highest rent" which, in his opinion, the farm is worth, there must, indeed, be a radical change in the condition of agricultural affairs before even he will consider a further valuation necessary. But it will be said that when the profits realized by a farm become greater by the advance of prices, the landlord ought to have a reasonable share of these increased profits. I readily admit that he ought. But it does not, therefore, follow that an Irish landlord is justified in raising the rent which had been fixed before the famine forty years ago. For it was precisely in the years before the famine that rack-rents attained their rankest luxuriance. At that time the population was far greater than it now is; the competition for land was even keener than it now is; the power of the landlord was more despotic than it now is; the middleman, who was invariably a rack-renter, was more general than he now is; the price of labour was much lower than it now is; the potato, which then knew no blight and could be had almost for the digging, was far more fruitful than it now is; and the Irish peasant, whose condition still is so miserable, was then much worse housed, clad, and fed than he now is. Setting the changed condition of things against the advance of prices which has taken place in butter and meat, ought we to set down the fair rent of a farm at a higher figure now than forty years ago? Those who are best able to judge say that the very reverse is the case. And if this is so, where the rents were fair forty years ago, what shall we say of those cases where the rents at that time were rack-rents, as was generally the case? To plead, then, that the rent not being raised for forty years justifies a considerable increase of rent now, is an altogether worthless and misleading defence.

The case is different, of course, if the farm was improved by the landlord since the old rent had been fixed. The landlord would then be entitled to an increase of rent equal to the additional value given to



the farm. A tenant took a farm for £40 a year forty years ago. Since that time the landlord has expended £200 on draining and other permanent improvements which have made the land worth £10 a year now more than previously. But if the improvements were made not by the landlord but by the tenant, who had expended £200 in labour, putting some of his labour into the farm week after week, as into a savings bank, the increased value belongs in this case to the tenant. The landlord would not be justified at any time in raising the rent on this score. Mr. Bence Jones and others think if a tenant is allowed to reap the benefit of his improvements for some time—say for twenty years, or during his life—that he has been well recouped for his trouble, and has no further claims. This is a strange theory for those who insist so strongly on the sacred rights of property, as if long possession and fruition lessened in the least a man's title to his own; as if one who held Consols for a hundred years, and thus has been paid his capital three times over, is to have no further claims on the Exchequer!

Let us next consider whether Mr. Bence Jones is a confiscating landlord. Has he availed himself of the dependent position of his tenantry to appropriate property which belongs to them in law or in equity? How has he dealt with the tenants of Monteen? Mr. Bence Jones purchased Monteen about twenty years ago. There were five tenants on the land, one of whom paid nearly £200 yearly rent; two of them nearly £100, and two others £34 and £13 respectively. The ancestors of some of these tenants had lived in Monteen for many generations, and they were all respectable, industrious, and solvent. Mr. Bence Jones purchased the place from a gentleman named Hawkes, who had put a rather smart rent on the tenants; had given them leases; had entertained for them a kindly feeling, which they more than reciprocated; and had got his rents punctually and without unpleasantness. Whatever improvements were made in the lands of Monteen had been made by the tenants. The landlords, from time immemorial, had done nothing more than fix the rents and collect them. Mr. Bence Jones bought Monteen at about twenty years' purchase. He had thus everything that could be wished for: the power and prestige of being a landowner; large percentage on his capital; prosperous and, as he calls them, worthy tenants, who had traditionally loved their landlord, and were prepared to give their unfaltering fealty to Mr. Bence Jones. How did Mr. Bence Jones try to secure their goodwill and affection? The lease of a farm held by Patrick Hennessy, the largest farmer, on which his dwelling-house and out-offices were built, expired in 1875. With some adjoining plots held from year to year the farm contained about 130 acres, the rent being £100. Mr. Bence Jones took away 70 acres and made Hennessy pay the old rent—£100—for the remaining 60. He raised the rents on the other tenants, though not to the same extent as on Hennessy; and this, though he



had never expended a penny in improving their farms. For some improvements subsequently effected by him an additional 5 per cent. was put on. He exacted the highest rent which *he* himself believed the land to be worth; without considering to whose labour the improved condition of things was owing. Nor was this all. Not only did he confiscate the property which belonged to the tenants in equity, and which any English landlord would recognize as theirs, but he even seized on that which the law had declared to be the tenant's. Patrick Hennessy had effected on his holdings large permanent improvements in the way of buildings, fences, reclamations, &c., computed by him as worth £700. This may be too high a figure. Mr. Bence Jones computed them at about £100; insisted that Hennessy should take a lease for 31 years; and that the improvements should be registered in it according to Mr. Bence Jones's own estimate. Is this confiscation or freedom of contract? Is this the mode in which English landlords deal with their tenants? It is needless to go through every case, for a similar measure is dealt out to all as to Hennessy, and the improvements effected by them are registered according to Mr. Bence Jones' own impartial estimate in the leases which they have to take under penalty of eviction. Mr. Bence Jones never gave a lease before 1870. His leases are all of the same stamp—all forced on the tenants; all for 31 years; all having the most stringent clauses of the most stringent leases; all forbidding flax culture under a penalty of five pounds an acre; and all forbidding assignment of the holding, even by will; so that, though nominally and on the face of them leases for thirty-one years, they are not so in reality. Should a tenant die three months after receiving the lease the lease will have expired with him. Mr. Bence Jones tells us that his object in thus fixing the cost of improvements is to prevent after litigation. I fully admit that litigation is bad for the tenant. But surely there is a medium between going to law on the one hand, and accepting Mr. Bence Jones' estimate on the other. Could not a disinterested third party be found who would make an equitable arrangement? Is there no prudent man among us? This course of action, however, is repugnant to the views of Mr. Bence Jones, who yet can write: "The advocates of the tenant farmers expressly exclude the decisions of the courts which hear both sides. *Valeat quantum*. It is easy to make out a case in that way."

But the English reader will ask, Why do the tenants accept these unfair terms? Why do they! They must accept them or quit. Now, as an evicted tenant finds it almost impossible to get another farm, and as there are scarcely any other sources of industry in Ireland, eviction is associated in his mind with exile, the workhouse, and other numberless ills; and thus, even when unfairly dealt with by the landlord, he reasons, with Hamlet, "Better to bear the ills he has, than fly to others that he knows not of." What a tenant's chances at law



would be against Mr. Bence Jones we are told by himself. An evicted tenant, named Hayes, got compensation from the County Court judge. Did Mr. Bence Jones pay it? Not at all. "By appealing," he says, "I *forced* on a compromise, and thus got further relief." Yet Mr. Bence Jones writes, "Every one but the most ignorant knows that the Land Act cannot be evaded." "God help the person who imagines that the Irish tenants are too poor to make a good bargain. They are the shrewdest people in the world. The Jews cannot live in Ireland." Certainly the Irish are shrewd, and are well able to bargain when on equal terms with the other contracting parties. But what avails shrewdness against the irresistible power of the landlords? Mr. Bence Jones knows very well that none of his tenants ever *bargained* with him. One of them, Noonan of Liskubba, attempted to do so, and found it a Sibylline bargain. Noonan was asked to pay a certain increase of rent on the death of his father. He refused to consent to the increase. He came a few days after. Two pounds more were put on, and the *bargain* was closed. Hennessy and Noonan, and the other tenants, are not wanting in shrewdness; and it is precisely their shrewdness, their being forced to make a bad bargain, knowing it to be such—this it is, in their case, which renders the edge of injustice more keen, and makes it rankle in their breasts for ever.

But I shall be met with the objection that Mr. Bence Jones's tenants are really prosperous. Does he not tell us so, again and again? does he not say they will compare with Lord Portsmouth's? and does he not speak of dowers of £600 and cheques of £500 for guano? Yes, it is true that Mr. Bence Jones has tenants who are well off. But who are they? Take away a few traders in town, who made money by their business and not by his land; the farmers who still hold under leases obtained before Mr. Bence Jones purchased their places; an old tenant, a bachelor, who holds a beautiful farm under Lord Bandon, for which he does not pay twice Griffiths' valuation, as he pays to Mr. Bence Jones; a couple of tenants, old men,—one of them the person who sent the cheque for £500 for guano,—who reside in one of the townlands purchased by Mr. Bence Jones, who had money before he became their landlord, and on whose farm the fulness of rent will not be put till after their death, as in the case of Mrs. Walsh; and another, Tom Leary, who got money *ab extra*; take these away, and where are the prosperous tenantry? Yes, he has prosperous tenants, and he does not fail to turn them to account in more ways than one. He brings them forward whenever and wherever required, like the supernumeraries employed on the stage, who, dressed in military attire, and marching round and round, are made to represent a regiment. He talks in the same breath of his rents being smart, and his tenants thriving, as if the high rents and the wealth were predicated of the same persons, and as if the wealth was realized under the high rents; whereas, as a matter of



fact, "Going, going, gone!" is the true history of his smart-rented farmers. He quotes Patrick Hennessy as one of his tenants so thriving that he gave £600 dower to his daughters, and spent a large sum in the education of his son. Yes; this is true, but it occurred before 1875, when Hennessy's lease expired, when Mr. Bence Jones made him pay the same rent for 60 acres which he had previously been paying for 130, and when he gave him that lease in which the permanent improvements were estimated at such a generous figure. Nor does Mr. Bence Jones leave us in ignorance how Hennessy has thriven under his smart rent since 1875. In the *Times* of January 3, he says "he is shaky." A trader in Clonakilty has a few acres from Mr. Bence Jones at £2 17s. 6d. an acre. He is a wealthy man, who I suppose would be matched against Lord Portsmouth's tenants. He told me that he had taken the few acres as a fancy, and that he had lost largely by them since they came into his possession. This is the special pleading of Mr. Bence Jones's prosperous tenants. Yet even Mr. Bence Jones himself must blurt out the truth. In page 243 he tells us: "I should be glad to farm every acre of the 3,900 that belong to me; and the labourers I should employ would be better off in all ways than most of the tenants; but I do not wish to part with my old friends." Very true, Mr. Bence Jones; labourers would be better off than most of your rack-rented tenants; and Lord Portsmouth must feel highly complimented when, withal, you can show yours against his (page 181).

I shall now explain certain ambiguous and misleading phrases used by Mr. Bence Jones, and shall correct certain misstatements which he has made.

(1.) When Mr. Bence Jones speaks of the large sums expended by him on his estate, he means by his estate the lands which he himself farms. He has expended practically nothing in improving his tenants' farms. The dwelling-houses, out-offices, &c., have been built by the tenants themselves. There are two or three exceptions. £300 would cover his entire outlay in this respect.

(2.) In some cases Mr. Bence Jones has borrowed money from the Board of Works for his tenants, who pay back the principal and interest in thirty-five years. The tenant pays £175 for every £100 he receives. The Board of Works will not deal directly with the tenant who has not a lease for thirty-five years. Mr. Bence Jones will not give a lease for this term, accordingly his tenants have to get advances from the Board through their landlord.

(3.) "I have done more draining on my estates than half the tenants round." This is again equivocal. He has done a great deal of draining on his own farm. He has done none for his tenants. He has caused it to be done on their farms at their expense. Accordingly this argument of Mr. Bence Jones tells for the tenants and not for the landlords.



Mr. Bence Jones is not a bad farmer. But would he have expended so many thousands on his farm under a thirty-one years' lease?

(4.) In the CONTEMPORARY, Mr. Bence Jones says, "The Roman Catholic priest wrote letters to some of the London papers. His letter only appeared in the *Times*. Other editors destroyed it." The fact is, the letter was sent to the *Times* only.

(5.) I made reference to the rules of his estate. In a letter to the *Times* Mr. Bence Jones says:—The fact is "there are no estate rules at all." No rules on his estate! Does he act by rule or by haphazard? No rules on his estate! I turn to his book, page 110, and read, "The rules I act on are often not liked; but the tenants thrive, and are richer than others." He says in the CONTEMPORARY he has contradicted my statements. This is a sample of his contradiction.

(6.) I stated that his labourers had to take breakfast before going to work at six o'clock in the morning, and got no break through the day except for dinner. Mr. Bence Jones wrote to the *Times*, Jan. 3, that this happened in winter, owing to the shortness of the days. Well, I turn to the book again:—"In summer they must appear in the field, with breakfast taken, at six o'clock, with only one stop, at midday." (Appendix, pp. 297, 298). Another sample of his contradictions.

(7.) Mr. Bence Jones is wroth at the account of his landlordism given by the special correspondent of the *New York Herald*. Nor is this surprising. That gentleman—he is a gentleman according to Mr. Bence Jones—says among other things that though he went to investigate Mr. Bence Jones' case under the impression that he was suffering from insufficient cause, yet, after spending two days talking with Mr. Bence Jones' tenants and neighbours, and having seen Mr. Bence Jones' son, he was not at all surprised that Mr. Bence Jones had been Boycotted; that he considered him a "huge deception," "a teller of untruths," "the worst specimen of an Irish landlord," "a man whom no community in America would submit to for a month." Mr. Bence Jones accordingly strives to lessen the weight of his evidence by stating that he spoke to only a few of his worst tenants. Well, what is the fact? The correspondent in question went to every townland on Mr. Bence Jones' estate, Liskubba excepted, and personally interviewed more than three-fourths of his tenants.

(8.) Mr. Bence Jones states that money came from America to support his labourers after the report in the *New York Herald* appeared. The insinuation is evident. But it is as unfounded as it is unworthy. Neither the Land League, nor the labourers, nor any one in this district, ever heard of a single dollar being sent from America to his labourers. I challenge Mr. Bence Jones to produce one atom of evidence in support of his statement.

(9.) Mr. Bence Jones writes in the supplementary Preface of his work: "Some one was so ashamed of Father O'Leary's speech as discreditable



to the Roman Catholic Clergy and Church, that in both papers [the *Cork Examiner* and *Herald*] the speaker was called Mr. O'Leary, instead of Father O'Leary." What, again, is the fact? My name is mentioned in several places in the issue of both papers referred to, and I am invariably styled Father O'Leary or Rev. Mr. O'Leary—not once Mr. O'Leary.

(10.) In the *Times* of December 17, Mr. Bence Jones stated categorically that the Parish Priest of the parish in which his farm lies summoned on the preceding Sunday his labourers into the vestry-room, exhorted them to leave his employment, and that there should be no black sheep among them. To this the Parish Priest gave at once an emphatic denial. In the *CONTEMPORARY* Mr. Bence Jones states that it was one of the labourers and not the priest who said there should be no black sheep among them, and that the priest confessed, as is usual in all such cases, to be ignorant of what the labourers came for. Here, again, Mr. Bence Jones makes an insinuation without adducing a particle of proof. He adds that some informal meetings were held on the following week by the Parish Priest and his labourers. The Parish Priest authorizes me to give to this statement also the most distinct contradiction.

(11.) Mr. Bence Jones has a method of arguing peculiarly his own. He does not appear to have given his days and nights to the study of Whatley. His favourite logical weapon is to quote as decisive of the controversy the opinion of some unknown personage to whose ability and intelligence Mr. Bence Jones himself certifies. Let us give a few instances. The question is, Why was Mr. Bence Jones Boycotted? Because he was the worst of Irish landlords, says the correspondent of the *New York Herald*. Because he was a good landlord, says Mr. Bence Jones himself. We have his proof in the *CONTEMPORARY*. "A very intelligent and able land-agent, who thoroughly knew the country, said to me lately, 'You were the most improving landlord in Munster, and Hegarty the most improving tenant, so they chose you two out and Boycotted you.'" After such testimony who can any longer doubt of the cause?

(12.) Again, Mr. Bence Jones had a controversy with Father O'Leary in the *Times*. Who had the best of it? Mr. Bence Jones, of course. In the first place, he "took care to contradict Father O'Leary's statements." He *did* contradict them, as we have seen. This is reason one. Secondly—His reply gave Father O'Leary the reverse of satisfaction. As I never said so to any one I am at a loss to discover how Mr. Bence Jones got his information, except, perhaps, through some spiritualist medium. This is reason two. But the chief reason is still in reserve: the unknown is again forthcoming. "A very able man here said to a friend, after reading my answer, 'Well, there is nothing now left for them to do but to shoot him.'"

(13.) Again, how do the Boycotters view their campaign against



Mr. Bence Jones? They are entirely disappointed at it; for does not Mr. Bence Jones write in the CONTEMPORARY—"I was told by one *who had means of knowing*, 'If they wanted to Boycott you again, they would think ten times before they tried it.'" Of course, this settles the question.

(14.) On one occasion, however, the unknown was one of the tenants, whose reply combined the wit of the Irishman with the ambiguity of the Delphic oracle. Mr. Bence Jones took the man to value land which he intended to buy, and asked him how much he thought the rents could be raised. The Irishman, in replying that a higher rent could be had, added, "Of course they will grumble, and maybe at first have hard work to pay, but in five years they will be *as well off as the rest of us*" ("The Life's Work," p. 17). We know how well off the rest are.

In my letter to the *Times*, of December 24, I referred to his harsh treatment of the tenants who would be even one week behindhand in paying the rent, and instanced the case of a widow named Sullivan. He admits the fact: his gloss on it is that it was done as "a slight whip to press exertion;" and yet, whilst admitting that he "whipped" a widow who had not paid her rent punctually on the gale day, he writes in the CONTEMPORARY that there was "no pressing" exercised by him on the tenants.

But I must draw to a close. I have already exceeded the liberal space accorded to me. I trust, however, that the public, having heard both sides of the question, are now in a position to form for themselves a true notion of Mr. Bence Jones's position in Ireland. They can now say whether Mr. Bence Jones belongs to that class of landlords, admittedly the bane of the country, *novi homines*,\* who buy land solely as a commercial speculation, and caring nothing for the sentiment which attaches to landed property, and discarding the relations which it entails, look only for usurious returns. My "one sole object," he writes, "was to make money," and hence "I raised the rents *considerably*," and "to me life in Ireland has been very gainful." The public can also say whether the statements put forward by Mr. Bence Jones, who, in true Pharisaical tones deplores the untruthfulness of the Irish, savour more of that special pleading which he may have learned at the bar than of the plain, unvarnished narrative of one extenuating nought and setting down nought in malice. What Mr. Bence Jones was in his other relations in Ireland the Special Correspondent of the *Standard* has told. In every public relation and sphere his motto was *semper eadem*. The spirit which characterized his treatment of the tenantry is the spirit which he brought with him, as magistrate, passing his favourite sentence of a month's hard labour on the culprits brought before him; as Poor-law Guard

\* Mr. Bence Jones's grandfather, attorney and town clerk: "the race."

the rates by opposing a meat dinner on Christmas Day to the paupers; and as country gentleman, laying poison for the Cashelmore hounds in the groves of Lisselane. And when all these circumstances are fairly considered, the public will know whether Mr. Bence Jones' "Boycotting" is due to the "low moral and social state of Ireland," or whether it ought not be referred to the same cause which, in the Laureate's song, made the gallant crew of English seamen "Boycott" the captain.

"He that only rules by terror  
Doeth grievous wrong.  
Deep as Hell I count his error.  
Let him hear my song.  
\* \* \*  
Dismal error! fearful slaughter!—  
Years have wandered by,  
Side by side beneath the water  
Crew and Captain lie.  
There the sunlit ocean tosses  
O'er them mouldering,  
And the lonely seabird crosses  
With one waft of the wing."

JOHN O'LEARY, C.C.

CLONAKILTY, June 15, 1881.



## THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I HOPE my fellow-revisers of the New Testament will forgive me if I venture with all courtesy, but also with all freedom, to review their labours. Although I have not had the advantage of listening to their discussions, and cannot, therefore, always judge correctly of the reasons which have led them to adopt the changes which they have introduced, yet I can at least appreciate better, perhaps, than most of their critics the difficulties with which they have had to contend. In some respects these difficulties have been considerably greater in the revision of the New Testament than in that of the Old. In the first place there are the changes in the text necessitated by the discovery of many new and important MSS., by the ampler and more correct collation of all, by the better critical methods, enabling us to assign more accurately their proper value to all the various sources of evidence open to us whether in MS. Versions or Fathers. This is a difficulty which the Revisers of the Old Testament have not had to contend with. Their labours have not extended to a revision of the text. With very rare exceptions they have been obliged to content themselves with the printed Masoretic text; the variations of MSS. being, as a rule, insignificant; and even the Masoretic variations of Kethibh (what is written) and Keri (what should be read), being only in a comparatively few instances of importance. There are instances, it is true, in which the LXX. or other Versions have preserved what is beyond all reasonable doubt the true reading, but it is very rarely indeed, and only in cases where the Hebrew text is unquestionably corrupt, that it would be justifiable to depart from it. Hence, although important various readings may find a place in the margin, the revision is generally followed. But, in the next place, different conditions under which the New Testament was revised, regard to the text, it is obvious that

often be experienced by readers of the Revised New Testament, in proportion to the greater frequency of the changes necessitated by the mere adoption of a different text from that which was the basis of the Authorized Version. And, further, as the majority of readers have a more familiar acquaintance with the New Testament than with the Old, they will more readily detect changes, and more freely express their opinions. Moreover, the number of scholars in England conversant with the Greek text being much larger than the number conversant with the Hebrew, the number of critics must be proportionately greater.

But these difficulties apart, there are others common to the two Companies. Greater accuracy in the rendering of the article, and of the tenses, without injury to English idiom; the comparative advantages of free and liberal rendering; the desirableness of translating a word occurring in a number of different passages by the same word in English—these, and a number of other like questions have been before both bodies of translators, and a member of one Company is not likely to pass a hasty or censorious judgment on the work of the other Company; and though he may respectfully dissent from their conclusions, he will do so, feeling sure that there is a great deal to be said for them, and he is well aware that every word has been anxiously weighed, and every reasonable objection considered, and no alteration made, except from the most conscientious conviction of its necessity. I do not propose in this paper to give a sketch of the various Revisions of the English Bible, or even a history of the present Revision. The latter may be found in the preface to the Revised New Testament, and in the speech of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, in the Upper House of the Southern Province of Convocation, on the 17th of May.

I shall proceed at once to consider some of the more salient points connected with the present Revision.

I. First and foremost among these is the revision of the text.

Among the more striking changes of this kind is the omission of whole verses which appear in the commonly received text. That the celebrated passage in 1 John v. 7 should be struck out, was a matter of course. The evidence against its genuineness is overwhelming, and it is unnecessary to repeat the well-known arguments which have led every critic of note to reject the words as an interpolation.

Other omissions that will be noticed are part of the third, and the whole of the fourth verse of the 5th chapter of St. John's Gospel, which explain that the troubling of the water, in the pool of Bethesda, was due to the interposition of an angel; and the 37th verse, of the 8th chapter of the Acts, which contains the confession of faith on the part of the Eunuch of Candace before his baptism. The margin informs us

first of these instances that "many," and in the second that  
 "many authorities insert the passage wholly or in part."

In a t. xvii. 21, xviii. 11, and xxiii. 14 are omitted, with  
 that these verses have support from ancient authorities  
 that they have been inserted from the parallel



passages in St. Mark or St. Luke. The doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew vi. 13 is also omitted; and the margin runs, "Many authorities, some ancient, but with variations, add, For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, for ever, Amen."

But there are other questions of reading which, though less obvious and less striking, at first sight, are certainly not less important. Such for instance, is the omission of the words "without cause" in Matt. v. 21, and again, in Matt. xix. 17, the important various reading, "Why askest thou me concerning that which is good?" is adopted, and the commonly-received reading placed in the margin; in Mark vi. 20 we have, "He was much perplexed," instead of "He did many things"—said of Herod; in 1 Cor. viii. 7, Howbeit in all men there is not that knowledge: but some being used until now to the idol, eat as of a thing sacrificed to an idol; instead of, "with conscience of the idol;" in Rev. xxii. 14.—Blessed are they that wash their robes (instead of "do his commandments") that they may have the right to come to the tree of life.

Other instances are, Matt. vi. 1: Take heed that ye do not your righteousness (A.V., alms) before men; 1 John iii. 1: "that we should be called the sons of God; and we are such;" 1 Tim. iii. 16: "He who was manifested in the flesh," instead of "God manifest in the flesh."

The Revisers have retained the disputed passage at the end of St. Mark's Gospel, xvi. 9–20, but separating it by a break from the rest of the Gospel, and informing English readers that the two oldest Greek MSS., and some other authorities omit the verses, and that some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel.

Similarly, as regards the disputed passage in St. John vii. 53, viii. 11, they not only place it as a paragraph by itself, but enclose it in square brackets, in order to mark that still greater doubt attaches to it than to the other passage; for whereas the closing verses of St. Mark's Gospel, though not written by the Evangelist, are quoted by Irenæus in the second century as part of his Gospel, there can be no doubt that the verses which in the Received text form the beginning of the 8th chapter of St. John, are no part of his Gospel, though they certainly contain a true Evangelic record.

The Revisers unquestionably exercised a sound judgment in not adopting in the text of John i. 18 the reading *μονογένης θεός*, strongly as it is supported by ancient authorities; they were perfectly right in putting in the margin, "Many very ancient authorities read, *God only begotten*." Nothing short of the undoubted autograph of St. John himself would convince me that he wrote the words. If they were part of the original text, they would be, to my mind, the strongest evidence yet adduced of a later authorship of the Gospel. But I cannot help wishing that, in some other instances, the Revisers had shown equal courage in not adopting the reading for which there seemed to be a preponderance of evidence.

In Romans viii. 38, who can believe but St. Paul wrote: "For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor princi-



palities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor *powers*, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God"? Is it not certain that the received order, "angels, nor principalities, nor powers," is right, in spite of the consensus of critical authorities to the contrary?

In Romans v. 1, they have adopted ἔχωμεν, "let us have peace with God," and, by consequence, in verse 2, "let us rejoice." Here, again, the change of text is extremely questionable. It is true the subjunctive has the support of the majority of the uncials and ancient versions, and that it is the reading of Chrysostom and other Greek Fathers. But the interchange of long and short vowels is so common in all languages, is so readily made in pronunciation, and hence would creep so easily into MSS., even without supposing dictation to a scribe, that it is not difficult to account for the variation, and the greater number of copies would in such a case prove nothing. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the singular phenomenon of an indicative after ἵνα, which is found in one or two places, is anything more than a confusion between long and short vowels. It may, of course, be an evidence of that general decay of the language, in which grammar dies, but it may be nothing more than an instance of such confusion. Moreover, Chrysostom's paraphrase here τοῖς ἐσθιῶσι μὴ ἐκτὶ ἀμαρτάνωμεν is miserably lame; and it is not too much to say that the context and St. Paul's whole manner of thought are in favour of the indicative rather than the subjunctive. The privileges of which he speaks are present, not future. "The whole context," it has been rightly remarked, "is one, not of exhortation; but of dogmatic assertion. 'We have access;' it is 'this grace wherein we stand' (verse 2). 'We are reconciled; we shall be saved; the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts' (verse 10). 'We rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ (verse 11). 'We have received the reconciliation.' 'It is an obviously right principle,' says Mr. Moule, "though calling for most cautious application, that no amount of MS. evidence ought ever to force on us a reading which mars the context. A single stroke in the Greek MSS. makes the only visible difference between the readings."\*

Again, I cannot but regret the preference shown for the *ardua lectio* συγκεκρασμένους, in Heb. iv. 2; "but the word of hearing did not profit them, because they were not united by faith with them that heard." No doubt it may be alleged that the preponderance of evidence is in favour of that reading. On the other hand there is ancient authority for the commonly received reading συγκεκρασμένος, and among modern editors it has been adopted by Tischendorf; and this, whether we render, "because it was not united with faith in them that heard it," or better, "because it was not assimilated by faith in them that heard it," gives a far better sense. Indeed, the other reading, as Delitzsch has remarked, would require to make it intelligible, that it should be followed by "them that obeyed," not "them that

\* See Rev. H. C. G. Moule's "Commentary on the Romans," in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools*.



heard." Or even if we allowed that "heard" here is equivalent to "obeyed," the sentence is a clumsy, awkward way of expressing what might have been said with perfect clearness and simplicity.

There is yet one other reading which the Revisers have admitted into their text, which only the stern compulsion of irresistible evidence would induce me to accept. I mean the *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας* for *εὐδοκία* in Luke ii. 14. "And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased." Happily the margin informs us that "many ancient authorities read *peace, good pleasure among men.*"

In all these instances I do not say that the Revisers have done wrong in accepting the text for which they felt there was most evidence; as honest men, they were bound to do so; I only say that the evidence which satisfied them does not satisfy me. I do not think they have attached sufficient weight to the internal evidence of the context. I admit, with Mr. Moule, that such evidence requires to be most cautiously applied. I am aware of the danger of assuming what a writer ought to have said, according to our own view of his meaning; but is it not certain that considerations of this kind did influence the Revisers in their refusal to put *μονογένης θεός* in the text? And if so, an extension of the principle to other instances would, I venture to think, have been desirable.

II. Next to the advantage of an improved text, is the advantage of more accurate renderings. Let me glance at some of those where the English reader will be helped to a more intelligent appreciation of the sacred writings. I cannot discuss them fully for want of space, but when so much adverse criticism has been lavished upon the Revisers, the really admirable points of their work deserve to be brought into prominence.

In Luke xvi. 8 the parable of the unjust steward (altered, I venture to think unnecessarily, into "the unrighteous steward"), the A. V. has, "And the lord commended the unjust steward"; a rendering which has occasioned serious perplexity to readers who supposed that "the lord" must mean Christ. The Revised Version: "And his Lord commended," makes all clear; and in verse 9, "Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon," &c., removes the ambiguity.\* In John x. 14, "I am the good shepherd; and I know mine own and mine own know me, even as the Father knoweth me and I know the Father," an important light is thrown upon the passage, which rightly rendered in the Rhemish Version, has been obscured in the A. V.; and in verse 16, instead of "there shall be one *fold* and one shepherd," the wrong translation alike of Rome and Geneva, we have now the true, which was given by Tyndale, "they shall be one *flock*, one shepherd."

In Luke iv. 25, 26, the mere substitution of "but only" for "save" is a distinct gain. In John vii. 17, "If any man willeth to do his will," the force of the Greek is brought out as in none of the previous versions, and an important truth elucidated, and even the return to Wiclif's

\* The Geneva Version, "friends *with* their riches of iniquities," is the only previous Version which avoids the ambiguity.



"teaching" for "doctrine," in the same verse, though not pleasant in itself, is an advantage, doctrine now having too restricted a sense as being distinguished from moral precept.

Luke ii. 49, "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" is, as Dr. Field has shown, the almost certainly true rendering of ἐν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς, instead of "in my Father's business."

But it is in the Epistles more particularly that the advantage of the Revised Version will be felt. Thus a new meaning, and unquestionably the true meaning, is brought out in such a passage as Romans iv. 19, 20.

The fifth chapter of that Epistle, difficult in the original from the rapid compression of the argument, and requiring the utmost care to make it intelligible in a translation, was hopelessly obscured in the A. V. by a careless disregard both of the article and of the tenses. Let any one read attentively verses 12-21 of that chapter, comparing the Revised Version with that of 1611 or with any previous Version, and he will be grateful for the assistance that he receives from the former.

I quote the following, only asking the reader to compare the passages with the A. V. Rom. viii. 20, 21: "For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God;" "the liberty of the glory" being a return to Wiclif and the Rhemish Version.

1 Cor. iv. 4, "for I know nothing *against* myself," instead of the old "*by* myself," which is now provincial in this sense.

2 Corinthians iii. 12: "Having therefore such a hope, we use great boldness of speech, and are not as Moses, who put a veil upon his face that the children of Israel should not look steadfastly on the end of that which was passing away: but their minds were hardened; for until this very day at the reading of the old covenant the same veil remaineth unlifted; which veil is done away in Christ. But unto this day, whensoever Moses is read, a veil lieth upon their heart. But whensoever it shall turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away. Now the Lord is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty. But we all with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit." In the former part of this passage the rendering "should not look steadfastly on that which was passing away," for the first time suggests to an English reader the true reason why Moses put the veil on his face, not because the brightness was such that the Israelites were dazzled by it, but that they might not see the brightness dying away. In the latter, they have rendered accurately "the Lord is the Spirit;" and "as from the Lord the Spirit," which none of the other English Versions have. Tyndale and Cranmer have "The Lord no doubt is a Sprete;" Geneva, "the Sprite;" Rheims, "And our Lord is a Spirit."



1 Cor. ix. 5: Have we no right to lead about a wife that is believer? (the margin on "believer" being Gr. *sister*). The Geneva "a wife being a sister," and the Tyndale and Cranmer "a sister to wyfe—give the same sense.

1 Cor. ix. 27: "But I buffet my body and bring it into bondage, lest by any means after that I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected." Wiclif and Rheims, "I chastise my body;" Tyndale Cranmer, "tame;" Geneva, "beat." Wiclif, "to be made reprov-able;" Geneva, "I my selfe sholde be reprovod."

— xi. 10: "For this cause ought the woman to have a *sign of* authority on her head because of the angels."

— 27: "Eat this bread *or* drink this cup," the true rendering given by all the earlier versions, except the Geneva, which has "and."

— 29: "For he that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, if he discern not the body."

The substitution everywhere of "judgment" for "damnation" is one of the marked improvements of the Revised Version.

Ephesians v. 13, &c.: "But all things when they are reprovod are made manifest by the light: for everything that is made manifest is light."

In the Epistle to the Philippians note the following: "That your love may abound . . . in knowledge and in all *discernment* (*αἰσθησεις*) i. 9; "so that my bonds became manifest in Christ *throughout the whole prætorian guard*," i. 13; "doing nothing through *faction* (*ἐριθείας*) or vain-glory," ii. 3, "who being in the form of God counted it not a *prize* [Marg., Gr., a thing to be grasped] to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself," ii. 6; "if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection *from the dead*," iii. 11; "for our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall *fashion anew the body of our humiliation* that it may be conformed to the *body of his glory*," iii. 20, 21.

In the Epistle to the Colossians: "Take heed lest there shall be any one that *maketh spoil of you* through his philosophy," ii. 8; "let no man *rob you of your prize*," ii. 18; "which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship and humility, and severity to the body; but are *not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh*," ii. 23.

1 Timothy.—"For there is one God, one mediator also between God and men, *himself man*, Christ Jesus," ii. 5; "through the *hypocrisy of men that speak lies*," iv. 2; "take heed to thyself and to *thy teaching*," iv. 16; "supposing that godliness is a *way of gain*," vi. 5; "for the love of money is a *root of all kinds of evil*," vi. 10; "she shall be saved *through the child-bearing*," ii. 15—i.e., through the birth of Christ from a woman.

2 Tim. ii. 26.—"And that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, having been taken captive by the Lord's servant unto the will of God" (the Geneva alone of previous versions understanding the will here spoken of to be the will of God).

iii. 16.—"Every Scripture inspired by God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction, which is in righteousness."



Titus iii. 13.—“Looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

Hebrews i. 14.—“Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to do service for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation?” where the distinction is rightly observed between *leitourgia* and *diakonia*.

iv. 8.—“For if Joshua had given them rest,” where “Jesus” has been strangely misleading.

ii. 16.—“For verily not of angels doth he take hold, but he taketh hold of the seed of Abraham.” I do not admire the inversion of the English order here, and I should have preferred “For verily he succoureth not angels, but he succoureth,” &c., but it is something to get rid of the false interpretation, “he taketh *not on him the nature of angels.*”

iii. 16.—“For who when they heard did provoke? nay, did not all they that came out of Egypt by Moses?” This is a most certain correction bringing this verse into harmony with the two next, which in like manner begin with a question, “And with whom was he displeased?” &c., “And to whom sware he?” &c. The mis-translation of the A.V. here is perhaps one of the most surprising in the New Testament.

ix. 1.—“Now even the first covenant had ordinances of divine service, and its sanctuary, a sanctuary of this world.”

16, 17.—“For where a testament is, there must of necessity be the death of him that made it. For a testament is of force where there hath been death: for doth it ever avail while he that made it liveth?”

x. 38.—“But my righteous one shall live by faith: and if he shrink back, my soul hath no pleasure in him.”

xiii. 8.—“Considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea and for ever.”

And to give one more instance, and it is one of those in which the Revisers have been most felicitous—Rev. vii. 15–17: “Therefore are they before the throne of God; and they serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall spread his tabernacle over them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun strike upon them nor any heat; for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall be their shepherd, and shall guide them unto fountains of waters of life; and God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes.”

In all these instances, and I have thought it right, in justice to the Revisers, to quote a large number, though my list is by no means exhausted, the English reader who has hitherto had only his Authorized Version, will for the first time have brought before him the true sense of the sacred writers, and ought to be grateful for the help he receives towards a better understanding of his New Testament.

There are other changes which are more doubtful, some of which have already provoked a great deal of criticism.



Of the changes made in well-known and familiar passages, none has been more sharply criticised than those which have been introduced into the rendering of the Lord's Prayer as given in St. Matthew's Gospel.

A repugnance to change here was inevitable and natural. A deep sanctity attaches to words in which childhood lisps its earliest petitions, which manhood finds large enough for its maturest thoughts of God and duty, in which old age gathers its best consolation. That prayer has consecrated every stage of life. It has been uttered at the baptismal font, and on the day of confirmation; it has hallowed the marriage-bond, and blessed the dying bed, and made the grave itself more sacred. No service or liturgy is complete without it, no morning or evening prayer at the family altar. It is not the prayer of a Church or of a sect; it is the prayer of all who profess and call themselves Christians; it has even been accepted by those who have not called themselves Christ's disciples. In its English form it is the heritage of millions, and it is the one sacred bond which unites millions who acknowledge no other sacrament of union. Blessed memories and holy thoughts have entwined themselves about those English words, till the words and the thoughts are not two but one. To touch them seems almost a profanity. The Revisers, therefore, must have felt the obligation of a solemn duty when they determined to alter them. I pass over the slighter changes, and I come to that one petition, the change in which has been so generally and so decisively condemned. It is the petition which now runs, "Bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one." I have said the reasons must have been irresistible which induced this alteration; for, besides the natural reluctance to interfere with the prayer at all, there was this special reason for not interfering here, that every one of the older English Versions of this clause is precisely in the same form; Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, the Geneva, the Rhemish, the Authorized Version, have the same words, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." On the change of "lead" into "bring" I need not dwell; it is sufficient to say that it was unnecessary.

The other change is substantial and important, "from the evil one" instead of "from evil." Is this justifiable? Is the evidence for it so strong and clear that the Revisers had no choice but to put it in the text? Τοῦ πονηροῦ may, of course, be either masculine or neuter. How are we to decide which it is here? Three considerations seem to have had weight with the Revisers; the interpretation of the oldest Versions, that of the Greek Fathers, and the usage of ῥύεσθαι ἀπό.

As regards the ancient Versions, Canon Cook, "Letter to the Bishop of London," pp. 9-10, quote the Æthiopic ("Deliver us from all evil"), the Coptic (Memphitic), the Gothic and the Anglo-Saxon Versions as favouring the neuter. The Vetus Itala and the Peshitta Syriac he admits are ambiguous; the Vetus Itala has "libera nos a malo;" the Peshitta and the Curetonian Syriac ܠܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ. Neither to these



proves anything. The first may, of course, be either masculine or neuter; the second, though masculine in form, may possibly be neuter in sense, the masculine and feminine forms in Syriac, as in Hebrew being alike used for the neuter. The same ambiguity exists in both Versions in Matthew v. 37, 39, in which the Revisers adopt the masculine, but in the former instance referring it to Satan, in the latter to the evil man. In 37, "Is of the evil one;" in 39, "Resist not him that is evil."

In all these passages Cureton renders "the evil," prefixing the article because of the definite form of the Syriac word, but evidently taking it as neuter. In Matt. xiii. 39, where there can be no question, that τοῦ πονηροῦ is masculine, the Syriac form is exactly the same, but here Cureton has "of the evil one." In John xiii. 15, where the Revisers again have the personal rendering, there is the same ambiguity both in the Latin and in the Peshitta (the Curetonian Syriac fails us here); but in 1 John v. 19 the Latin has *in maligno*, not *in malo*. Canon Cook observes, that in all passages "where the Greek certainly points to a personal agent, and especially to Satan (except Matt. xiii. 19), both Jerome and the Old Italic have the word *malignus*."\* He hesitates, however, even to admit that the Greek certainly points to a personal agent in 1 John v. 19, where the Revisers have "the whole world lieth in the evil one," feeling so sure of their ground that they do not even put "one" in italics, as elsewhere, but the Latin there is *in maligno*, and this certainly supports their rendering, as well as the ὁ πονηρός of the previous verse. But there, as in the Lord's Prayer, all the older English Versions—Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Rheims—have, with whatever other variations, the personal sense in ver. 18 (the Geneva curiously having "that wycked man") and the neuter "evil" (Wiclif) or "wickedness" in verse 19. Though to say "the whole world lieth in the evil one" is certainly a harsher expression than to say, "deliver us from the evil one." The evidence from the Greek Fathers† who refer to the words is in favour of the masculine, and is

\* Very little, however, turns upon the distinction, I think; because Tertullian constantly uses *malus* as the equivalent of ὁ πονηρός; and in his treatise *De Oratone*, expounding the prayer, he expressly refers the "temptation" to Satan, and the *devehe nos a malo* to deliverance from him.

† I have not, however, been able to find any references to this petition of the Lord's Prayer either in the Apostolic Fathers, or in Justin Martyr, or Irenæus, or Clement of Alexandria. Origen and Chrysostom unquestionably give the personal interpretation. I have searched the Index to Athanasius in vain for a reference to this petition. Gregory of Nyssa, however (*De Orat. Dom. Orat. V.*) gives the masculine as a matter of course, remarking that our Lord uses many names for the evil one, the Devil, Beelzebub, Mammon, the ruler of the world, murderer, the evil one (πονηρόν, without the article), the father of lies, and the like; and he goes on curiously enough to suggest that, perhaps, one of the names of the Evil One is temptation; for he observes that to say, Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the Evil One, shows that 'temptation' and the 'Evil One' mean the same thing. Elsewhere he quotes Matt. v. 37, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν. Of the earlier Latin Fathers Tertullian, as I have said, distinctly understands τοῦ πονηροῦ of Satan; Cyprian and Augustine are as clearly on the other side. But in a question like this the authority of the Greek Fathers must always outweigh that of the Latins.

The passages in the New Testament in which πονηρός occurs in the oblique cases in which there is any ambiguity are Matt. v. 37, 39; vi. 13, the Lord's Prayer; John xvii. 15; 2 Thess. i. 3. In all these instances the A. V. has the neuter, and the Revisers on the other hand, has, the masculine throughout.



entitled to all due consideration, but it must be remembered that the tendency of the Early Church was to give a special prominence to the doctrine of the personality of Satan. The solemn form of renunciation at baptism is a witness to this feeling. The Arch-Enemy was always in view. Our modern theology may err in the opposite direction, but the fact of this tendency in the Early Church should not be forgotten when its testimony is adduced.

There remains the usage of *ῥύεσθαι ἀπό*, and this is not decisive. It is twice followed by the persons from whom the deliverance is effected (Rom. xv. 31; 2 Thess. iii. 2), but it is also twice followed by the thing (1 Thess. i. 10), "from wrath" (though there *ἐκ* occurs as a various reading), and 2 Tim. iv. 18, *ῥύσεται με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ*, a passage which might not unreasonably be regarded as having a reference to this petition of the Lord's Prayer.

I need not, however, enter further into this question, as it is understood that the Bishop of Durham is preparing a reply to Canon Cook, and we shall then doubtless be furnished with the whole of the evidence which led the revisers to their decision.

Another alteration which has been censured, also in a well-known passage, is the substitution of 'love' for 'charity' in 1 Cor. xiii. It cannot be denied, I think, that the musical cadence of that most musical passage has been somewhat injured by the substitution. But it must be remembered in the first place, that this is no innovation. All the Versions before the Bishops' Bible had 'love,' not 'charity;' and although it is true that Sir T. More sharply rebuked Tyndale for giving 'love' in his translation, and that Lord Bacon admired "the discretion and tenderness of the Rhemish translation on this point, that finding in the original *ἀγάπη* and never *ἔρω*s, they do ever translate 'charity' and never 'love,' because of the indifference and equivocation of the word with impure 'love,'" yet these objections are of no force now. And it must be remembered in the next place that the question which the Revisers had to settle was, whether there should be a uniform and consistent rendering of one of the master words of the New Testament—a word unknown to profane Greek literature. Why should *ἀγάπη* be 'charity' in one place of St. Paul, and in St. Peter, and 'love' in another place of St. Paul (Rom. xiii. 10) and in St. John. The Rhemish Version, as Lord Bacon reminds us, carries consistency in the opposite direction. It renders 1 John iii. 1, "Behold what manner of charitie the Father hath given us;" and even iv. 16, "God is charitie." It would have been intolerable, retaining "charity" in 1 Cor. xiii. to have restored it in these passages, and it would have been intolerable to have substituted "God is charity" for "God is love." Of course uniformity might have been sacrificed, as it was in 1611. "Charity" might have been left in Corinthians; "love" in the Epistle of St. John; and yet there are special

Diodati, too, has the masculine (*dal Maligno*) in all these passages. Luther has the masculine (*dem Argen*) in the two last, the neuter in all the others. The Welsh, like our own A. V., has the neuter throughout.



reasons why a connection should be kept between such passages as these. No thoughtful reader can doubt that in writing that glowing passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul had something more than an abstract virtue before his eyes. The living, concrete form, the Incarnate Love, inspired his words. How important, then, to bring this before an English reader, to suggest, at least, by the subtle association of the rendering, that as God Himself is Love, so the love which is here held up to him as the perfect pattern of his life is no ideal abstraction, but a love which became incarnate in Him who is the perfect image of God.

Besides, if there was force in Lord Bacon's objection when he wrote against the use of the word "love," this cannot be felt now. There are no three words in the English Version more familiar than these, "God is love;" none more comprehensive as the sum and substance of Revelation. They have for ever redeemed from all lower and less pure senses, they have for ever consecrated to a divine fulness of meaning, the rendering of ἀγάπη by "love," as its best equivalent. Again, in 1 John iv. 7-12, let anyone observe how often the words ἀγαπητοί, ἀγαπᾶν ἀγάπη occur, and let him compare the rendering of our A. V. and of the Revised Version with the Rhemish Version, which, instead of keeping "beloved," "love," &c., throughout, gives "my dearest" as the translation of ἀγαπητοί, and "charity" as that of ἀγάπη, and he will find how much the passage gains by keeping the same word throughout.

But further, whatever objection might lie against "love" as a word that has been degraded, applies with still greater force to "charity." This last, indeed, is a word which has suffered a double degradation. It is identified but too commonly with the vulgar notion of almsgiving, which St. Paul pointedly tells us in this very chapter may exist apart from this grace: "If I give all my goods to feed the poor, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing" (ver. 3). Or it is identified with that spurious charity which sacrifices truth itself at its shrine; that miserable sentimentalism which means that a man must not have the courage of his convictions. Surely, it is better to adopt a word which has for ever been sanctified and made glorious as the expression of the being and character of God to express the perfection of human character, than one which has suffered this double degradation. The gain, therefore, is indisputable. And when the chapter is read aloud—and this is the true test—I question if the most fastidious ear will be offended by any appreciable loss of rhythm.

The Revisers, if they have been rightly courageous here, have at least shown a scrupulous regard for popular sentiment, in not following the principle of uniformity in another instance where there is a great deal to be said for it. It is well known that the epithet παράκλητος is peculiar to St. John. It occurs 1 times in the 14th, 15th, and 16th chapters of his Gospel, and our Lord as a designation of the Holy



Spirit. But in using it, he implies that the epithet which belongs is ~~also~~ also to Himself; for He says, "I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete" (ἄλλον παράκλητον). Accordingly, in his first Epistle, St. John gives the same epithet to our Lord: "If any man sin," he writes, "we have a Paraclete with the Father." But this very interesting link of connection between the passages is lost in our A. V. It renders παράκλητον in the Gospel uniformly by "Comforter;" in the Epistle it has "Advocate." The latter rendering was, indeed, necessary in the Epistle, and it certainly approaches more nearly to the true meaning of the Greek word, which is passive, and not active. Παράκλητος is properly one who was summoned as an advocate, or as the friend of an accused party, to undertake his defence in a court of law. "Advocate," therefore, if not an exact equivalent, is better than "Comforter." But the Revisers shrank from introducing a change which they probably felt would be distasteful to the majority of readers, and contented themselves with putting in the margin against "Comforter," "or, Advocate, or Helper, or Paraclete." It is to be regretted that if they had not the courage to put "Advocate" in the text of St. John's Gospel, they did not add to this margin a reference to 1 John ii. 2, which would have materially assisted the English reader; for by a comparison of the passages, he would have gathered what the nature of the office is which the Παράκλητος fulfils, whereas now he is left with no more assistance than was given him by the Version of 1611.

Instances such as these suggest a question of considerable importance. How far are variations in the rendering of the same words to be allowed? It seems impossible here to lay down any hard-and-fast line. It is well known that the translators of 1611 not only abandoned the attempt to render a particular Greek word by a uniform English equivalent, but claimed for themselves the fullest liberty in this respect, purposely endeavouring to give the charm of variety to their diction.

It is clear, however, that such a practice tended, when carried to excess, to obliterate for the English reader the designed repetition of a word in the Greek, and therefore served to impair for him the force of passages, the point of which turned on such repetition. This would be particularly the case in St. Paul's Epistles, where the word and the argument are often inseparably tied to one another. So, again, the variation of a word or phrase, where the phrase or the word is characteristic of a writer, conceals this peculiarity from the English reader. For instance, if such characteristic words as μαρτυρία, μαρτυρεῖν, in St. John, are sometimes rendered "witness," "bear witness," and sometimes "testimony," "testify;" or such a constantly recurring word as μένω, by so many different representations as "dwell," "abide," "remain," "tarry," "continue," "endure;"\* or, if in St. Paul, δίκαιος is sometimes "just," and at other times "righteous;" or, λογίζεσθαι, sometimes "impute," and at other times reckon;" or, κανχημα, καύχησις,

\* In a single verse, 1 John ii. 24, the Authorized Version has "abide," "remain," "continue," as the renderings of this one verb. The Revisers put "abide" throughout.



sometimes "boast," "boasting," and at other times, "glory," "glorying," it is plain, not only that distinguishing features and signs of authorship disappear that ought by all means to be retained, but that the point of an argument is often lost or obscured. On the other hand, in the case of different writers, or even in all places of the same writer, where the word is not characteristic, and where it occurs in a very different context, to attempt to render it uniformly by one English word is mere pedantry, and is the surest way to destroy all freedom and all dignity of language. In English, as in all languages, a word takes a peculiar colouring from its neighbourhood. A light is flashed upon it, a shadow touches it, according to the place it holds in a sentence. Few words present always the same unchanging aspect. It is quite impossible, therefore, with any regard for English idiom, with any feeling for delicacy, or beauty, or strength of expression, to keep one word in one language as the sole equivalent of a word in another. In the same chapter, even in the same verse, a Hebrew or a Greek word may be repeated; but two words must be found to express them in English. To take an instance from the Old Testament. In 1 Sam. xiii. 14, 15, "But now thy kingdom shall not *continue*. . . . And Samuel *arose* and gat him up;" it is one and the same verb in Hebrew which is rendered by the two verbs, "continue," and "arose," in English; and it would be mere waste of time to attempt to find one English equivalent for this Hebrew word in the two verses. So, again, in 1 Sam. xvii. 4, "There went out a champion out of the *camp* of the Philistines;" but in the first verse of the same chapter it would be impossible to say, "The Philistines gathered together their *camps* to battle;" we are obliged to say "armies." Take, again, such words as "slay," "kill," "put to death;" it would be stiff and pedantic, if it were possible, to keep these severally as the rendering of three Hebrew words without sacrificing naturalness and freedom in English. The Revisers of the New Testament have sometimes carried their love of uniformity too far; but they seem to have been quite aware of the impossibility of keeping the same word in English in all places, even in the same context. Thus, in John xx. 27, "be not faithless but believing," they felt it would have been impossible to keep so strictly to the Greek as to say, either "be not faithless but faithful," or "be not unbelieving but believing," without introducing either a false sense, as in the first case, or a disagreeable assonance as in the second. The true English equivalent of πιστός here was "believing," though elsewhere its no less true equivalent is "faithful."\* In the same way, though they have generally pre-

\* πιστός is rendered in the Authorized Version "faithful," "believing," "true," &c., ἀπιστος, "faithless," everywhere in the Gospels except John xx. 27; but in the Epistles, "unbelievers," "unbelieving," "that believeth not" and twice "infidel" 2 Cor. vi. 15, &c. 1 Tim. v. 8, in both of which places the Revisers have substituted "unbeliever." The noun πίστις is commonly rendered "faith," and ἀπιστία "unbelief." We cannot say "unfaith" though we say "unwisdom." But in Rom. x. 17, the Revisers have "So *believer* (ὁ πιστός) cometh of hearing" in order to connect this with the previous verse "Lord, who hath *believed* our report."



ferred "righteous" as the reading of *δικαιος*, they have been obliged to abandon it in passages like Rom. ii. 13, "for not the hearers of a law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified;" and iii. 26, "that he might himself be just and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus," in order to preserve the important link of connection between "just" and "justify;" whereas the substitution of "him that hath faith," for "him that believeth," is intended to keep before the English reader the emphatic position of "faith" in this and the following verses. It cannot but be a matter of regret that there is no verb in English formed from the same root as the noun "faith," but that we must use either "believe" or "trust," the former being a very inadequate equivalent. And again, "righteous" being altogether a nobler word than "just," it is a pity that we must borrow our verb for the last, and say "justify;" for though "righten" has been suggested as a substitute, "justify" is now too firmly established to be dispossessed, and even were this done, "justification" must be left. So, again, they have in several instances altered the rendering of *ζηλος*, putting "jealousy" for "envying," or "indignation;" but they have been obliged to have "zeal" elsewhere, as in John ii., "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up."

In like manner they have, as a rule, changed "offend," "be offended," into "stumble," "be caused to stumble," a very questionable change,\* I venture to think; but in Mark xiv. 27, sacrificing consistency, they have, "All ye shall be offended," putting the other in the margin. But why did they cherish consistency in Rev. xxi. 23, "And the lamp thereof is the Lamb." To say nothing of the unpleasant assonance, the poverty of expression in English is intolerable. Surely that was a phrase which imperatively required that the old word, "light," should be left in the text, and the literal, "lamp," placed in the margin.

Various renderings of the same word must remain. No two passages are cast in the same mould; to attempt to bend and twist words into an uncouth and unnatural usage is as bad as to clip living trees into straight and dull uniformity. There may be persons who like this sort of uniformity as there are persons who admire straight roads bordered with long lines of poplars and straight ditches; but most persons will think the monotonous regularity dearly purchased by the sacrifice of variety, and vigour, and beauty, and life. On the other hand, there are unquestionably instances in which the principle of uniformity cannot be too jealously maintained. I have already alluded to some such cases. To take one in point: the Revisers have wisely given "reconciliation" as the rendering of *καταλλαγή*, instead of "atonement," in Romans v. 11 (here, as often, following the Rhemish Version), because they thus connect the "reconciliation" of ver. 11 with the "reconciled" of ver. 10, as the Apostle himself obviously intended the words to be connected.

So, again, where identical passages recur, as, *e.g.*, in the Old Testament, in the parallel places of the Kings and Chronicles, or in the New Testament, in some parallel places in the Gospels, or in quota

\* So too is the substitution of "turn" for "convert" in Luke x



the Old Testament; where there is no variation in the form of the quotation in the Greek, there can be no reason for introducing a variation in the English. Thus, the quotation from Deut. xxxii. 35, is word for word the same in Rom. xii. 9, and in Heb. x. 30, and is rendered in the Authorized Version, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," in the Romans, and "Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense," in Hebrews. The Revisers have rightly made the two alike.

There are other cases which may be regarded as indifferent; those, I mean, in which an English word will equally well represent two words in the original. The instance which I have in mind is one on which a good deal of comment has been made—the change of "thieves" into "robbers" in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 30–36) and in the narrative of the Crucifixion. It has been said that "thief" does not necessarily denote a petty pilferer, and this is most undoubtedly true. The use of the word in the Authorized Version in the parable is sufficient to prove this; but the question which the Revisers had to settle for themselves was whether there being two Greek words, κλέπτης and ληστής, which, when they occur together (as in John x.) must be rendered as they are in the Authorized Version, respectively "thief" and "robber," the same distinction should be observed when the words occur apart. Without offering any opinion as to the necessity of the change, it is clear to me that this was the consideration which influenced the Revisers. And in justification of it, it may be urged that whatever may have been the case with the older language, the two words are now used generally with some difference of meaning, and that no harm is done in keeping them distinct.

A better text and a more accurate translation are of the greatest possible value; and it is impossible to speak too highly of the fidelity and accuracy with which, in these respects, the Revisers have discharged their task. But accuracy is not all that is required in the translation, and especially in a translation which is to hold its own in popular use and popular estimation. The distinguishing merit of the Authorized Version is its noble purity of language. It is thoroughly idiomatic, but it is never vulgar: it is familiar, but it is always dignified. The errors are errors arising out of insufficient acquaintance with the original tongues, or the too meagre critical apparatus of their times. But as masters of their own native tongue the Translators of 1611 have never been surpassed. When, therefore, the rules were drawn up for the guidance of the two Revision Companies it was very wise to put this direction in the forefront:—"To make as few changes as possible, consistent with faithfulness." The translation lay before them; their business was not to recast it, but to correct clear and manifest errors. That priceless heirloom was not to be disfigured by modern innovations. The putting of the new cloth upon the old garment was to be done tenderly and so that the old garment should not be seen. In short, they were to remember that translators, like the old translators, were to be remembered for their things: First, that it



shall give, so far as the transference of thought from one language to another will allow, the exact sense of the original; and next, that it shall do this in such a manner that the reader shall not be reminded by any baldness, any uncouth literalism, any unwelcome intrusion of foreign idiom, that he is reading a translation. If the Authorized Version is not always successful in the first of these requirements, it has been successful beyond all other translations of the Bible in the second. "Its felicities are not words but things." Even if it adopts a foreign idiom it makes that idiom its own. "Vanity of vanities," "with desire I have desired," "children of wrath," and the like;—these are Hebrew idioms which have passed naturally into English.

On the other hand, with happy audacity the translators disdained a literal rendering, when a pure, strong, idiomatic expression presented itself, as when in Ps. cvii. 27, they give "and are at their wits' end," instead of the literal construing of the Hebrew, "and all their wisdom is swallowed up."

In some instances the Revisers in their scrupulous and conscientious desire to be perfectly true to the Greek have, I venture to think, been too unmindful of the claims of their own language. They have sometimes been too literal, construing rather than translating; they have inverted the natural order of words in English in order to follow the Greek; and they have carried the translation of the article, and of the tenses, beyond their legitimate limits. For instance, the translation, "Now from the fig-tree learn her parable" (Mark xiii. 28), is no doubt a strictly literal rendering of the Greek words; but it is not a mode of expression which any one would think of employing in English. The same remark applies to "Faithful is the saying" (1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1). That is the Greek form, but in English we say, "It is a faithful saying," and the sense is precisely the same. Again, in Acts ii. 47, the Revisers had no doubt a difficult task to perform, in giving true expression to the participle, τοὺς σωζομένους; but "those that were being saved" is bad nineteenth-century English. A paraphrase, such as "those that were in the way of salvation," would have conveyed the sense without injury to the language. The same ugly modernism is repeated in 2 Tim. iv. 6, "for I *am* already *being* offered." No writer of repute in our language has ever yet sanctioned this usage; and the Revisers should, at any cost, have refused to sanction it, a jealous regard for purity of style being in such a work a paramount duty. Another instance of modern usage is the substitution, in Heb. ix. 11, of "having come" for "being come," the one being as strict a past participle as the other, and the difference being only that of old and new use, with no difference of meaning. So in 1 Cor. xv. 20, if it was necessary to put "raised" for "risen," it was not necessary to put "hath been" for "is." "Now is Christ raised from the dead" is as true a perfect as the other.

They have erred in (a) too great literalism.

In John iv. 23, "for such doth the Father seek to be his worshippers," does not vary in any appreciable degree from "the Father seeketh such to worship Him," and is stiffer and less idiomatic.



In the 53rd verse of the same chapter, "that hour" is no improvement on "the same hour."

Such attempts to preserve the Greek idiom, as "peaceable fruit, *even the fruit of righteousness*" (Heb. xii. 11); "the perfect law, *the law of liberty*" (James i. 25); "the life, the eternal *life*" (1 John ii. 2), are of little advantage to the English reader.

There is one passage above all where one could have wished that the principle of literal translation had not been suffered to prevail. There is no more majestic passage in the English language than the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as it stands in our Authorized Version. In the splendour of its sweep it is quite unrivalled. Here, if anywhere, the Revisers should have stayed their hand, putting in the margin the literal rendering when the present Version did not give it. And what is gained in point of accuracy—mere construing apart—by substituting "God having of old time spoken unto the fathers," for "God, who of old time spake unto the fathers?" Even "sundry times" might have been left, as sufficiently giving the sense, the literal, "divers portions," being placed in the margin. So, too, "effulgence" for "brightness," and "inherited" for "by inheritance obtained;" and, above all, "when he had made purification of sins," should have gone into the margin as an appropriate place of refuge. None of these changes, be it remembered, touches the essential meaning of the passage. The English reader gains nothing and loses much.

(b.) Inversion of order. This has no doubt been done with a view to bring out the emphasis; but our language, especially in prose, does not readily lend itself to these inversions. I give a few instances:—

Rom. viii. 28, "And we know that to them that love God all things work together for good;" xii. 10, "in love of the brethren be tenderly affectioned one to another;" xiv. 15, "for if because of meat thy brother is destroyed;" 1 Cor. ix. 10, "Is it for oxen that God careth?" xv. 8, "and, last of all, as unto one born out of due time, he appeared to me also;" Gal. iii. 14, "that upon the Gentiles might come the blessing of Abraham in Christ Jesus;" Eph. v. 12, "for the things which are done by them in secret, it is a shame even to speak of."

(c.) Use of tenses.

The Present.—Matt. xxvi. 18, "I keep the passover at thy house," is literal; but in English we require the future, though in other places, where the present is used with a future meaning (as so often in Hebrew) we can retain the present—*e.g.*, "This is my body which is given for you;" "I ascend to my Father and your Father." But this use of the present for the future justifies the reading of the Authorized Version, in 2 Tim. iii. "I am now *ready to be offered up*."

The Imperfect.—John xviii. 25, "Now Simon Peter was standing and warming himself;" and xx. 11, "But Mary was standing without," are merely modern substitutions for the old imperfect "stood," which certainly did not mean that the action was momentary and transient.

The Aorist. In some instances (I have already pointed out one such



instance in Rom. v. 12-21), the Revisers have wisely given the strict force of the aorist as a simple past. In others, they have felt that a certain amount of liberty ought to be given, and accordingly they have rightly left the English present as the best representative of the tense in Matt. xi. 19, "Wisdom is justified." But in the same chapter it appears to me to be an error to render in verse 25, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth that thou *didst* hide these things from the wise and understanding, and *didst* reveal them unto babes." Surely this is not a single past act, it is an eternal fact in the Divine government; and if so, it is best expressed in English by the perfects, "thou hast hidden," "thou hast revealed."

So, again, as regards the rendering of the perfect tense. It is not always best rendered by a perfect in English. In Job xix. 37, "To this end have I been born," is not so consonant to English idiom as, "To this end was I born." Everybody knows how impossible it is to translate a French or German perfect by a perfect in English. Why must a Greek perfect be always translated by an English perfect?

(d). The use or omission of the Article. It is very rarely that our language lends itself to the insertion of the article where it is found, as a matter of course, in Greek, or Hebrew, or French, or German, or Italian, or indeed in a vast number of other languages. The insertion therefore is of no kind of use, but rather an embarrassment to the English reader; and, on the other hand, the attempt to mark its omission in the Greek, by putting "Jews" for "the Jews," "God's wisdom," "God's elect," for "the wisdom of God," "the elect of God," is an equally useless effort.

I have spoken freely of a great work. If I have noted what seemed to me to be imperfections, this has been done in no captious spirit, but with reverent sympathy, and with hearty acknowledgment of all that is so truly excellent. Small blemishes may yet be removed, and the whole may come to greater perfection; for it is not possible that this should be the last Revision of the English Bible. Others will follow. Of the present Revision I will only say that my study of it has deepened my admiration for the reverent, earnest, conscientious care with which the work has been done. Whether it will ever supersede the Version of 1611 in popular use time alone can decide. One valuable result will always remain. English students of the New Testament will be sure that they have here, in the judgment of the best scholars of the age, a text framed on the most ancient authorities, and a version as accurate as they were able to make it. The very comparison of the Revision with that of 1611, if intelligently made, even without any knowledge of the original, must be of immense benefit. Many obscure passages will break forth into light; many a difficult argument will be elucidated. If the Revision does nothing else "it will," to copy Burke's words, only substituting the future tense for the past—"it will put people in a mood unusual with them; it will set them on thinking."

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.

## THE FIELDS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN FAITH AND UNBELIEF.

1. SCIENTIFIC. 2. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL. 3. ETHICAL.\*

IT lies in the nature of the case, that a subject so comprehensive as that which I have undertaken to bring before you, can only be dealt with, in the limits to which I must confine myself, somewhat superficially. My aim is not so much to discuss anything fully myself, as to suggest points which may be profitably discussed by you. I content myself this evening with the humble but useful functions of that stone which "*excors ipsa secandi*" may yet serve to give a keener edge to the polished weapons of other intellects. If I were to hazard a more ambitious comparison, I would venture to compare my task to that of Bacon, when, in his "Advancement of Learning," he surveys in each region of knowledge what had been already achieved with greater or less success, and what was noted by him as still defective. The conflict of which I have to speak is no new one. It has been carried on in our own country under various forms and in various phases from the days of Hume and Gibbon, Butler and Paley, perhaps even, going back for another century, from those of Lord Herbert of Cherbury on the one side, and Grotius on the other. It may not be without profit to enquire what have been the results of the long campaign; what outposts have been lost or won; how far we may yet go round the walls of that Zion which we hold to be the city of God, and count its towers and bulwarks, with the feeling that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, that its defenders have been both wise and brave, and that its sentinels have not been sleeping at their posts.

The character of the warfare has, indeed, in some respects, altered. It has become on both sides more civilized and more courteous. (The combatants do not enter battle as in the war-paint and with the war-cries of barbaric tribes, but for the most part in the same manner as those

\* A Paper read at a Conference of the Christian Evidences Society, June 16th, 1881.



ancient knights who before and after they fought with lance or sword exchanged their salutations of mutual kindness and respect.\* We seldom now speak of those who are unable to accept the faith of Christendom as an Infidel party. We use the term Theist rather than Deist, because the latter carries with it an offensive connotation from which the former is free. Though many men of science hold premises which logically lead to Atheism, no one, I suppose, except the junior member for Northampton, is called "an Atheist." We do not assume that all unbelief must spring from immorality of life, or look on doubters or assailants as consciously enemies of truth and goodness. We do not back up our arguments with anathemas. There has been, I need scarcely add, a corresponding change on the other side also. The religion of Christ is no longer treated, as in the coarser unbelief of Voltaire and Paine, as the work of priestcraft, and its preachers as impostors. For the most part, though there are some exceptions, we find the character of Christ regarded with reverential admiration, and the Christian Church treated as an important factor in the history of European culture. Renan ("Vie de Jesus," c. xxvii.) speaks of the former as "the noblest personality that has appeared in the history of the world—Çakya Mouni, perhaps, excepted." "Before such a demi-god as this we, in our feebleness, may well fall down and worship." "Whatever may be the unlooked-for phenomena of the future, Jesus will not be surpassed." John Stuart Mill ("Essays on Religion," pp. 253-4) is impressed with that character as "something unique in the history of the world, beyond the power of any such writers as the Evangelists to have imagined for themselves." The earnest author of the "Enigmas of Life," (Greg, "Enigmas," p. 202) admires Him as "the best and noblest of all the sons of men whom God has raised up with special gifts and for a special work." Even Strauss ("Leben Jesu," ed. 1864, p. 625), in the midst of his sweeping attacks on the credibility of the Gospel history, speaks of the Jesus of whom they tell as the man "in whom the deeper consciousness of humanity, the Divine Wisdom, first developed itself, as a power determining his whole life and being." Matthew Arnold has made the phrases which speak of the "sweet reasonableness" of the Christ, of the "secret" of His power to bless, as household words among us, and looks on the Bible as the most "precious of all books, the noblest of all literature." Tyndall ("Belfast Address," p. 7) records his belief that "it is not in hours of clearness and vigour that the doctrine of Material Atheism commends itself to his mind, that in the presence of stronger and healthier thought it ever dissolves and disappears, as offering no solution of the mystery in which we dwell."

\* Since I wrote the above I have seen reason to modify this opinion. What I have said is true of the leaders of the army, but the Secularist papers which are circulated largely among our working classes, show that the rank and file contains at least many who are so savage and brutal in their utterances that they represent what may be best described as, "Condorcet filtered through the dregs of Paine." There are Girondists of unbelief; there are also Jacobins. Hebert and Marat follow still in the wake of Bailly and Lafayette.



It is, I think, a question worth discussing, whether the change of tone which I have noted, works for good or evil on the interests of Truth. Are the attacks more dangerous because they are more insidious? Are these fair words like the lip-homage of him who betrayed the Son of Man with a kiss? Are we tempted to a temper of indifference to the inheritance, the *depositum*, of Truth, of which we are the witnesses and the trustees. Shall we say

“*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes,*”

or welcome those who thus speak as so far “not against us” and therefore “on our side.” I will not shrink from declaring my own conviction that the change is one which we ought to rejoice in and give thanks for. (The new tone—for new in great part it is—of Christian Apologists seems to me more after the mind of Christ, more in the spirit of that Love which thinketh no evil and hopeth all things. We may rightly cling to the great law as to the attainment of Truth, that “whosoever *willeth to do* the will of God shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God,” and that if any man so willing be for a time “otherwise minded,” God will in His own time, in this life or after it, “reveal even this unto him.” We may rightly check the tendency to condemn those who have not attained to that knowledge, as we listen to the warning, “Judge nothing before the time.” Only when men’s sins are as those that “go before to judgment,” when the Apostles of unbelief are also the unshrinking advocates of lust, or speak in the language of the scoffers to whom nothing is sacred, because nothing is serious, may we pass from the language of courtesy and respect to that of the burning indignation in which at least one-half of the army of our opponents will make common cause with us. It is, I am persuaded, no small gain that the defenders of Christianity should exhibit more fully than they have done in the past, the direct influence of the teaching and the character of Christ, that its assailants should, consciously or unconsciously, attest their indirect influence as leading to earnestness of purpose, nobleness of aim, and purity of life.)

I pass from these prefatory thoughts to the three fields of inquiry on which I invite you to enter.

I. (1.) There is that on which we find ourselves face to face with the teachers of science, who see in its conclusions that which seems to them at variance with the belief of Christians in a supernatural Revelation attested by miracles, in the never-failing Providence that orders all things both in Heaven and Earth, and therefore in the efficacy of prayer as an element of spiritual life—who cannot reconcile the lessons they have learnt, as to the frame-work of the Universe, its *genesis* of growth and evolution, with the act of Creation which is postulated in the first article of the faith of Christians, or with the *genesis* in the first chapters of the Bible. Each of these a few words of comment.



(2.) It has come, I believe, to be almost, or altogether, a work of supererogation to maintain, as against scientific thinkers, the possibility of a miracle. That possibility is not denied by any reasoner who has a claim to be listened to. Men have learnt to acknowledge—even apart from the assumption of a Creative Will—that there are more things in Heaven and Earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy; that they have not so measured and weighed the forces of the Universe as to affirm that there may not be laws as yet unknown bringing about unforeseen phenomena. What they do assert is in the tone of the scepticism of Hume, that it is more probable that men should deceive themselves, or have been deceived by others, in their report of the suspension of a law, than that the law should actually have been suspended; that theistic conceptions of the method of the Divine work tend, the more we study that work, to the recognition of the supremacy of law; that it is, as Goethe said, a blasphemy against the Majesty of the Most High, to think of Him after anthropomorphic fashion, as acting capriciously by fits and starts, and not by a law which is as unchangeable as His own perfections. Against this probability apologists have rightly set another which seems to them to balance it, and to leave the field open for weighing the evidence on behalf of any given miracle or series of miracles on its own merits. Is it more likely, they ask, also from the stand-point of theistic conceptions of the character of God, that He should leave His creatures uncared for and unguided, or that He should, in “sundry times and divers manners,” reveal Himself to them? And if of those divers manners the witness borne by Nature, by Reason, and by Conscience, proved to be insufficient, if they were, at the best, but as *παιδάγωγοι* leading to a higher Teacher than themselves, was there not an antecedent likelihood that He should reveal Himself in other ways, suspending here and there the laws which He had Himself ordained, or modifying their action by a Will acting under higher laws, so as to arrest men’s attention and authenticate the teaching, as of the prophets, by whom “He spake in times past to the fathers;” so also of the Eternal Son, by whom “He has in these last days spoken unto us?” That line of thought seems to me a truer and more effective one, than to follow the reasoning which is the key-note of Dr. Mozley’s “Bampton Lectures on Miracles,” and to maintain that the uniformity of sequence of natural phenomena up to the present point of our experience affords little or no presumption of the extension of that uniformity beyond it; or that the ordinary course of Nature is itself so full of the Supernatural, of unexpected and yet ever-recurring variations, that the miracles of Christ become but little more than a more advanced term in a continuous series of phenomena.

Applying ourselves, then, to the consideration of the miracles which are related in the record of what we hold to be a continuous revelation, there comes the question how far we ought to deal with them as



standing all alike on the same footing. We cannot conceal from ourselves that there has been of late what we may call a tendency to minimize the supernatural even on the part of professed Apologists. The plagues of Egypt, the passage of the Red Sea, the sun and moon standing still at the command of Joshua, the miracles of Elijah and Elisha, some even of our Lord's works of healing, have been brought down to the level of unusual operations of natural law, or legendary exaggerations of usual operations. Men have dealt with each of these as though it stood isolated and apart from others, and weighed the evidence on which it stood accordingly. It is, I think, worth considering how far that method is legitimate or wise. Each man ought, of course, to have the courage of his convictions, and if he is inwardly persuaded that an apparent miracle was not miraculous, to say so regardless of results. But it is open to discussion, I conceive, whether it is not a truer and more rational method to lay our chief stress on the actual evidence, external and internal, which attests the crowning miracle of the Resurrection; and if that is held to be capable of proof, to infer from it the reality of the supernatural power of Him who thus died and rose again, and from that the truth of the Gospel records as a whole, and from that again the veracity of the Old Testament records, also as a whole, as postulated and guaranteed by the teaching of the New. I do not say that there are no cases in which we may legitimately admit an imaginative colouring, or the hyperboles of poetized history; but what I have suggested seems to me, on the whole, the legitimate method at once of inquiry and of defence.

(3.) On another phase of the difficulties which present themselves on the side of science, I need not, I think, dwell at any length. We have, most of us, learnt by the teaching of experience, not to oppose our interpretations of the language of Scripture, nor even that language itself, as to the structure and the *genesis* of the material universe, as a final bar to the conclusions which science, as it advances in calm and ordered progress, has drawn from the phenomena of that universe. We remember how the discovery of the Antipodes, or the theories of Galileo and Kepler, or those of geologists as to the duration of the earth through long æons of pre-historic and pre-human time, were each in its turn received with panic and indignation, condemned as heretical and fantastic, at once pooh-poohed and anathematized; and how, after a brief period of trouble and dismay, Truth prevailed over fear, and men recognized in what they had at first rejected new disclosures of the secret wisdom of the Eternal. And we are not likely, it may be hoped, to be as those who pass through that experience, "learning nothing and forgetting nothing," and to repeat the unwisdom of our fathers. Most of us, I presume, are ready to deal with theories of the antiquity of man, or of his *genesis* out of lower forms of life, or of the orderly evolution which has transformed a chaos into a *cosmos*, on their own merits, to be judged, each according to its evidence, without weighting



the scales of judgment by assuming that in this region of thought, as well as in that of man's spiritual being, the language of Scripture, or our interpretation of that language, is clothed with an infallible authority.

(4.) What has been known among us as the argument from prophecy comes under one aspect, within the range of the scientific argument against the miraculous in general. Men have postulated the impossibility of prediction, have pronounced every prophecy which seems to foretell a distinct event to be a prophecy after the event, have made that a test of the date of whole books or sections of books. No scientific thinker, I presume, would postulate that impossibility now. As in the case of miracles in general, the objectors are sceptical rather than dogmatic in their denial. They dwell on the improbability of prediction, on the far greater likelihood that men should poetically represent a great event as having been foreseen by a divinely appointed teacher, than that there should have been that actual foresight. The question so viewed, belongs therefore, to the second, not the first, of the subjects which I have noted for enquiry; and we have to ask, when a prediction is brought before us as having found a fulfilment, what evidence there is that it was written before and not after the event; how far it was within the range of natural human forecast, or represented the glowing dreams of a poet looking with rapt eyes into the mists and shadows of the future, or an actual apocalypse, the drawing aside the veil from that future, as seen in the eternal Now of the Divine intelligence, which, according to its wisdom, revealed the secret to His servants the prophets. We have learnt indeed, and wisely learnt, to take a wider view of the office of a prophet than that which satisfied our fathers. We see in them patriots, statesmen, poets, the utterers of eternal truths, the witnesses of a Divine order working through the seeming disorders of the world's history—men whose characters, hopes, aspirations, feelings of exultation or disappointment shewed themselves as clearly in their writings as the varying emotions of St. Paul shewed themselves in his Epistles. We come to interpret their words from a standpoint far other than that of those whose chief or only thought was that they foretold "the sufferings of Christ and the glories that should follow." In many ways we are gainers by that wider survey. We gain more sympathy with the prophets and their work, a truer estimate of their relations to their own times. But it may be questioned whether here also there has not been a minimizing drift of thought tending to deprive prophecy of the worth which apostles and prophets themselves ascribed to it. Are we prepared to surrender the whole cycle of Messianic prophecy as bearing no real testimony to the Messiah of whom it seems to tell? or to limit the prophet's range of vision to the horizon of his own times? or to see in that which goes beyond them only the vivid picture of a dreamland, of a golden age never to be fulfilled at all? I do not say, any more than I did before in speaking of the miraculous, that we may not rightfully see in much of the language of the prophets—as, *e.g.*, in the later chapters



of Ezekiel, and in the Apocalypse—ideal representations which never have had, and, in the nature of things, never can have, a historical fulfilment; but are we to apply that solvent till all predictive power has been melted into nothing? If we shrink from that conclusion, how shall we reconcile the primary and the secondary meanings of a prophet's words, their historical with their spiritual and ultimate fulfilment? Is it enough, pregnant as the words are, to accept Bacon's axiom that all prophecy "hath springing and germinant accomplishments?"

II. (1.) I pass to the difficulties which present themselves in the region of critical and historical inquiry. Those difficulties have, I need scarcely say, assumed an almost new and immensely expanded character, even within our own memory. Sacred books have been examined with a microscopic minuteness. The external evidence has been weighed and declared wanting. Internal evidence has been thought to point to very different conclusions as to date and authorship from those which have been commonly accepted. "The Pentateuch," we are told, "was not written by Moses, but is a composite work, in which are embedded the fragments of many ages, from the traditions of the patriarchs to the Book of the Law, which was not found, but written, in the reign of Josiah. The historical books are in like manner anonymous compilations from many volumes of annals and genealogies. Ecclesiastes was written under the Persian or Alexandrian monarchy, and many of the Psalms belong to the age of the Maccabees. The later chapters of Isaiah were the work of a 'great unknown' in the time of Cyrus, and the earlier contains numerous interpolations of the same date. Other prophets have been edited after the same fashion. The first three Gospels have no title to the names they bear, and are not contemporary records. The fourth is the work of a pseudo-Joannes in the second century. The Pastoral Epistles as a group, and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, are manifestly spurious. It may be questioned whether the same may not be said of the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians." It is obviously outside the scope of my purpose, within the limits of this paper, to deal with these questions in detail. My own conviction is that in Bishop Lightfoot's Articles in this REVIEW, in answer to the author of "Supernatural Religion," in the works of Canon Westcott, Archdeacon Watkins, and Canon Sanday on the Gospel of St. John, not to mention those of other apologetic writers, there is a sufficient proof that in accepting the Gospels as authentic records, we are not following "cunningly devised fables;" that the Pastoral Epistles have in them unmistakable notes of Pauline authorship; that even the Second Epistle of St. Peter has, to say the least, a balance of evidence in its favour; that, at least, the greater part of the Pentateuch gives indications of an earlier period than that of the Monarchy or of Samuel; that the second part of Isaiah bears as distinct traces of coming from the author of the first as "Paradise Regained" does of coming from the writer of "Paradise Lost." One point is, I think, clear in dealing with these objections as



a class, whether they concern the Old Testament or the New, and that is, that each must be examined on its own merits, and a true verdict given according to the evidence. We cannot meet the objectors with a *petitio principii* postulating the Divine inspiration and authority of the literature, or the library, which we know as the Bible, as a whole, and adding to that postulate the *a priori* assumption that every volume in that literature must necessarily have been written by the author whose name it bears. If it should be proved that Deuteronomy was not written by Moses, nor Ecclesiastes by Solomon, all that would follow from the proof would be that personated authorship, apart from the *animus decipiendi* and for the sake of dramatic vividness, may be as legitimate a form of authorship within the circle of inspired literature as it unquestionably is outside that circle; that the purpose of the writers was to say to the men of their own generation, in a form they would understand, "So would Moses, so would Solomon, have spoken."

(2.) Apart from the question of authorship and of the truth of the records of events supernatural in their character, it is, I suppose, acknowledged on all hands that the history both of the Old and New Testament stands now on a firmer footing than it did a century ago. Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian inscriptions have been made to tell a tale before untold, and the result has been that the life of the Pharaohs, and Sargon, and Salmaneser, and Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar, has been brought into daylight clearness, confirming and throwing light upon the Hebrew annals; that classical inscriptions, and those of Jewish and Christian cemeteries at Rome, have thrown a like light upon the *origines* of the Christian Church. The Chaldean history of Genesis, the occurrence of the names of Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Menahem, Pekah, Azariah, Ahaz, Hezekiah in the Assyrian records, the arch at Thessalonica, the stones of Cyprus, the *Columbarium* of Livia, may be taken as representative instances of the evidence of which I speak.

(3.) I cast a passing glance at two supposed causes of scepticism on which we have learnt to look as the vanished bugbears of the past. No one now dreams of suggesting, as was suggested against the labours of Jerome and Tyndale, and the Revisers of 1611, and, I may add, those of the workers who have just brought their noble task to its worthy and honoured close, that a new translation must, *ipso facto*, even if a better one, multiply doubts, and throw men into a temper of uncertainty. No one now imagines, as men did when Mill announced his 40,000 variations in the text of the New Testament, that the discovery was one which ought to be whispered in secret to the initiated, lest the faith of men in the teaching of that Book should be undermined and shattered. Bentley's *Phileleutherus*, though it may be little read, still echoes in our unconscious ears. We have learnt from Bacon not to think that God can be served or pleased "with the unclean sacrifice of a lie."

III. (1.) In regard to the third class of difficulties—those raised on ethical grounds to the teaching of Scripture—the Apologist may, I think,



rejoice that he no longer enters on his task heavily weighted as of old. The thoughts that widen with the years, the "survival of the fittest" in the history of dogma, the true development of Christian theology, have removed some of the dark imaginations which once clouded men's vision and views of the Truth of which they undertook to be the defenders. The dark shadow of Augustine and of Calvin no longer rests on our conceptions of the Fatherhood of God. The name of Athanasius is no longer identified with the Damnatory Clauses. The dogma that all unbaptized children are excluded from the eternal hope, which made Augustine known as the "*durus pater infantum*," and which our own Prayer Book but narrowly escaped,\* has been banished to the limbo of extinct beliefs. We no longer think of the millions who have never known the name of Christ as sentenced to everlasting condemnation. Not to enter on vexed questions, there is a manifest drift of thought, including Dr. Pusey as well as Dr. Farrar, towards the belief that the mercy of God may work in ways we know not, after death as before it, illumining what is dark, purifying what is base, turning imperfect faith and knowledge into perfect, saving all who have not extinguished within themselves the capacity of salvation, that the gates of the Father's House are wide open day and night, and that in that House there are "many mansions," homes for the greatest and the least of all in whom there is the "promise and the potency" of the eternal life.

(2.) And we have learnt also to take a truer view of the progressive character of the methods by which Truth has been revealed to men. We no longer consider ourselves bound to hold a brief, defending the character of lawgiver, patriarch, king, or prophet, as free from infirmities or sins. We recognize that the law of Moses was not a perfect code of ethics, or polity, or worship, that it contained much that was afterwards to appear as the "weak and beggarly elements," in which the child was to be trained, but which the man was to outgrow, much that necessarily fell short of a perfect ethical ideal, the choice of the lesser evil—as in the cases of polygamy, divorce, and slavery, and the treatment of aliens and foreigners, of blasphemers and idolators, of offences against person or property—"because of the hardness of men's hearts."

(3.) And with this recognition, or, if you will, concession, on our side, there is an ever-increasing *consensus*, "even our enemies themselves being judges," as to the loftiness of Christian ethics, and its purifying effect, in proportion as men have striven to live after the mind of Christ, on the social life of men,—as to the work of the Christian Church, in spite of many disorders and deflections, as an element in the history

\* The *Institution of a Christian Man*, one of the documents of the English Church in the early stages of the Reformation (A.D. 1537), speaking of Baptism, says that "infants and children, dying in their infancy, shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not." The omission of the last three words in the Note attached to the Baptismal Service by the *Revisers* of A.D. 1661, is a striking instance of the development of which I speak, *even under what might have seemed the least favourable conditions.*



of civilization,—as to the unapproachable ideal presented by the life of Christ Himself. Doubtless we still have to face the inquiry, “If Christendom profess to rest upon that life, why is it yet so far removed from the greatness of that Divine original?” Doubtless the despairing question, “What is truth?” still rises from the lips of men as they note the disputes and heresies and sects, the persecution of the sword and of the tongue, of which Church History is full; the many “unhappy divisions” which still make the hope of a re-united Christendom as a far-off dream. We prove the authority of the Bible, and they ask, What then? What does the Bible teach? Something has, indeed, been gained when we are able to say to the questioners, “Search and seek,”—examine the Bible for yourselves, exercise your “verifying faculty” as you compare it with the Church’s creeds, with local formularies of faith, with the witness of Reason and of Conscience—and, if you seek rightly, you will not fail to find enough to guide your life, even if you have to renounce the hope of solving all the problems of life and of the universe. The despair is minimized, is changed indeed to hope, when instead of anathematising those who differ from us, as outside the limits of the Father’s love, and offering our own theories as a complete presentment of Divine truth, we are content to confess that “now we know in part and prophesy in part,” and to wait, with patient hope and large-hearted charity, till “we shall know even as also we are known.” But it remains true that though we own our shortcomings in these matters, we are wanting in the power which would be active and powerful for good, if we were, more than we are, as lights shining in the world, winning men as they were won of old, not by skill of speech, but by the beauty of a life; if to the force of individual example, we could add that of example corporate and combined, as seen in an united Church, a re-united Christendom. The true difficulties of faith, the most formidable weapons in the artillery of unbelief, are found in the unreality of our lives, the bitterness and triviality of our controversies.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

## BYRON, GOETHE, AND MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD.

**M**R. MATTHEW ARNOLD has lately published an essay upon Lord Byron which has surprised, not merely the students of Byron, but the students of Mr. Matthew Arnold himself. His theory about Byron is, that Byron is neither artist nor thinker—that “he has no light, cannot lead us from the past to the future;” “the moment he reflects, he is a child;” “as a poet he has no fine and exact sense for word and structure and rhythm; he has not the artist’s nature and gifts.” The excellence of Byron, according to Mr. Arnold, mainly consists in his “sincerity and strength;” in his rhetorical power; in his “irreconcilable revolt and battle” against the political and social order of things in which he lived. “Byron threw himself upon poetry as his organ, and in poetry his topics were not ‘Queen Mab,’ and the ‘Witch of Atlas,’ and the ‘Sensitive Plant’—they were the upholders of the old order, George the Third, and Lord Castlereagh, and the Duke of Wellington, and Southey, and they were the canters and trampers of the great world, and they were his enemies, and himself.”

I do not propose to discuss here at any length what is the value of Mr. Arnold’s estimate of Byron. Byron can take care of himself; and Mr. Arnold does not increase our disposition to depend upon him, when we find him saying, that probably Shelley’s *Essays and Letters* “will resist the wear and tear of time better, and finally come to stand higher, than his poetry!”

Mr. Arnold, however, appeals to Goethe as an authority for the position to which Byron is reduced, and it is important that the English people should not suppose that Goethe did not know Byron’s true worth. I have therefore collected some of the principal criticisms upon Byron which I can find in Goethe’s works. The text upon which Mr. Arnold enlarges, is the remark just quoted which Goethe made



about Byron to Eckermann: "*so bald er reflectirt ist er ein Kind*"—*as soon as he reflects he is a child.*

Goethe, it is true, did say this; but everything in the interpretation of the saying depends upon the context, which Mr. Arnold omits. I give the whole passage, quoting from Oxenford's translation of the Eckermann Conversations, vol. i. p. 198:—

"'Lord Byron,' said Eckermann, 'is no wiser when he takes 'Faust' to pieces and thinks you found one thing here, the other there.' 'The greater part of those fine things cited by Lord Byron,' Goethe replied, 'I have never read; much less did I think of them when I was writing "Faust." But Lord Byron is only great as a poet; as soon as he reflects he is a child. He knows not how to help himself against the stupid attacks of the same kind made upon him by his own countrymen. He ought to have expressed himself more strongly against them. 'What is there is mine,' he should have said, 'and whether I got it from a book or from life is of no consequence; the only point is, whether I have made a right use of it.' Walter Scott used a scene from my 'Egmont,' and he had a right to do so; and because he did it well, he deserves praise.'"

Surely, it cannot be said upon the strength of an observation of this kind, that Goethe believed that Byron was unable to reflect in that wide sense in which Mr. Arnold interprets the word. What Goethe did believe about Byron we shall see presently.

We will, in the first place, continue the quotations from the "Eckermann;"—

"We see how the inadequate dogmas of the Church work upon a free mind like Byron's, and how by such a piece (Cain) he struggles to get rid of a doctrine which has been forced upon him" (v. i. p. 129).

"The world to him was transparent, and he could paint by way of anticipation" (v. i. p. 140).

"That which I call invention I never saw in anyone in the world to a greater degree than in him" (v. i. p. 205).

"Lord Byron is to be regarded as a man, as an Englishman, and as a great talent. His good qualities belong chiefly to the man, his bad to the Englishman and the peer, his talent is incommensurable. All Englishmen are, as such, without reflection properly so-called; distractions and party-spirit will not permit them to perfect themselves in quiet. But they are great as practical men. Thus, Lord Byron could never attain reflection on himself, and on this account his maxims in general are not successful. But where he will create, he always succeeds; and we may truly say that, with him, inspiration supplies the place of reflection. He was always obliged to go on poetizing, and then everything that came from the man, especially from his heart, was excellent. He produced his best things, as women do pretty children, without thinking about it, or knowing how it was done. He is a great talent, a born talent, and I never saw the true poetical power greater in any man than in him. In the apprehension of external objects, and a clear penetration into past situations, he is as great as Shakespeare. But as a pure individuality, Shakespeare is his superior" (v. i. p. 209).

We see now more distinctly what Goethe means by "reflection." It is the maxim-forming faculty; the faculty of self-separation, or conscious *consideration*, a faculty which would have enabled Byron, as it enabled Goethe, to reply successfully to a charge of plagiarism. It is not the faculty of thought in its widest sense, nor of creation, and it



is not much concerned with the production of poems of the highest order—the poems, that is to say, which are written, as it were, by the impersonal thought.

But again—

“The English may think of Byron as they please; but this is certain, that they can show no poet who is to be compared to him. He is different from all the other and for the most part, greater” (v. i. p. 290).

This passage is one which Mr. Arnold quotes, and he strives to diminish its importance by translating *der ihm zu vergleichen wäre*, by “who is his parallel,” and maintains that Goethe “was not so much thinking of the strict rank, as poetry, of Byron’s production; he was thinking of that wonderful personality of Byron which so enters into his poetry.” It is just possible; but if Goethe did think this, he used words which must have misled any ordinary human being, and if the phrase *der ihm zu vergleichen wäre* simply indicates parallelism, it loses all its point, for in that sense it might have been applied to the worst poet living.

“I have read once more Byron’s ‘Deformed Transformed,’ and must say that to me his talent appears greater than ever. His devil was suggested by my Mephistopheles; but it is no imitation—it is thoroughly new and original; close, genuine, and spirited. There are no weak passages—not a place where you could put the head of a pin, where you do not find *invention and thought* [italics mine]. Were it not for his hypochondriacal negative turn, he would be as great as Shakespeare and the ancients” (v. i. p. 294).

Eckermann expressed his surprise, and Mr. Arnold will probably express surprise at being reminded of this passage: “Yes,” said Goethe, “you may believe me, I have studied him anew and am confirmed in this opinion.” The position which Byron occupies in the Second Part of “Faust” is well known. Eckermann talked to Goethe about it, and Goethe said, “I could not make use of any man as the representative of the modern poetical era except him, who undoubtedly is to be regarded as the greatest genius of our century.” Mr. Arnold translates this word “genius” by “talent.” The word in the original is *talent*, and I will not dispute with so accomplished a German scholar as Mr. Arnold as to what is the precise meaning of *talent*. In both the English translations of Eckermann the word is rendered “genius,” and after the comparison between Byron, Shakespeare, and the ancients just quoted, we can hardly admit that Goethe meant to distinguish scientifically between the two orders of intellect and to assign the lower to Byron.

But, last of all, I will translate Goethe’s criticism upon “Cain.” So far as I know, it has not yet appeared in English. It is to be found in the Stuttgart and Tübingen edition of Goethe, 1840, v. xxxiii. p. 157. Some portions which are immaterial I have omitted:—

“After I had listened to the strangest things about this work for almost a year, I at last took it myself in hand, and it excited in me astonishment and admiration; an effect which will produce in the mind which is pure and sus-



ceptible, everything good, beautiful, and great. . . . The poet who, surpassing the limit of all our conceptions, has penetrated with burning spiritual vision the past and present, and consequently the future, has now subdued new regions under his limitless talent, but what he will accomplish therein can be predicted by no human being. His procedure, however, we can nevertheless in a measure more closely determine. He adheres to the letter of the Biblical tradition, for he allows the first pair of human beings to exchange their original purity and innocence for a guilt mysterious in its origin; the punishment which is its consequence descending upon all posterity. The monstrous burden of such an event he lays upon the shoulders of Cain as the representative of a sullen humanity, plunged for no fault of its own into the depths of misery.

"To this primal son of man bowed down and heavily burdened, death, which as yet he has not seen, is an especial trouble; and although he may desire the end of his present distress, it seems still more hateful to exchange it for a condition altogether unknown. Hence we already see that the full weight of a dogmatic system, explaining, mediating, yet always in conflict with itself, just as it still for ever occupies us, was imposed on the first miserable son of man. These contradictions, which are not strange to human nature, oscillated to and fro in his mind, and could not be brought to rest, either through the divinely-given gentleness of his father and brother, or the loving and alleviating co-operation of his sister-wife. In order to sharpen them to the point of impossibility of endurance, Satan comes upon the scene, a mighty and misleading spirit, who begins by unsettling him morally, and then conducts him miraculously through all worlds, causing him to see the past as overwhelmingly vast, the present as small and of no account, and the future as full of foreboding and void of consolation.

"So he turns back to his own family, more excited, but not worse than before; and finding in the family circle everything as he has left it, the urgency of Abel, who wishes to make him offer a sacrifice, becomes altogether insupportable. More say we not, excepting that the motivation of the scene in which Abel perishes is of the rarest excellence, and what follows is equally great and priceless. There now lies Abel! That now is death of which there was so much speech, and man knows about it as little as he did before.

"We must not forget, that through the whole piece there runs a kind of presentiment of a Saviour, so that the poet at this point, as well as in all others, has known how to bring himself near to the ideas by which we explain things, and to our modes of faith.

"Of the scene, with the parents, in which Eve at last curses the speechless Cain, which our western neighbour lifts into such striking prominence, there remains nothing more for us to say: we have to approach the conclusion with astonishment and reverence.

"With regard to this conclusion, an intelligent and fair friend, related to us through esteem for Byron, has asserted that everything religious and moral in the world was put into the last three words of the piece."<sup>\*</sup>

One more quotation. It is about "Manfred," and is to be found in vol. xxxiii. p. 153:—

"A wonderful phenomenon, and one touching me closely, was the tragedy of 'Manfred' by Byron. This strange poet, rich in ideas, has taken up my 'Faust' into himself, and has sucked therefrom the strangest nourishment. He has made use in his own way of the motives which serve his own ends, so that nothing remains the same, and for that very reason I cannot sufficiently be astonished at his intellect."

We have now heard enough from Goethe to prove that

\* *Adah*.—Peace be with him (Abel).  
*Cain*.—But with me!



limited interpretation placed by Mr. Arnold upon a single expression cannot be accepted as a full account of what Goethe thought about Byron. It is to be observed that Goethe was an old man when he read Byron, and this gives a peculiar value to his utterances. They are not the outpourings of a youth overcome by Mr. Arnold's "vogue." They are the convictions of a grey-headed and singularly self-possessed man of the world, who had passed the usual limit of life, and had seen many things; a man, too, of so rare sagacity in the discernment of character, that it became almost divination, as, for example, it did in the case of Carlyle.

Many persons will be inclined to think that Goethe, so far from putting Byron on a lower level than that usually assigned to him, has overpraised him, and will question the justice of the "burning spiritual vision" which the great German believed the great Englishman to possess. But let us read "Cain;" let us consider what Goethe calls its "motivation;" let us reflect on the incident and meaning added to the legend; on the exploration of the universe with Lucifer for a guide; on its result; on the mode in which the death of Abel is reached; on the doom of Cain—the limitless wilderness henceforth and no rest: on the fidelity of Adah, who, with the true instinct of love, separates between the man and the crime; let us ponder on the majesty of the principal character, Cain himself, who stands before us as the representative of the insurgence of the human intellect, embodying it so consummately that, if we know him, we know a whole literature; let us brood over all this, and we shall say that Goethe has not exaggerated. It is the same with the rest of Byron's dramas. Over and above the beauty of detached passages, there is in each one of them a large and universal moral, or rather moral within moral, precisely the same for no reader, but none the less certain, and as inexhaustible as Nature. This is one reason why the wisdom of a selection from Byron is so doubtful. The worth of "Cain," of "Sardanapalus," of "Manfred," of "Marino Faliero" is the worth of an outlook over the sea; and we cannot take a sample of the scene from a cliff by putting a pint of water into a bottle. But then Byron's critics and the compilers tell us of failures, which ought not to survive, and that we are doing a kindness to him if we suppress these and exhibit him at his best. No man who seriously cares for his subject can hold such a theory as this. He will want to know Byron, the whole of him, in all what is called his weakness as well as in what is called his strength; for the one is not intelligible without the other. A human being is an indivisible unity, and his weakness is his strength, and his strength is his weakness. Both are significant and important.

It is not my object in this paper to justify what Mr. Arnold calls the Byronic "superstition." I hope I could justify a good part of it, but this is not the opportunity. I cannot resist, however, saying a



word by way of conclusion on the manner in which Byron has fulfilled what seems to me one of the chief offices of the poet. Mr. Arnold, although the very centre of his dissatisfaction with Byron is that he "cannot reflect," would probably in another mood admit that "reflections" are not what we demand of the poet. We do not ask of him a rhymed book of proverbs. He should rather be the articulation of what in Nature is great but inarticulate. In him the thunder, the sea, the peace of morning, the joy of youth, the calm of old age, the rush of passion, should find words, and men through him become aware of the unrecognized wealth of existence. This is the mystery of Art. A man with great susceptibilities may all his life long fail to understand something which lies at his feet, or properly to value it, until it has been held up before him in verse or in colour. Byron had the power above most poets of acting as a kind of tongue to Nature. His descriptions are on everybody's lips, and it is superfluous to quote them. He painted things not as if they were outside him, but with that sympathy which makes the difference between a dead and a living language. The woods, the wilds, the waters of Nature are to him—

"the intense  
Reply of hers to our intelligence."

It would be difficult, surely, notwithstanding Byron's inability to reflect, to match these lines in their philosophic depth with any others in our language. His poetic success, springing from a capacity for great sympathies, is equally marked when he tries his hand with portraits of men or women. He is able to pass into their very soul and essence, and thereby he makes them speak to us. Witness, for example, the girl in the "Island:"—

"The sunborn blood suffused her neck, and threw  
O'er her clear nutbrown skin a lucid hue,  
Like coral reddening through the darkened wave,  
Which draws the diver to the crimson cave,  
Such was this daughter of the southern seas,  
Herself a billow in her energies.

\* \* \* \* \*

Her smiles and tears had pass'd, as light winds pass  
O'er lakes to ruffle, not destroy, their glass,  
Whose depths unsearched, and fountains from the hill,  
Restore their surface, in itself so still."

Passages like these might be quoted without end from Byron, and they explain why he is and must for ever be amongst the immortals. The root of his excellence is the immense elemental force which dwelt in him, something which could answer the elements without him, a deep below to which the deep above could call, deep answering to deep. He may have been careless in expression; he may have been a barbarian and not a εὐφύης, as Mr. Matthew Arnold affirms, but he was great, and consequently vibrated to what was great. We can hardly say anything truer of him. He was a mass of living energy, and it is this which makes him so perpetually attractive and sanative too. For energy, power, is the one thing after which we pine, especially in a

sickly age. We do not want carefully-constructed poems of mosaic, self-possessed and self-conscious. Force is what we need and what will heal us. In so far as it is force, it is the true morality, the true beauty, and the only revelation. It is the magnificent force in Byron which makes the accusation of affectation and posing, which is brought against him, so strange. All that is meant by affectation and posing was a mere surface trick. The real man, Byron, and his poems are perfectly unconscious, as unconscious as the wind. Therefore he is infinitely precious. The books which have lived and always will live have this unconsciousness in them, and what is manufactured, self-centred, and self-contemplative will perish. The world's literature is the work of men, who, to use Byron's own words—

“ Strip off this fond and false identity ;”

who are lost in their object, who write because they cannot help it, imperfectly or perfectly, as the case may be, and who do not sit down to fit in this thing and that thing from a commonplace book. Many novelists there are who know their art better than Charlotte Brontë, but she, like Byron,—and there are more points of resemblance between them than might at first be supposed,—is imperishable because she speaks under overwhelming pressure, self-annihilated, we may say, while the spirit breathes through her. The Byron “vogue” will never pass so long as men and women are men and women. Mr. Arnold and the critics may remind us of his imperfections of form, but they are nothing more than the flaws of a mountain, and Goethe will be right after all, for not since Shakespeare have we had any one *der ihm zu vergleichen wäre*.

W. HALE WHITE.



## SCOTTISH, SHETLANDIC, AND GERMANIC WATER TALES.

### PART I.

#### I.

A SHORT time ago it was my good fortune to be able to publish the discovery of two most remarkable remnants of ancient Germanic poetry, lying hidden, until now, in Shetland folklore. The one was the fragmentary *Unst Lay*, a half-heathen, half-christianized popular version of the Eddic *Rune-Song of Odin*. The other was the long lost "*Arthur Knight*" song, of which Dr. John Leyden, in "*The Complaynt of Scotland*," had only recovered two lines that were made the frequent theme of speculation by mythologists, and which, when the text was at last gathered from the lips of a living person, was also seen to contain the unmistakable traces of the Odinic faith under an Arthurian guise. Both these valuable survivals of our common Teutonic forefathers' creed appeared in June, 1879.

Since then, fresh curious myths, spell-songs, and other waifs of a faith long gone down, have reached me from Shetland—all of them, to my knowledge, utterly unknown to the world of letters. Some of these interesting communications have come unsought, in consequence of the publication of the paper mentioned. Others are the encouraging result and reward of inquiries made after the opening up of a correspondence. So far as in me lies, I shall endeavour to bring about the gradual unearthing of those hidden treasures in which the northern Thule seems so rich, though it is very difficult to make the popular layers in which they are embedded, yield what they still hold of sunken beliefs. My only regret is, that I have not more leisure for this laborious research; for there is imminent danger—now that the steam-horse snorts through almost every corner of the land, and the electric telegraph flashes messages into the most secluded huts—of the utter loss of those wonderful tales of oral tradition which are of the greatest importance for the full reconstruction of the old Germanic creed, and for Comparative Mythology even more.

A Shetland correspondent, of the tradesmen's class, Mr. Robert Sinclair, of Lerwick—who, he says, has only now had his interest awakened in the subject in a manner never felt before, and in a way which to him was one of sudden pleasure—writes to me the following :—

" . . . Yet, looking back over more than half a century, in the greater part of which time I have been placed in a position in which I might have done much in recovering from oblivion many of these valuable and interesting relics, I cannot say the pleasure is without regret that I was at that time alike ignorant of their origin, nature, and value, and have only been awakened to it in some sense now. I was born in one of the most outlying districts in the islands, where charms and incantations were much resorted to; and I lived there during the first thirty years of my life. During these years I had ample opportunities of acquiring folk-lore, had I not been restrained by my parents, who frowned on everything of the kind. Naturally, I felt a kind of instinctive desire to acquire such knowledge from sheer curiosity, but found it very difficult, as those who were in possession of it generally had some sinister end for withholding it, and were well aware that I sought to acquire it for no practical purpose; and thus any stock is very poor, compared with what it might have been." . . .

Speaking of the now recovered Nightmare Incantation ("Arthur Knight, he rade a' night,") which in Shetland folk-speech is known as the spell against the *Mahara* or *Mara*, the same correspondent continues :—

"I can never forget the evening when 'Ingo, Geords' dochter,' a servant in my father's house, with whom I was a special favourite, took me aside and said: 'Come, an' I'll tell dee for ta tell awa' da Mahara!' We went, and she told me. I was then between twelve and thirteen years of age; and the words soon fixed themselves on my memory, and, what gave me more pleasure, the bold picture on my imagination. It was, I think, the first poetical idea that fixed itself on my mind. I questioned her how the Knight rode his steed, and she said: 'His horse's feet never touched da grund.' My young fancy soon endowed 'Erter' (Arthur) with supernatural powers, and I could fancy I saw him rushing through the darkness, the mane and tail of his steed streaming in the wind, and his open sword gleaming in the light of his candle. . . . When I had grown up, and had begun to gather a little information, the spell of his image was broken. I learned a little of the history of chivalry, and had read some of the legends of the Knights of the Round Table. I at once became satisfied my hero had sprung from one of these fictions, and I thought little of it, till I read your article."

The same letter from which the above is quoted, gives a curious malediction charm, gathered from "an old cross-grained virago who was generally regarded as a witch." Its meaning I have not been able as yet to decipher. Here my correspondent remarks :—

"The transition of our speech from the Norse to what it is, no doubt led to the loss of much of the folklore, as few would either have been able or willing to translate these relics, unless in such cases as they might have been utilized for superstitious purposes, or used as a stock on which to graft new religious ideas, such as we see in the Unst Lay. Another cause lies in the aversion of those who regarded them as heathenish, to have aught to do with them. My own mother, who, on the paternal side, had descended from a pure Scandinavian stock, was doubtless imbued with that idea. I remember, when very young, asking her how the days of the week got their names, and she gave me a pretty correct account of it, stating that three of them at least were named after heathen deities that our forefathers worshipped—namely, Woden, Thor, and Freyja; the latter



of whom, she said, was a goddess.\* I, in my youthful ignorance, laughed at the idea of a female god, having always been taught that God was a spirit with whom we could never associate the idea of sex, and wondered how our forefathers could believe such nonsense. She replied:—"Yae, my dear, baith doo an' I might 'a believed grither nonsense bit for da Wird o' Revelation, an' we sood be tankfoo' 'it da darkness is past, an' da true light noo shines.' Under such teaching I grew up; and I have no doubt she could have told us many other things relating to the subject, but she did not see that the mythology of our forefathers might have been retained by her children without making them less Christian."

In seeking to recover now what can be recovered, difficulties are to be encountered little dreamt of by those who do not know the kind of religious fervour with which the holders of those ancient oral traditions try to shelter them against what they regard as the intrusion of the merely curious, or, may be, the mockers and disbelievers. This secretiveness is often a bar against direct inquiry. In order to circumvent the jealously-guarded positions, strategy has to be used, so as to disarm suspicion and to win the merited confidence. From what my correspondent writes, it seems that the mere bruited about of the fact of an essay on Shetland tales having already been published was enough to set some of the sentinels of the eerie Folklore Castle on the alert. Ladies being more successful agents in extracting hidden knowledge, one of them was told off to put leading questions about certain spells; but an old woman to whom such questions were addressed, answered:—"Güde trüth! gin I wid tell you onything, ye wid shüne hae it in print, an' dan da güde o' it ta me wid be düne!"

Her idea, my informant adds, evidently was that when such charms and incantations became common property, their virtue would be gone; popular faith in them would be destroyed by the publicity given to them, and by the discussion arising therefrom; hence concealment alone could save a spell-sayer's or Sibyl's craft. This reticent character of a great many persons who still possess the old unwritten poetical literature of the people, must be kept in mind by those who would gain access to it at a time when the lapse of a few more years may entail an irreparable loss.

## II.

Both in its tales and in its terminology, Shetland folk-lore has evidently preserved some striking relics which go far to supplement hitherto missing links of the Teutonic creed. Mythic Water-Horses and Water-Bulls, or Cows, are to be found in the religious systems of

\* In reality, all the days of the week have their names from Teutonic gods. Sunday and Monday refer to the worship of the Sun and the Moon, which, according to Caesar and Tacitus (Ann. xiii., 55), were adored by the Germans, as if these heavenly bodies were persons. When the German chieftain Boiocal pleaded the cause of himself and his Ansibarian tribe before the Roman legate Avitus, he invoked the Sun and the other stars like individual deities (see Grote's "History of Greece," i., 336). Tuesday has its name from the Teutonic war-god Tiu, Tyr, or Ziu; hence "Zistig" (Tuesday) in the Alemannic dialect. In Bavarian folkspeech, Tuesday is called Ertag, or Erhtag, from a tribal war-god whose name is formed from the same root as that of the Greek Arcs. Even Saturday is, in all probability, not a corruption of *dies Saturni*, but has its name from Saetere, an *alias* of the fire-god Loki, who, though an evil-doer, had often been the confidential counsellor of the goddesses "in the morning of Time," and who had even drank blood-brotherhood with Odin.



many nations of old. Ay, they still haunt the imagination of living men in the shape of Scotch Water-Kelpies, or of dapple-gray stallions and brown steers that rise from some mysterious German lake, such as the nix-haunted Mummel-See of the Black Forest. But nowhere in this country have I yet met with, after much personal inquiry among English and Scotch friends, the highly significant name of a Shetlandic water-horse, which deserves being rescued from oblivion. It is called the NUGGLE.

It was in a somewhat casual way I, at first, heard of this remarkable name. I was told that there is, in the superstitious beliefs of the northernmost island group which historically bears so strong a Norse character, "an ideal existence, called the Nuggle, which is always regarded as a horse—never as a mare; the distinction being, however, that his tail is said to resemble a wheel." This Nuggle is "believed to be possessed of semi-aquatic properties, and used to play his pranks on water-mills while in the act of grinding the corn." My first informant, Mr. Robert Sinclair, to whom, as well as to his son, I am greatly indebted for excellent communications, added:—"When young, I saw the ruins of a water-mill which tradition said had been deserted because of the Nuggle."

Both the suggestive name and the qualities of this mythic horse deeply aroused my interest, for they seemed to fit in wonderfully with the elaborate system of the Germanic Water-Cult—a form of worship which may have preceded, or for some time gone side by side, with the Asa Religion, and which was only fused into the latter after a hostile struggle dimly recorded in the Edda. I, therefore, continued inquiries about the connections of this gruesome phantom figure of the waves. In reply to various questions—especially as to whether its name was connected with any Shetlandic word referring to water—I received the following:—

"With regard to the legendary attributes of the Nuggle, he was believed to be more deceitful than courageous; and his sole bent seemed to be to play mischievous pranks on the human race. I am not aware of any Shetland word that connects the name with water, but the tradition is that the Nuggle was never found at any distance from the water; generally frequenting a footpath near a loch or a burn on which water-mills were built. The object the Nuggle had in frequenting footpaths near a loch, was to offer his services to any unsuspecting wayfarer who might feel disposed to take advantage of them, in order to facilitate his progress, if likely to be benighted. In form he was exactly like a pony, with the exception of his tail, which was said to resemble the rim of a wheel, but which he cunningly kept concealed between his hind legs, when he meant to victimise any pedestrian; and woe be to the man who bestrode him without examining that appendage! It was not stated whether he used his tail as a means of locomotion or not; but no sooner had he felt the weight of his victim, than with lightning speed he flew into the water, and the equestrian found himself submerged beyond his depth, and if he ever gained the shore, it was no fault of the Nuggle. He did not, however, attempt attack; but it is said when the rider got his head above water, he saw him disappear in cloudy vapour or blue flame."



Mr. Robert Sinclair further wrote :—

"This was one of his pranks; the other one was alleged to be played on people grinding corn at the water-mill. All of a sudden the mill would stand still, while the water was running on the wheel, or 'tirl,' in full power. This was very unpleasant to an individual who was alone in the mill in the night—perhaps a mile from the nearest habitation. The cure for this was to throw a fire-brand down the 'lighting-hole' in the 'looder.'\* It appears the miscreant can't stand fire, for no sooner is the cure applied than he lets go his hold of the 'tirl,' and the machinery is again in motion. Numerous instances are recorded, illustrating both these phases of his propensity to work mischief."

In answer to further inquiries I learnt from Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Lerwick, whose critical discernment in matters of Germanic mythology has been admirably proved before, that he was fortunate enough, after some research, to meet with a man quite recently who had seen the "Nuggle." Mr. Laurenson says :—

"The man is a very worthy, 'decent' man (as they call a sensible, well-behaved person here), and well known to me from childhood. But I certainly never would have supposed that he believed in the 'Njuggle,' had we not accidentally come on the subject. He told me that, when a young man, one night his sister and he were coming down by a 'burn,' each carrying a lighted brand to show them their way, a very common mode of lighting up the path: in the Shetland country districts in winter. The night was very dark. Some sparks from their brands blew into the water, and that moment 'a creature like a Shetland horse' rose in the middle of the burn, rushed down stream, straight out the mouth of the burn, and away into the sea. They were then near the sea; and they saw it vanish therein. Then they knew it was the 'Njuggle,' because, when fire touches the water, he rushes off. My informant had a friend who one night was grinding in his mill. Suddenly the mill stopped. He suspected it was the 'Njuggle,' and slipped a lighted brand down the shaft-hole of the mill. When it touched the water, the wheel went round again, as before, the Njuggle having let it go. He is of a grey colour. So far I learnt about this semi-aquatic beast."

Now, if it should appear strange that, even in our comparatively enlightened days, an otherwise worthy, "decent," and well-behaved man should, in company with his sister, have seen the Nuggle, we must not forget that an imagination trained in the superstitious beliefs prevalent during many thousands of years is easily roused to wondrous conceptions, especially at night, in the flickering light of a torch borne over a rocky path in sight of the ever-changeful and sometimes phosphorescent sea. Myth-makers may sometimes be persons of a deceitful character; but the vast majority of them are simply the victims of their own creed, credulity, or morbid hallucination. Luther once passed through a stage of strong free-thinking; yet at another time he actually threw the inkstand at the head of the Devil, and never doubted that he had "seen him." It is not the purpose of this article to enter into the psychological explanation of those pretended spuke visions; nor need the existence, in the sea, of beings like the big walrus, the manatee, or sea-cow, and other sirenoïds, or of the minute but beautifully-shaped little sea-horse, be dwelt upon, whose figures may have

\* Only a knowledge of the construction of the Shetland mill could make this fully intelligible. Be it enough to say that it is a hole of such a kind that anything dropped through must fall into the water-way, as it passes the vertical wheel, or "tirl," by which the mill is driven; which space, on such occasions, is supposed to be occupied by the cunning Nuggle.



been interwoven with mythological ideas. Be it enough to say that when we find a clergyman in modern times justifying his disbelief in the existence of Water-Cows in a particular Scotch lake, not by the non-existence of such monsters, but from the want of sufficient room for them in the small loch of Pitlundy,\* a simple Shetlander may well be excupated if his folklore-nurtured fancy plays him a trick at night.

In answer to still-continued inquiries I received from Mr. George Sinclair, who had formerly furnished me with the text of the long-lost "Arthur Knight" spell-song, the following communication, dated Dunedin, New Zealand, where he at present resides :—

"The Water Nuggle—also called in some parts of Shetland the SHOEPULTIE—resembles the Scotch Water Kelpie strongly in almost every particular, save the tail. He was like an ordinary Shetland pony in all but the tail, which was like a large wheel, which he knew how to conceal between his hind-legs, as also how to use on certain occasions as a propeller. His habits were peculiar: always living near a loch, or burn, or in the immediate vicinity of watermills; sometimes annoying the women, or anyone who might be milling, by holding the 'tirl' and so stopping the grinding. There was, however, a very ready remedy for this trick; a fire-brand thrown down by the side of the lightening tree (the upright) was enough for him; he would then let go his hold, and the tirl would revolve as before. Like the Kelpie, he was never spiteful; that is, he would never resent an injury done him. Another, and more dangerous trick of his was, at twilight, to place himself close to a path near a loch in an inviting position to allure any unfortunate passer by on to his neck; and the very moment any fool took the advantage, he would find the advantage all on the other side—discover himself in the middle of the loch—and would see the track of the accommodating animal *in a broad streak of blue fire* across the water. There is not a single instance, so far as my knowledge goes, of any one losing their life in this way. His tricks were always seasoned with mercy."

It need scarcely be remarked that any seeming discrepancy between the character given in various localities to a mythic form, easily explains itself from the often ambiguous, dualistic, allotropic nature of the element which that form represents; or the cause of the contradictory accounts may be found in a deterioration of the myth. Water, like fire, is both beneficial and destructive. Water and Fire are combined in the same thunder-cloud. The watery vapour that rises from below, becomes charged with electricity, and once more descends as lightning and rain. Most myths contain, under symbolical images, a trace of this apparent contradiction in the phenomena of Nature. Thus, we may at one place hear that a water-sprite, or water-horse, malignantly tries to drown his rider; at another, that his tricks are "always seasoned with mercy." At a third place, he may, Proteus-like, be alternately represented as a friend or a foe.

### III.

A word has now to be said about the pronunciation of the name of the Nuggle, as it sheds light upon his connection with other semi-divine and divine creatures, phantom or fairy figures, of the Germanic

\* See Lieut.-Col. Forbes Leslie's "Early Races of Scotland," vol. i., p. 146.



Water Cult. According to Mr. Laurenson, the word is generally pronounced "Njuggle," or "Nyuggle." This "y" after an initial consonant, he says, is frequent in Shetlandic. The "u" sound is pronounced short, and rather like "ü," or perhaps in some mouths like "ö," (Njöggle). I may say here, in passing, that the insertion of this "y" or "j" sound, in northern speech, evidently explains the slight difference between the initial syllable in the names of the Norse sea-god Njördr or Niörd, and of the German goddess Nerthus (formerly misread "Hertha"), whom Tacitus mentions, and who at one time must have been Niörd's wife.

If we leave out the peculiar insertion of the "y" or "j" sound in Njöggle—a sound which in pronunciation, I learn, is somewhat quickly slurred over—we would get the name of the Shetlandic sea-horse, in a German form, somewhat like Nückel or Nöckel. Now we really find, in German folk-lore, both a NICKEL and a NÖCKEL as a water-spirit; and here and there he still appears in Germany, too, in the guise of a horse.

The worship of goblins and gods often arose from a previous worship of beasts who, when they had at last become refined into the figure of a humanized deity, still remained with that deity as symbolical attributes. The cow-headed Isis; the cow-shaped Athyr (the Egyptian Venus); the dog-headed Anubis; the lion-headed Neith (the Egyptian Minerva); the originally owl-faced Athênê, and the ox-eyed or rather cow-visaged Hêrê—both of which forms have been proved by Dr. Schliemann's splendid and unrivalled excavations\*—are readily occurring instances. I think there are traces of ancient animal worship in Germanic mythology, from which similar references may be drawn in regard to Odin (horse), Thor (he-goat and bear), and Freia (cow; swan, or duck; cat, &c.) No wonder that the Shetlandic Njöggle should, on German soil, recur both as a horse-shaped Niglo, and as a humanized Brother Nöckel.

On St. Nicholas-day, Dr. Quitzmänn relates, the millers in Upper Austria still throw food and worn-out garments into the flood, in order to pacify the Water-spirit for the next year; and this spirit sometimes rises in the shape of a horse. In reply to a public appeal I latterly made in the German Press as to whether similar tales were still current in our country, I received the following from Vienna:†—

"In autumn, 1872, I met on the esplanade at Ischl my former Professor, the then Instructor of His Royal and Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, Professor Greistorfer, who, I regret to say, died two years ago. Going along the Traun river, we spoke of water-sprites; and Professor Greistorfer, a profound connoisseur of all that refers to Styria and the Styrian dialect, told me, among other things, the following:—'The nixes that dwell in the waves, are, in the Styrian tales, of surpassingly beautiful shape, and the very model of charming attractiveness. Often it happens that a youth inspires them with love, and then they change themselves into water-horses, in order to carry him on their back into their crystal realm. When they have assumed horse form, they are called Wasser-Nickeln (Water-Nickels). They take the life of the youth they have carried away.'"

\* Compare his "Mycenæ" and "Ilios," in which latter work there are unanswerable and unanswered proofs of his former surmises.

† Letter of Mr. Edward Mayer, of the Austrian "Credit-Anstalt für Handel und Gewerbe."

Here it is the female nixes that assume horse (or mare) form. Poetically, the same idea has been worked out, under the guise of a male Ruler of the Waters, by Mr. M. G. Lewis (author of "Tales of Wonder;" 1801):—

"Ascend this steed with me, my dear!  
We needs must cross the streamlet here.  
Ride boldly in! The billows sleep.  
Thus spoke the Water-King. The maid  
Her traitor-bridgroom's wish obey'd.  
And soon she saw the courser lave  
Delighted in his parent wave."

In recent communications I have received from Miss M. Sunder, in Ibbenbüren (Westphalia), it is stated that a white horse still haunts the neighbourhood of the water near some Hanoverian towns. The white horse is an ancient Saxon symbol. As a sacred animal used for purposes of prophecy, we find the snow-white horse already among the Germans of Tacitus. Again, the white horse appears as a proper gift to chieftains among the Thracians visited by Xenophon, whom I hold to have been kindred to the Teutons. In Westphalia, according to Miss Sunder, a spectral horse is spoken of as "a foal of light colour; or, as others will have it, glowing like fire." This foal, too, haunts the neighbourhood of mountain-streamlets and water-mills. Near Ibbenbüren, a region where three brooks meet, is the home of the Biek-Isel tale; in which we see the Water-Horse converted into an Ass of the Brook. A further corruption of the myth makes the Biek-Isel "fall first as a wet bag from the tower of the Evangelical Church; on touching the ground, the bag changes into an ass, and then the latter runs down, and afterwards up, the brook!" This ghostly donkey, also, is of light colour, and has glowing eyes. Forty years ago, children still frightened each other with the cry: "Dor kümp de Biek-Isel an!" (There comes the Ass of the Brook!)

#### IV.

It is clear, from the foregoing, that the water-stallion of this country's outermost Thule is the same as the Icelandic and Scandinavian Nyk, or Nök, or Nökken—a water-spirit in horse-form, who appears in all Teutonic lands. He properly belongs to the pellucid stables of Nikar, a Germanic sea-god into whose shape All-Father has thrown himself—perhaps after the Vana Cult had been replaced by the Asa system. Poseidon was called the Zeus of the Sea. Odin was a ruler of the deep through one of his incarnations, as we see from Eddic registers of his numerous aliases.\* Evidently in his quality as

\* In the "Lay of Grímnir" forty-two names of Odin are given. In the Prose Edda, Gylfi's Incantation first gives twelve names of his, as many as the year has months. Afterwards more than fifty names are mentioned; and Gylfi, the Inquirer, who learns them with astonishment in the Heavenly Hall of Asgard, is told that most of those names arose from the difference of tongues, others from the many journeys and wonderful undertakings of Odin, which are recorded in old sagas. ("Gylfaginning;" 20.)



a chief water deity, he bore the name of Nikarr, and Nikuz, or Hnikar and Hnikudr,—variations which mark different Norse dialects. To the Icelandic Nikarr corresponds an Anglo-Saxon Nicor; to Nikuz, an Old High German water-spirit Nichus.

The character of Odin-Nikar as a Teutonic Neptune is provable in various ways. In the Sagas he often appears as a ferryman. To ships he gives favourable wind; hence one of his appellations, Öskabyrr, which has its counterpart in an expression long lingering in mediæval German—namely, Wunschwind. Oski (Wunsch) was one of Odin-Wodan's surnames. When Simrock, whose views are otherwise so carefully supported, points out that, in the second lay of Sigurd the Dragon-killer, Nikar, or Hnikar, seems to mean a God of Battle, rather than a water-deity related to Nichus and the Nixes, he apparently forgets that the whole context of that song refers to waterfall, river (the Rhine), and sea. A battle near the cape or shore, which is mentioned in the lay, would easily "gladden Hugin," one of Odin's ravens. So also is the alliterative allusion to Odin as Herteitr and Hnikar, in Grimnir's Lay, to which Simrock further refers, by no means contradictory, as he seems to think; for the Water-god would, with a Germanic viking race, certainly not lose his quality as a martial Leader of Hosts.

In the Edda (Odin's Rune-song), the great God says of himself:—

For the ninth I know :        if I stand in need  
My bark on the water to save,  
I can the wind        on the waves allay  
And still the sea.

No wonder that old writers, when mentioning the idols of the Northmen, said the latter worshipped, in the place of God-Father, Neptune; and in the place of Jesus Christ, Jupiter. Neptune stands here for Odin-Nikar; Jupiter (*tonans*), for Thor. These were, indeed, two of the three chief Gods in a great Scandinavian temple.

In folk-lore, the figure of Odin-Nikar, or Wodan-Nichus, has been diffused into a host of water-sprites, male and female, whose names—Necks and Nixes, that is Nickses; or Neckers, Nickers, Nöckens, *Nickels*, and Nückels—all point to the same root from which the name of Nikar, as well as that of the mystic Water-Horse, Nuggle, is derived. From the same root, the German river Neckar is in all likelihood named. In English demonology, when the Christian creed came in, the once powerful Nikor\* was pushed into the dark back-ground as "Old Nick." In the legendary lore of the Roman Church, he was replaced

\* *Nyk*, a word common to all Teutonic languages; A. S. *nicor*; Engl. *nick*; German, *nix*; Dan. *nök* and *nixe*; modern Norse *nyk*; Swed. *nücken*=a sea-goblin. One is tempted to suggest that the Latin *Neptunus* ( $p=g$ ) may be related to this Teutonic word. . . . The "nick," a fabulous water-goblin, mostly appearing in the shape of a grey water-horse, emerging from lakes, to be recognized by its inverted hoofs. . . . The *Nykr* is the Proteus of the Northern tales, and takes many shapes; whence the grammatical term *nykrat*, a in a figure of speech (*Kakemphaton*). In modern Norse tales a water-goblin (*nik* *nücken*). See "Icelandic-English Dictionary," by Richard Cleasby; by Gudbrand Vigfusson. For my own part, I believe the "n," in the names of water-deities and spirits, and of lakes, root of a word meaning water.



by St. Nicholas. These are facts which admit of no doubt. In German Christian mummeries, Wodan, Thor, or Thunar, and Freia, still appear under a travesty which yet leaves them recognizable; and there we see Wodan-Nichus stalking forth under the name of Pelz-Nickel—a terrifying figure I well remember from childhood, as well as the white-robed good fay, called Christ-Kindchen (Christ-Child), who replaced the German Goddess of Love, a dispenser of good things.

In Bavaria, the tradition of Wodan-Nichus is continued by a mythic figure called Niglo, or Nikla, whom I have before mentioned. The throwing in of food and raiment into the stream, on St. Nicholas-day, is beyond question an old sacrificial custom for the propitiation of the Water-god.

Even as Odin rode on a grey or a white horse, so the Roman Catholic Saint, in the German Church legend, rides on a similar steed. At the Binger Loch, on the Rhine, as well as at many another place, his image stands, or stood, as that of a patron of skippers. St. Nicholas, when making a voyage to the Holy Land, is said to have caused by his prayers a tempest to be stilled. On another occasion, he personally appeared to some sailors who had appealed to his aid, and saved them from shipwreck. The substitution of St. Nicholas for Nikor, who, as above shown, was in the habit of stilling tempests on the sea, and saving ships from being swamped, is thus early accounted for.

In these matters, the Roman Church proceeded on a system. There is a letter by Pope Gregory the Great, addressed to the Abbot Mellitus, and referring to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, in which very remarkable rules are laid down for the conversion of the heathen Germans. It is recommended in that letter not to destroy the temples of the Pagans, but to sprinkle them with holy water, so that the people should be accustomed, at the places consecrated by long habit, to the worship of the true God. The sacrificial repasts, made of bull's meat in honour of the Gods, were to be changed into sacrificial meals in honour of the Holy Martyrs. On the festive days of the Saints, the people might, as of old, encamp round the churches which had once been heathen temples, in tents made of branches; slaughtering beasts in the traditional fashion and eating their flesh, but invoking God instead of the Demons. So far the letter of the Pope. To this day there are German festivals which have thus been preserved since the days when the Wodan religion flourished among us.

Bishop Daniel of Winchester strongly impressed upon Bonifacius, or Winifred, the "Apostle of the Germans," the necessity of proceeding cautiously in the struggle against Heathendom. Bonifacius was told not to contradict at once the genealogies of the German divine circle, but rather to try proving from them that those Gods, being created by sexual intercourse, must have been men. However, Bonifacius set this counsel at nought; he would have nothing to do with any consideration for the "hellish powers" of the German religion. Acting upon this



notion, he felled the sacred oak of the God of Thunder in Hesse, and everywhere overthrew images by force, but was at last killed by the indignant worshippers of Wodan in West Friesland.

## v.

Slightly as the tales above given about the Shetlandic water-horse's doings only vary, I have put them side by side, in order the better to bring out the partly deceitful and impish, partly goodnaturedly playful, character of the Nuggle. The same character attaches to most water-sprites. The variableness of the liquid element, its dangerously unstable and even treacherous nature, combined with its useful and wholesome qualities, led to these various views about the mythic water-beings. A similar double character attaches, from like reasons, to not a few of the Fire-gods—even, in some measure, to Loki.

It may seem strange that, though Fire is the cure for the wiles of the Nuggle, he himself should vanish "in a broad streak of blue fire." In the creed of the Teutons, of the Greeks, of the Iranians, of the Vedic Indians, Water-gods are, however, frequently at the same time Fire-gods, or procreators of fire. In a natural sense this is easily understood: water and fire dwelling together in the Cloud Sea, which is pregnant with the forked ray. In the fabling fancy of a primitive people the phenomena of the Earth are readily transferred and transfigured into the sky above; and that which occurs in the vast water-house of the Heavens, is equally applied to sea and lake, to river and bourne.

Proteus changes from water to fire.\* *Athênê Tritogeneia*, who unites water and fire in herself, was the daughter of Triton, or of Poseidon and the nymph Tritonis. Polyphemus, the Kyklops and volcanic worker, was Poseidon's offspring. Thetis, the sea-goddess, the daughter of Nereus, at night purifies her son Achilleus in divine fire. Aphrodite, the foam-born, is wedded to Hephaistos. Phthah, the Egyptian Vulcan, carries in his hand the lotos-flower, which is connected in India and in Greece with an Aphroditean water-cult. Among the Persians and the Indians, Ahura Mazda and Varuna, who symbolize, or are identical with, the heavenly Cloud Sea, were fathers of Gods of Fire, Thunder, and Lightning. The bow of Indra, who thrones in the welkin, is kept by the sea-gods. From that bow, terrible fire-darts are shot. Indra, the thousand-eyed lord of the atmosphere, who sends forth lightning and thunderbolts, is himself called the Water-born and the Son of the Waters. Varuna, the All-Surrounder and Supreme Ruler—whose counterpart in name, as well as in many of his qualities, is the Greek Ouranos—in later times became a god of the seas and the rivers. He had a fish for his symbol. Perhaps we have a clue here of the meaning of the myth about Apollo, the Sun-god, jumping into the sea in the form of a colossal dolphin, and of the Teutonic tale about the Fire-god Loki escaping from the clutches of the dwellers in throwing himself into a waterfall in the shape of a salmon.

\* "*Odyssæy*," iv. 418.



Loki's name signifies the Flame (Germ. *Lohe*). Nevertheless, he is the father both of the Wolf Fenrir (the Roarer from the Deep), who is also called Wanar-gandr, that is, Water-wolf, and of the Midgard Snake, which represents the world-encircling sea. From Fenrir's eyes and nose, fire glows; yet Fenrir, as the name proves, must originally have been a mythic being of the stormy waves. He is a water-wolf; but in old poems his name is also used as a synonym for fire. His progenitor, Loki, is said to have once lain, in monster shape, in the Grove of Hot Springs. Albeit a fire-god, Loki is the "confidant of the whale." Under another name he is known as Loptr, that is, the Aërial, who dwells aloft; and this aërial character connects him with the waters of Heaven. Freyja and Freyr, the offspring of a sea-god, are, in one of their aspects, typical solar deities. Their father, Niörd, who has a dwelling in Asgard, was said to be able to still both water and fire. Wate, the German water-giant, was the father of Wieland, or Wayland the Smith, a German Vulcan.

This permutable character of divine and semi-divine figures shows that the myth-poets or philosophical symbolists of primitive races already understood, or at least had a good glimpse of, the connection between apparently contradictory cosmical phenomena above and below.

The combination of water and fire in the phosphorescence of the sea is another fact which must have struck the fancy of myth-making races. Of late, this brilliancy of the brine has been explained as arising, in an agitated sea, from a process of part-combustion in minute, jelly-like animalculæ. With early nations the golden fire-glow of the vasty deep may easily have led to the notion of its being the reflex of a submarine divine dwelling in which golden treasures are hoarded. Hence Poseidon and Amphitrite dwell in a luminous, glistening palace of gold. At Aigai the Greek sea-god had even golden horses; he carried a golden whip; and he was clad in gold. It has been inferred therefrom that Poseidon, in ancient times, was identical with a sun-god similar to the Vedic Savitri.\*

Again, Aegir, or Oegir, a Teutonic sea-god, dwells in a palace in which a light is shed as from shining gold. He has two servants, whose names signify the Captor of Fire and the Kindler of Flames. In name and qualities, Aegir corresponds to Okeanos, unless those are right who derive Aegir's name from the same root as Ahi, or Agni (Ignis), the Vedic god with the red horses, who represents the sun, lightning, and fire. In a Vedic hymn, where the waters are praised as the all-healing element and as the very sources of immortality, Agni, the All-Blessing, is said to be contained in the waters. So also, in the Anglo-Saxon epic, the Sea Hall of the Grendel Monster whose mother is a Mer-lady, glistens with a fiery glimmer; "in the flood there are flames."<sup>†</sup> Fiery dragons, or worms, in many Teutonic tales, infest fens and lakes; such dragons also haunt many a Scotch loch. The Ger-

\* Kuhn, "Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung," i. 456.

† "Beowulf" ("The Moor," 46; and "The Sea Hall," 45).



manic name of these flaming monsters—*Lindwurm*—points to the water. Will-o'-the-wisps and fire-dragons are the natural produce of marshy fens.

Thus the commutable properties of Nature's chemical elements are embodied in a mass of fanciful forms, of which the examples might be largely multiplied.

In mythology, ideas seemingly the most divergent are locked together as in a magic circle. To all appearance the wheel-shaped tail of the Shetland water-horse is itself a fire-symbol. The sun-wheel was the symbol of Freia, the daughter of a sea-god, and who was a goddess of Love as well as of the Sun. To this day, at their solstice festivals, German peasant lads still set tarred wheels, wrapped in straw, on fire, when they roll them down the hills, singing songs in honour of their sweethearts. A solar, an Aphroditean, and a water cult are here, unwittingly to the performers, combined. The fiery spark and the liquid element typify the mysteries of life-giving creation. I should, therefore, not wonder if the wheel-tail of the Shetlandic water-horse had once been looked upon, in the esoteric symbolism of Norse mythology, as creating, in *svastika* manner, the flames in which the Nuggle disappears in the sea.

In this connection it ought to be remembered that the theory of a "wet beginning of things"—the theory of the origin of the world, of living beings, of races of men in especial, from water—is traceable in the Vedic, Assyrian, Hebrew, Greek, Germanic, and other cosmogonies. So far as animals and men are concerned, we might call it an early "Ascidian theory," tallying with a well-known modern doctrine of physical science—say Haeckel's. Among the Greeks the procreation of semi-divine personages, or of human beings, is attributed to a stream, to a sea-steer, to a river-god. The Stream, the Steer, the God form the upward scale of an elementary worship gradually rising to zoomorphism, and thence to anthropomorphism. The forefather of the German kingly race of the Merowings was said to have been a water-spirit in bull shape. He begot Merowech with a queen that was sleeping at the beach, or *mere*-shore. An older tale gives the name of the first king of the Franks, who was the son of that sea-steer, not as Merowech, but as Clojo, which is derived from *hlōjan* (German dialect: *luejen*), to low. The golden bull's head found in King Childerich's grave is supposed to be a symbol of this origin of the Merowings. At the first dawn of German history we find something similar. When the Kimbrians and Teutons, who came from the shores of the German Ocean and the Baltic, invaded Italy, they carried a brazen bull with them as a sacred image.\*

Now, tales relating to the Sea-Bull are easily transferred to the Sea-Horse. The two forms are, in fact, convertible. In a number of Nether-German tales we find a black bull, or steer, instead of a horse,

\* Ostfarch's "Catus Maris."

haunting the paths and bridges near a water. One of the brooks in Mecklenburg, where this occurred, bears the significant name of Jungfern Bek, or Virgins' Bourn. In Shetland the horse-shaped Nuggle takes the place of the steer; and the story of the Nuggle "annoying women" is, I imagine, only a late echo of this ancient myth of the procreative faculty of water, which is figuratively embodied in the several quadrupeds in question.

## VI.

In the most ancient Icelandic and Scandinavian sagas we hear of beautiful dapple-grey horses, called Nikur or Nennir, who, rising from the waves, sometimes appear on river-bank or sea-shore. They are recognized by their hoofs being placed the wrong way. Of this mystic creature it was said that—"If any one mounts him, he throws himself with his victim into the water." An unusual strength was ascribed to the Nikur. Yet, now and then, one of them let himself be caught, when he was apparently tamed and set to work. Thus—"a man put an ingeniously-worked bridle on such a horse, and ploughed his fields with him; but when the bridle accidentally broke, the Neck sprang *like a fire* into the sea, dragging the harrow with him down."

In other Norse tales it is laid down that the wondrous stallion, when taken, readily worked during the day; but towards sunset he became unmanageable, tore the ground and stamped in it up to his fetlocks, and, at last, breaking out of the harness, ran away to the water, when he was never seen any more. The old Icelandic Landnámabók—the Book of Land Settlement—already records such an instance. There are German tales, too, about a dark nag rising from the mere waves, when it was caught and used for ploughing, but finally dragged the plough, the peasant, and his boys into the "Devil's Bath." Some of these German folk-tales fit in, in the most remarkable manner, with the oldest Norse Sagas, although the German myth is, now and then, slightly corrupted by the introduction of the Devil, of St. John's day, and so forth.\*

Does not the following tale from Mecklenburg read exactly like a Norse myth, but slightly Christianized?

There is a Black Lake, or Devil's Lake, near Neu-Schlemmin; a small, but almost unfathomable, dark water. A labourer was harrowing near it; but the work not going on well, he called upon the Evil One for help, when a splendid, jet-black horse rushed up, in a wild gallop, from the neighbouring lake. With lively neighing and mettlesome scraping of the ground, the horse approached the godless man, allowing himself to be harnessed in the place of the jaded mare. The field being thus tilled before twilight, the labourer jumped upon the back of the demoniacal steed, in order to ride home. With shrill nickering,

\* Comp. Mecklenburg's Volks-Sagen ("Der Schwarze or Teufels See bei Neu-Schlemmin"); von A. Niederhoffer; vol. iv. pp. 48 and 99.



and with fire darting from his nostrils, the stallion ran, in tremendous leaps, towards the lake; when horse and horseman, together with the harrow, disappeared in a trice in the depth of the water. There, the punished labourer now sits; and his plaintive cries are usually heard on St. John's-day, when the harrow is seen swimming on the surface of the lake.

Similar stories are found all over Scotland in sundry variations; the horse being known there under the general name of the Water-kelpie, who also has inverted hoofs. Such amphibious horses are said to have been ridden by Highlandmen to market. It is added that, when this had been done, and the steed had escaped once more, it was afterwards torn to pieces by its supernatural kindred.\* The character given to the Water-horse in the western parts of Scotland is that of a savage and vicious being, whilst the mystic kine are looked upon as friendly to man, and as foes of the equine water-spirit.

On his part, Lieut.-Colonel Forbes Leslie, in his work on "The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments," says of the Kelpie:—

"This demon seems to be a compound of various fiends possessing different forms. Sometimes it is described as wholly or partly human, as Merman or Mermaid; but more commonly the shape assigned to it is that of a horse or a bull. The sounds of the Kelpie when heard in the storm, whether as the wild neighing or hoarse bellowing, is reckoned a sure presage of misfortunes. In form of a horse, the Kelpie is believed to emerge from the sea or a lake, and to tempt the unwary to mount on his back, that he may dash with his rider into the depths of the flood. Legends regarding the Bull of the Waters, in some districts called the water Cow, are less poetical; but the fiend is generally unamiable, whether he assumes the form of a handsome young man, of a horse, or of a bull."

Mythological variations of this kind are of frequent occurrence; and they become the more multicoloured or changeful, the further the tale has travelled from its source.†

Of the Kelpie, the Scotch counterpart of the Nuggle, Mr. George Sinclair remembers the following story:—

"At a certain place called Maugie, in Aberdeenshire, one was utilized and made to cart stones to build a water-mill in the neighbourhood. I was also told that the mill may be seen unto this day. When the building had been completed, the poor creature was heard to complain in the following words:

"Sair back an' Sair beens,  
'At caaed the Mill o' Maugie's steens."  
(Sore back and sore bones  
That drove the Mill of Maugie's stones).

Speech being attributed here to the mystic horse, the first step is,

\* J. T. Campbell's "Popular Tales of the Western Highlands."

† The gradual deterioration of a myth, and its final absorption into a Christianised legendary form, is well illustrated in a report sent to me by Miss Nellie M. Moir, who writes:—"There was a Water-kelpie near Montrose, where mamma was born. He lived by a 'red heugh,' and wandered in a den with cloven feet, horns, and pointed tail. She knew an old woman who spoke to him, quoting Scripture, at which he 'glided away.' I hope this rigmarole is understandable." Here the water-horse is already travestied into a demoniacal landman. Only the colour of the "heugh" still seems to remind us of the fire-generating properties of the wheel-tail of the Nuggle; but even that colour may only be the result of the transformation of the Kelpie into a sulphuric Mephistopheles.



so to say, made for his conversion into a higher, semi-divine form, approaching that of the man-like deities. The tale itself, which goes the round in Aberdeenshire, is a distinct survival from old Norse and German mythology. As to the meaning of the story about a Nyk, or Kelpie, which represents both water and fire, being used for drawing a plough or carrying stones, I will not attempt a solution of this steam-engine riddle. But the utilitarian class of myth-explainers might be inclined to see in it a vestige of an ancient and then once more forgotten invention—even as was, no doubt, the case with the artificial wings of Daidalos and Ikaros.

Be that as it may, at all events the Scotch Water-Kelpie, Each Uisge (Water-Horse), and Tara Uisge (Water-Bull) tales, and the Glashtan and Euach Skeibh (Fairy Horse) stories of the Manx people are wonderfully like the Icelandic, Scandinavian, and German ones, down to minute details. The word "Kelpie" is such that there is said to be no Gaelic word which could have been corrupted into it. Keltic scholars, to whom I had the question referred, answered that "Kelpie" could not be explained from Gaelic. One of them replied that it was Norse, so far as he knew. Mr. J. F. Campbell, who has collected the valuable "Popular Tales of the West Highlands," wrote:—"I have never found the word 'Kelpie' in use anywhere out of a town. I do not believe that it is Celtic at all."<sup>\*</sup>

Where, then, are we to look for its explanation, if not in Gaelic?

Is the *Kelpie*, perhaps, after all, a sea-calf? (German: *Kalb*.)

An alternate lessening or magnifying of its fantastic forms is a well-known characteristic of mythology and folklore. Wodan, the gray-mantled Ruler of the Air and the Storms, now lingers in some tales as a gray mannikin, *Grau-Männlein*. Freia, the Goddess of Love, the original Swan Virgin who sailed along the sky like a silvery cloud, has, in a rustic myth, become a—duck! The powerful God of Thunder, the Smasher of Giants, who once rode over the vault of heaven in a goat-drawn chariot, seems, in a children's rhyme, which I remember, changed into a nanny-goat. So the Water-Bull may have been modified down to a Calf, or Kelpie.

#### VII.

No doubt, in Gaelic, Erse, or Kymric mythology, the same figure may occur which we meet with among Teutons or Greeks, without that figure being borrowed from a non-Keltic source. A Druidical well-worship, and a water-cult in general, existed among Kelts as among other nations, though the Saxons were especially

<sup>\*</sup> The same writer says in regard to another question put by me:—"The Water-horse of the Gaelic folk-creed is supposed to be a horse that lives in the water, and is like a horse that lives on shore. He is supposed to be supernatural and carnivorous, and dangerous and treacherous, with power to take the shape of a man, and to deceive maidens and drink their blood, and to devour men and boys." I here take occasion to thank Miss Flora Masson for communications from Scotland; and Mr. John Jeremiah for some references to Keltic folklore.



singled out as well-worshippers (*fonticole*), and the water-cult of the Scandinavian Teutons was the most elaborate one. Still, the question remains as to whether certain peculiar forms of that worship—namely, the Water-Bull and Water-Horse myths—are to be regarded as of native Keltic or of Germanic origin?

Most religious systems contain layers upon layers of the most different origin. And here it must not be forgotten what a deep imprint the Norse and German\* race has made upon Scotland, and how long the Norwegians held sway there—not to speak of the existence of Germanic tribes in Caledonia, as well as in what is now England and Ireland, at or before the time of the Romans.†

Mr. Thomas Keightley, in his "Fairy Mythology," says:—"Picts, akin to the Scandinavians, early seized the Scottish Lowlands." And again:—"Scotland has also its water-spirit, called Kelpie, who very exactly corresponds to the Neck of the northern nations. This country is also the abode of Shellycoat, who haunts Shetland and the Orkneys." Mr. John Hill Burton, in his "History of Scotland," writes:—"Whether as Picts, Saxons, or by any other name, however, we know that Scotland was inhabited by men of the Norse race, who brought with them the Scandinavian mythology—the religion of the Eddas—retaining it until they were converted to Christianity." The same author, referring to the prevalence of Germanic myths in Scotland, observes:—"There were other powers to work evil upon mankind. Chief of these was the Neck, whence comes our Old Nick, and perhaps the Nick Niven, who is a chief among the Scotch witches, holding something like the place that Shakespeare gives to Hecate. . . . In later times he was in the northern nations a mischievous imp of the stream, like the Water-kelpie of Scotland."

The Scottish story of the "Black Bull of Norrway" is one of the many tales borrowed from a Teutonic source. That originally Norwegian story, too, has its modified counterpart in a German tale. Norway holds a prominent position as regards influence on Shetlandic and Scottish folklore. Among the bits of heathen Norse poetry recently sent to me, a spell-song,

\* "A charter granted between A.D. 1171 and 1199, by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the Scottish King, to Malcolm, son of Bartholf, the ancestor of the families of the name of Leslie, is addressed to all true subjects, lay or clerical, *Francis, Anglis, Flamingis, et Scotis*. Here the German elements are strongly marked, the Scandinavian entirely omitted; yet, long before the date of this charter, there were not wanting, although in a less proportion, Scandinavian ingredients in the population of Aberdeenshire." (Lieut. Col. Forbes Leslie's "Early Races of Scotland.")

† The Chaukian and Menapian tribal names in Ireland, and Tacitus' remark on the German origin of the Caledonians, prove this. In regard to the early pre-Roman settlement of North Britain by Teutonic tribes, Dr. Bruce, in his "Roman Wall," says:—"Viteres, or Viteres, or Veteres, is a god whose name is confined to the North of Britain. . . . Vithris is a name of Odin; see 'Death-song of Lodbrog.' . . . If Veteres and the Scandinavian Odin be identical, we are thus furnished with evidence of the early settlement of the Teutonic tribes in England." Vithrir is, indeed, one of the twelve names of the great Germanic God. It is repeatedly mentioned both in the Divine Lays of the Edda and in the Prose Edda which contains the exegetic catechism of the North Teutonic race. The "Frisian Sea" (*Mare Frisiacum*), that is, the Firth of Forth, in the north, and the "Saxon Shore," so called in Roman times, of southern England, are additional evidence of early German settlements here, long before Hengist and Horsa.



or charm for the cure of an illness, which is still current in Shetland, and which bears marks of the staff-rime in the later weakened form, begins with these words: "A finn cam ow'r fa Noraway." Of these mystic water-beings—the finns who have intercourse with the human race—something more will have to be said hereafter. They have certainly nothing to do with the Finnic or Ugrian race.

Under a Keltic garb, not a few Germanic myths are evidently hidden in the Highlands—even as the physical appearance of some of the men there, together with the names of several places, still points to that former Norse connection. Nearly every Scotch loch has a Water-horse or Water-bull story. Mr. J. F. Campbell, in his "West Highland Tales," says, in regard to the Water-kelpie, that "the tales of Norwegian sailors are similar in this respect," and that "the Celtic character has, in fact, much which savours of a tribe who are boatmen by compulsion, and would be horsemen if they could. Though the western islanders are fearless boatmen, and brave a terrible sea in very frail boats, very few of them are in the Royal Navy, and there are not many who are professed sailors." Speaking of the Dragon which haunts Highland sea-lochs, Mr. Campbell observes that Gaelic stories surely had the same origin as the Norse sea-serpent and the great sea-snake in the Edda which encircled the whole earth. "The bodily shape might have been that of a survivor of an extinct species, the attributes those of a sea-god."

Scotch fay-lore also shows strong traces of Germanic influence. Loch Nigdal boasts of a Nix "with long yellow hair, like ripe corn;"\* and this same yellow Germanic hair is the mark of other Scotch and also Welsh nymphs, exactly as of the German ones. Nigdal itself—the name both of a lake and of a rock near it—is a significant word, apparently in connection with the tribe of the Nickers, Necks, or Nixes, as well as of the Nuggle.

## VIII.

It is a noteworthy point, that in Welsh folklore the typical Water-Horse and Water-Bull should be wanting, whilst Scotland has them, and even Ireland has its Elf Bull. So far as I am aware, Welsh tales speak only, here and there, of water-cows, or of sheep mystically connected with the lakes. The fact is, Wales—barring its Flemish immigration—is a far more purely Keltic, or rather Kelt-Iberian, country than Ireland is. In Wales, consequently, the remnants of a water-worship creed are less numerous.

In Ireland, as in Scotland, the Northmen were for centuries invaders or rulers under the name of Eastmen, Danes, Lochlanners, and so forth.

\* He'd think: "Yes, yellow's Freyja's hair,  
A cornland sea, breeze-waved, so fair:—  
Sure Ingborg's, that like gold-net trembles  
Round rose and lily, hers resembles.

(Tegnér's "Fridthjofs Saga;" translated by George Stephens, i. 18.)



These viking "sea-swords" and "scaly monsters" from over the northern waters must have left a great deal of their wondrous water-tales in the countries they overran and held for a while. Their blood, too, is still recognizable in some Irish types. In the Isle of Man, where the Northmen also ruled for centuries, we again come upon the Water-Horse under the name of Glashtin, Glashtan, or Glashan (*glaise, glais, or glas*, in Keltic speech, signifies a small stream; *glas* also the sea). The Manx Water-Horse, furthermore, occurs under the name of the Euach Skeibh, or Fairy Stallion. Of the Glashtan it is said, as of the Shetlandic Nuggle, and the Scotch Kelpie, that he "attacks lonely women."

It is different in Wales, where the Germanic race has made but a slight imprint. No doubt, water-worship is to be found among the Keltic race in various forms. We need only refer to such divine or semi-divine figures as Divona, whom the Roman poet Ausonius mentions; to Onvana, Fynon, Gwenidw, and other Kymric goddesses of the deep; or to Dylan, the Son of the Wave. Some of these latter forms are, however, of doubtful Kymric genuineness. Among the tales about water-demons, there is one in the Welsh Triads about the Afanc, which has a curious contact, on the one hand, with the Biblical story of the Flood, on the other with Vedic myths.\* There are also in Welsh folk-lore a few stories about mystic cows that come up from lakes and mingle with the cattle of farmers, much to the advantage of the latter's dairy produce.

But the peculiar Scottish, Shetlandic, Icelandic, Scandinavian, and German myths about Water-bulls and Water-horses are absent in Wales.

The mermaid and Lady of the Lake stories also are less strongly developed on Kymric ground, in comparison with the prolific imagery of the Teutonic water-cult, though Wales is otherwise fertile enough in mythological creations. Nix-tales are, however, numerous in the Isle of Man where the Northmen had been for centuries. "Mermen and mermaids"—says Mr. G. Waldron, in "The History and Description of the Isle of Man" (London, 1744)—"have been frequently seen. Many surprising stories of these amphibious creatures have I been told. . . . There is not a creek or cranny in this island, but what is haunted either

\* The Rev. John Davies, a Sanskrit scholar to whom I am indebted for some Keltic indications, writes:—"There is a curious mythological reference to a water-demon, called Afanc, in the Old Welsh Triads. The story includes a pre-Christian tradition. It is this: 'The ship of Nefydd naf Neilion (Divine Lord of the Waters) carried in it a male and female of every animal, when the lake Llŷon broke out.' Then followed 'the drawing of the Afanc out of the lake by the branched oxen of Hu Gadarn (Hu the Mighty), so that it burst out no more.' Hu is probably a contracted form of Huan, a name for the Sun. He is represented as being the first chieftain of the Kymric race; no doubt a deified hero of a pre-historic age. The oxen of the God are said to bellow in the thunder; hence we may infer that the Afanc represents the dark cloud-demon carried off by Huan's bulls. In the Rig Veda, Indra is sometimes called the Bull, and sometimes his thunderbolt is so called. (R. V. x., 3, 2, and i., 33, 13.) It is used to deliver the cows (the clouds) from the monster of darkness that controls them, or to slay the monster by its fierce blows. (R. V. i., 33, 10, 11.)



with fairies or ghosts." As to the Lake Fairies, people "are not in the least afraid of them, but on the contrary rejoice whenever visited by them, as supposing them Friends to Mankind, and that they never come without bringing good fortune along with them."

I may point out here that Freyr and Freyja, who were connected with the Vana circle of Germanic Water-Deities, and their father, the sea-god Njörd,\* were eminently bringers of fortune. To this day, therefore, women in Berlin and elsewhere—as is well known to German officials who have to do with the department of lost things—carry in their purses a dozen or more fish-scales, which, they think, "brings luck and money."

As to the Welsh Nix-*tales*, some of these are perhaps traceable to the Flemish, that is, Nether German, immigration.† It is noteworthy also that Kymric lake-nymphs, too, should have yellow hair, blue eyes, and rosy cheeks, exactly like those of Germany. Such striking characteristics are at all events not mentioned without reason in the mythological tales or ancestral stories of primitive races. Thus, Hellenic heroes, and even deities were not unfrequently described as fair-haired. Aphrodite, Ares, Daphne, Helen, Achilles, were blonde; not to speak of the Sun-god who, of course, had golden hair. Little coloured images, latterly discovered at Tanagra, in Greece, most faithfully show this same golden hair and the blue eyes, whilst, no doubt, the aboriginal tribes whom the Hellenic invaders overthrew, and with whom they became blended, were a dark-complexioned race, whose characteristics gradually got once more the upper hand in the later Greek race.

It is, therefore, not without some deeper meaning that among the mainly dark-haired Welsh people, among whom there is only a sprinkling of reddish hair, the Nixes, whenever they turn up, should have golden locks and blue eyes.

## IX.

It would lead too far to enter more deeply, for the sake of comparison, into the differences of colour so clearly marked in Indian Folk-lore, as well as in the Rig-Veda, in reference to the Aryan conquerors on the one hand and the aboriginal tribes on the other. A few indications may suffice. In one of the Indian fairy tales collected by Miss Maive Stokes (Calcutta, 1879) we read:—"He was so struck by her beauty. For

\* Gylfi's Incantation, 23 :—"He (Njörd) is so rich and wealthy that he may grant to all who appeal to him, all kinds of goods, estates as well as movable property."

† "That isolated cape which forms the county of Pembroke was looked upon as a land of mystery by the rest of Wales, long after it had been settled by the Flemings in 1113. A secret veil was supposed to cover this sea-girt promontory; the inhabitants talked in an unintelligible jargon that was neither English, nor French, nor Welsh; and out of its misty darkness came fables of a wondrous sort, and accounts of miracles marvellous beyond belief. Mythology and Christianity spoke together from this strange country, and one could not tell at which to be most amazed, the pagan or the priest." ("British Goblins: Welsh Folk-lore, Fairy Mythology, Legends and Traditions." By Wirt Sikes. 1880.) It need scarcely be said that the "jargon" of the Flemings is the Nether German (Nederduitsch) tongue, the same as that of the Dutch, the nearest-of-kin to the Nether German spoken all along the German Ocean and the Baltic—in fact, the language upon which the English tongue rests.



she had a fair, fair skin, rosy cheeks, blue eyes, rosy lips, golden eye-lashes, and golden eye-brows, and golden hair." So also, Seventee Bai, the Daisy Lady, is thus described:—"Her eyes were like two stars; her golden hair fell in ripples to her feet; she was singing to herself."<sup>\*</sup> Now, these are evidently ancient characteristics of a conquering race in India. Popular tales often preserve facts of this kind; thus in the Cornish tales collected by Bottrell, we still find the red hair of the Danish invaders clearly remembered to this day. "You red-haired Dane!" was an expression used but a few months ago in a Cornish assault case.

Sir Neville Chamberlain says that "if you wish to praise a native (in India) for his valour and brave conduct, you say to him, 'Your countenance is red,' and that nothing is worse than to tell him his 'face is black.'"<sup>\*</sup> And this is what Mr. Boxwell says about the expression "*Kálá ádmí*" in the fairy tales:—"The stories are of the Aryan conquerors from beyond the Indus; distinguished by their fair skin from the dark aborigines of India. In Vedic times *Varna*, colour, is used for stock or blood, as the Latins used *Nomen*" (Comp. Rig-Veda, i., 104; ii., 4; iii., 34). The *Rígsmdl* of the Edda has similarly preserved the characteristics of the "red-faced, bright-eyed, fair-haired" Teutonic conquerors of Scandinavia on the one hand, and of the "dark-skinned, bandy-legged, flat-nosed," conquered race on the other—the latter being evidently a Turanian, Finn, and Lapp people.

It may be, as Miss Maive Stokes remarks, that though the conquerors from the North were fairer and ruddier than the aborigines, and though the high-caste natives are to this day still fairer than the descendants of the aboriginal races, yet the phrases "Your cheeks are red," and "he is only a black man," do not in every instance account for the golden hair and the fair skin of so many Indian princes and princesses in folk-lore stories. Solar heroes are often, no doubt, thus described as to their colour, from obvious reasons. Yet I believe that as regards the still current folk-tales, the colour holds good in a great many cases for a real mark of Aryan or Indo-Germanic descent; all the more so because the leaders of that race boasted of a solar origin, to which their hair—"red like gold"—and their sky-blue eyes, easily lent themselves.

Even in Sir G. Grey's "*Polynesian Mythology*" we find a remarkable description of fairies by a people who once possessed fragments of ancient poems, dating from the time before they had reached their present home—poems now unfortunately lost. There, too, we see, that "the fairies are a very numerous people; merry, cheerful, and always singing, like the cricket. Their appearance is that of human beings, nearly resembling a European's; their hair being very fair, and so is their skin. They are very different from the Maories, and do not resemble them at all."

This opens up a large question of ethnological and historical import;

\* "*Old Deccan Days*;" by Mary Frere. London: 1870.



but the answer is difficult, owing to the loss of so much heroic poetry and folk-lore among the Maories. Sir G. Grey himself, who thought little, as he himself says, of either the Saxon, Scandinavian, or Keltic systems of mythology—which he evidently did not understand—was, perhaps, not the very best instrument for saving whatever there was still left of those precious relics of Maori antiquity.

## X.

The foregoing, which may seem to be a digression, sheds some light upon folk-tales of those parts of the United Kingdom which have Keltic or Kelt-Iberian precedents, or which formerly partook—so far as speech and bodily appearance are a guide—of that ethnological character.

Among Cornish fishermen, there are or were tales about “merry-maids” and “merry-men”; that is, mer-maids and mer-men. Now, in Cornwall, dark-haired Iberian, Phœnikian, Keltic, and Roman (in other words, Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan, or rather Etrusco-Aryan) races have mixed. We might, therefore, expect the inhabitants of the watery elfin-land in Cornwall to partake of the characteristics of those races. Yet, we find that when the Cornish mermaid makes her toilet, by the noontide sun, at the edge of the water, the hair she combs is “yellow as gold.”\* The Cornish fairies, also, have a Queen whose hair is “like golden threads.” Naturally, the question arises whether the merry-maid of Cornwall—the relation of the Breton “*morverch*,” and of the Irish “*merrow*” or “*moruach*”—is not of northern, Germanic, at any rate of a different extraction from that of the less fair races who believed, or still believe, in her.

Upon the whole, the traces of the semi-divine fauna of the sea, as well as the romantic stories about the charming Nix tribe, and their longing for the love of the human race, become fainter on the more Keltic or Kelt-Iberian ground of this country. One of these less distinct traces is to be found in the Irish Phooka,† who plays pranks similar to the Neck, the Nuggle, or the Kelpie; but no aquatic nature specially characterizes him.‡ Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, might, as countries powerfully washed or surrounded by the sea, be expected to yield a rich crop of those ocean-born tales. The reverse is, however, the fact. The tales there do not bear comparison with the Scotch, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, or German ones. “As the mermaid superstition,” writes Mr. Wirt Sikes, the last explorer of Welsh fairy-lore, “is seemingly absent in Wales, so there are no fairy tales of maidens who lure

\* “Popular Romances of the West of England.” By Robert Hunt.

† Phooka, Pooka, and Puck are no doubt related to each other. In Germany (Schleswig-Holstein) there are Haus-Pucken,—Pucks of the House, domestic spirits. Puck is the servant of Oberon and Titania; and Oberon is but a Romanized form of the German Elfin-king Alberich.

‡ “Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders.” By William Henderson.



mortals to their doom beneath the water, as the Dracæ did women and children, and as the Nymph of the Lurley did marriageable young men. But it is believed that there are several old Welsh families who are the descendants of the *Gwraedd Annwn* (elfin dames who dwelt under the water), as in the case of the *Meddygon Myddfair*. The familiar Welsh name of *Morgan* is sometimes thought to signify 'Born of the Sea.' . . . . But the class of stories in which a mortal marries a water-maiden is large, and while the local details smack of the soil, the general idea is so like in lands far remote from each other as to indicate a common origin in pre-historic times."

Now, it is strange that countries of so strong an oceanic character as Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland should, comparatively speaking, have kept so weak a hold upon those ancient myths, if their inhabitants possessed them of old. And when we see that in the stories they have retained, the main incidents run parallel with the fuller and widespread tales of the Teutonic conquerors of Britain, and that a name like that of the *Kelpie* cannot be explained from the native Gaelic tongue, the hypothesis of a fresh imprint of mythology having been made by the Germanic invasion upon the Keltic or Kelt-Iberian people of the North-west and the West, is one difficult to avoid.

Here and there, it is true, we find in Kelt-Iberian parts some mythical vestige of Nix-blood, as in the traditions of the O'Flaherty, O'Sullivan, and Macnamara families. These families, even like a considerable number of people in northern lands, are said to trace their descent from the amorous attachment of mer-men and mer-maids to human beings.\* But these are sporadic tales on Keltic soil. On the other hand, in the Germanic North, the water and the land swarm with wondrous creatures, either in the shape of bulls and horses, or in the guise of beautiful Nixes, who, unlike the southern ones generally, do not end in a fishy form, but are throughout of human shape, and longingly bent upon the intermixture with mankind.

Of these and their higher divine connection, as well as of the philosophical meaning of the Teutonic water-cult, the next article will give an account. A further comparison will then be drawn between the Scottish, Shetlandic, and other Germanic water-tales. Proof will also be adduced that, even as the Norse *Aesir* are no doubt related to the Vedic *Asuras*, so the Teutonic *Vaenir*, or Water-deities, of whom the *Edda* speaks, bear in their very name the trace of connection with ancient Indo-Aryan speech and mythology, and therefore really constituted an older or separate circle of Gods, before the *Asa* creed became the prevailing one among the Teuton race.

KARL BLIND.

\* "Fairy Legends." By T. Crofton Croker.

## MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

### II.

I. **W**HILE Mr. Spencer's primary is his critical, his secondary or derivative is his constructive Philosophy. These stand more in accidental than essential relations, form two systems rather than one, a reasoned and integral whole. It is in his Secondary Philosophy that Mr. Spencer stands before us as a positive and creative thinker. It may be said to consist of two great doctrines—his theory of the Creational Cause and his theory of the Creational Method. The first is represented by his doctrine of Force, the second by his doctrine of Evolution. These it is necessary to distinguish and hold distinct. In his exposition, indeed, the two are indissoluble, and, as it were, organically associated. Evolution is made a necessary deduction from the doctrine of Force, and the Cosmos a no less necessary deduction from their combined being and action. The inevitable logical alternatives appear to be—without Force no doctrine of Evolution is possible, with Evolution the doctrine as to Force is necessary. But the truth is, perhaps, rather the precise opposite—grant Evolution to be the creational Method, and Force must be denied to be the creational Cause.

There is to be no attempt here to question or deny the doctrine of Evolution; it is, indeed, frankly accepted. This does not mean that Mr. Spencer has discovered the formula in which it must be stated, or that his statement of it is correct and scientific, philosophical and exhaustive. It means very much the contrary; Mr. Spencer's doctrine is too *à priori* and, in the most comprehensive sense, unhistorical to be scientific, and is too narrow and one-sided, too entirely excludes certain factors necessary to the solution of the problem, to be philosophical. The more complex the processes become, the more violent and fantastic grow Mr. Spencer's application of his law, and the more unhistorical his interpretations. But this is to anticipate; it is enough, meanwhile,



to affirm, the creational method is here held to be Evolutional, its history narrates a progress and exhibits a process best named developmental. Without this notion a Philosophy of Religion were impossible, for without it there could be no scientific study of man and his religions. We cannot refuse to apply the principle or idea that underlies and vivifies the study of man in history to the interpretation alike of man and Nature, to the vaster problems that relate to their being and becoming, to their birth and growth. But to affirm Evolution as the fittest expression yet given to the idea of the creative process or mode, is only to make it the more necessary that we examine it and the doctrine as to the creative cause in their mutual and, as it were, exegetical relations.

In Mr. Spencer's Synthetic System, Force is the fundamental and cardinal doctrine, the ultimate truth of his constructive Philosophy. Without it he could not formulate his doctrine of Evolution, without the two combined he could not deduce his phenomenal or created universe. For it is necessary to note that his universe is a pure deduction, his "Book of Genesis" a simple yet stupendous creation of the *à priori* method. He has not reasoned upwards from the world to its cause; he has reasoned downwards from the cause to the world. There is not in the whole history of Philosophy a more signal instance of a system spun out of its maker's consciousness, though it may stand as, after Lucretius, the most splendid example of the speculations or abstractions of Metaphysics clothed in the generalizations of Science. In a far more eminent degree than the argument of Descartes or Clarke as to the being of God, Mr. Spencer's argument as to the creation of the world is *à priori*. His, like theirs, rests on "a necessary datum of consciousness;" but theirs, unlike his, was a rational and reasoning consciousness, most rational when most compelled to articulate its primary and necessary beliefs. In an *à priori* argument everything depends on the truth or validity of the fundamental assumption, and so our first concern must be with Mr. Spencer's.

To Mr. Spencer, Force is "the ultimate of ultimates."\* "Space and Time, Matter and Motion," though "apparently all necessary data of intelligence," "are either built up or extracted from experiences of Force." "Manifestations of force are of two fundamentally different classes," "the force by which matter demonstrates itself to us as existing, and the force by which it demonstrates itself to us as acting."† The former is named matter, the latter motion. Matter, of course, carries with it the idea of indestructibility,‡ motion the idea of continuity,§ and the two combined allow the doctrine of "the Persistence of Force" to be formulated.|| The next step requires a slight change, an *s* is added to the causal term, where Force stood Forces are now made to stand, and so to "persistence" "relations" that likewise persist.¶ But now the

\* "First Principles," 169.

§ *Ibid.* 180-185.

† *Ibid.* 186.

|| *Ibid.* 186-192.

‡ *Ibid.* 172-179.

¶ *Ibid.* 193-196.



related must be active forces, transformable, yet in every change exacting a result equivalent to the energy expended;\* must, too, in changing follow the line of least resistance, or greatest traction, or the resultant of the two.† So their movements must be rhythmical, measured, as it were, an orderly and musical progression.‡ Now that the simple "ultimate of ultimates" has been formulated into this complex notion, it becomes easily possible to formulate a law the persistent, related and active Forces shall obey. Hence emerges the Law of Evolution with its necessary counterpart, the Law of Dissolution.§ In Evolution, Matter is integrated, Motion dissipated, and, in the process, Matter "passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity," while "the retained Motion undergoes a parallel transformation."|| With the interpretation of this law I am not here specifically concerned, and so need not pause over the factors or laws by which it accomplishes its most wonderful works, "the instability of the Homogeneous," "the Multiplication of effects," and "Segregation." Enough, there is here visible, in roughly-dotted outline, "the high *priori* road" along which our adventurous world-builder has travelled from "the necessary datum of consciousness" to the scene of his operations, and it says much for his strength and sobriety of brain that he has not grown giddy on the daring and lofty way. It were hardy, nay, fool-hardy, to follow, even though allowed to cling to his skirts, and so we must be contented with humbly examining his starting-point. The "right of way" can be nowhere so well disputed as at the gap in the fence.

We begin, then, with "the ultimate of ultimates," noting at the outset that the doctrine of Force, as here formulated, is in no respect physical—the only physical thing about it is its name—but in the most eminent degree metaphysical. And it must be studied and criticised on all its metaphysical sides before its true significance or insignificance can be seen. These sides may be said to be three, ontological, psychological and cosmical, or the doctrine of Force in its relation (1) to the Absolute, (2) to Experience or Consciousness, (3) to the Universe, where it is the assumed or known cause of all phenomena, the cause of all that, appearing to consciousness, creates alike our outer and inner world.

1. What is the relation of Force to the Absolute? In what way is it related to the Unknown, which is the ultimate and causal Being? "The undecomposable mode of consciousness" termed force, "cannot," we are assured, "be itself the Power manifested to us through phenomena."¶ To assume their identity were to be "betrayed into alternative impossibilities of thought." And so "force, as we know it, can be regarded only as a certain conditioned effect of the unconditioned cause," "a relative reality indicating to us an absolute reality by which

\* "First Principles," 197-222.  
§ *Ibid.* 278-286.

† *Ibid.* 223-249.  
|| *Ibid.* 396.

‡ *Ibid.* 250-271.  
¶ *Ibid.* 170.



it is immediately produced." So far all seems intelligible ; the known Force, "the ultimate of ultimates" in the Constructive Philosophy, the starting-point and basis of interpretative thought, is an effect, at once a consequence and correlative of some Force unknown. But how are cause and effect related ? Do they in nature and character correspond ? A consistent agnosticism would simply answer, "we cannot tell ;" but construction may be too necessitous to meet the claims of consistency. "The force we are immediately conscious of" "does not persist ;"\* but the creative or causal Force must be persistent. So the force we know cannot be the creative Force, and in its search for this creative Force constructive must fall back on "the Unknowable" of critical thought. Hence it is affirmed that the force that persists is the "Absolute Force ;"† and "by the persistence of Force, we really mean the persistence of some cause which transcends our knowledge and conception. In other words, asserting the persistence of Force, is asserting an Unconditioned Reality, without beginning or end."

Mark, then, what the agnosticism has come to :—the Unknown is transfigured and appears as Force, named now and unknown no more ! This transformation of the unknown into Force is indeed a forcible transformation, impossible to physics, possible only to deftly manipulated metaphysics. For here is the erewhile Inscrutable handled, analyzed, described in terms stamped with all the realism of science. It is Force, permanent, imperishable, manifesting its existence in matter, its activity in motion, multipliable into forces, having relations, capable of conversion, acting in obedience to mechanical laws. The Primary Philosophy elaborately concealed an Absolute the Derivative was as cunningly to reveal ; yet either process only cancels the other. Substitute in the one case Persistent Force for the Unknown, and the nescience is exploded ; substitute in the other the Unknown for the Force that persists, and the synthetic philosophy is arrested at the threshold, stands wistfully looking for the knowledge that will not come, anxiously asking ignorance for a datum on which to build the worlds. Of course, if one means to construct a universe, one must get a basis ; only it is awkward, if one has pronounced the basis indiscoverable, to be compelled to discover it after all.

2. But, perhaps, the transformation may be scientifically justifiable, due to necessities of thought. This raises the second or psychological point. What evidence have we for the existence of Force, as "the ultimate of ultimates ?" How do we come to know Force ? How can it be proved that our "experiences of Force" are primitive and primary, those from which "all other modes of consciousness" are derived ? These questions bring us face to face with the distinctive note, the special and characteristic doctrine of Mr. Spencer's psychology, what enables him to be at once empirical and constructive, his so-called "transfigured Realism." In order to its right apprehension we must

\* "First Principles," 191.

† *Ibid.*, 192.



mark this—what Hume termed “impressions and ideas,” he terms “manifestations of the unknowable.” These are distinguished into “vivid and faint,” or those “that occur under the conditions called those of perception,” and those that “occur under the conditions known as those of reflection, or memory, or imagination, or ideation.”\* This, the “profoundest of distinctions among the manifestations of the Unknowable,” “corresponds to the division between *object* and *subject*,” “*not self* and *self*.”† Now observe, how much is gained by this uncouth nomenclature,—nothing less than the idea that Hume most completely dissolved, that our modern Empiricisms have, as a rule, either repudiated or made insignificant, the idea of causation. To resolve subject and object into “manifestations of the Unknowable,” is to describe them as effects of a cause, to postulate, therefore, the idea of cause, to assume this idea as the very basis and condition of psychological analysis. The transition from idea to reality, the transition which Idealisms, empirical and transcendental, have found it so hard to make, is here made in the simplest and most efficacious way, in the terms that at once describe and differentiate subject and object, resolving them alike into manifestations of a causal unknown.

But now, granting the idea of cause, what evidence have we that this cause is Force? We are told,‡ “it needs but to remember that consciousness consists of changes, to see that the ultimate datum of consciousness must be that of which change is the manifestation.” Observe what this means—it means that the changes of consciousness are to consciousness a series of effects that reveal or imply a cause, that they can only be to it—so far as they speak to it—effects of a creative or manifested Power. But why? Mark the answer, “The force by which we ourselves produce changes, and which serves to symbolize the cause of changes in general, is the final disclosure of analysis.” This is a happy example of that not altogether unknown art—sawing off the branch on which the sawyer sits. The force within “symbolizes” the force without, the power “by which we ourselves produce changes” is the interpretative symbol of the power which works all the changes in the universe—i.e., man is conscious of causation because he himself is a conscious cause. The energy he exercises enables him to apprehend the cosmos as manifested energy. Were he void of force he could not know force; were he void of will he could neither cognize nor recognize will. Causation must be an element of consciousness before it can exist to consciousness; what is without the ability to act cannot understand an active and acting energy, because without any means of construing or interpreting either action or energy or cause. But, see where this has carried us—the consciousness which can apprehend “the cause of changes in general” is at once a constituted and constitutive consciousness; behind the idea of force is its own interpretative nature, and more ultimate than “the experience of force” is the thought or its form

\* “First Principles,” 143-4.

† *Ibid.* 154.

‡ *Ibid.* 169.



that renders the experience possible. And so analysis brings us down to this—the universe can be a manifestation of power only to a conscious power, only as man is a cause can Nature speak to him of causation. Without *à priori* elements in knowledge, knowledge of force is impossible.

So it seems that force is not the rational ultimate of ultimates. "Experiences of Force" are only possible provided man is a conscious force; were he not, he could have no such experiences. But now, though psychological proof of its ultimacy or primacy be not possible, logical proof may. In the Cartesian system what could be clearly and distinctly conceived was true; it may be the same in the Spencerian. Unfortunately, there is the critical Agnosticism: it had demonstrated that "ultimate scientific" were as unthinkable as ultimate religious ideas, and, in particular, that it is equally "impossible to form any idea of Force in itself," or "to comprehend either its mode of exercise or its law of variation."\* And so, though man may "resolve appearances into manifestations of Force," he still finds that it "passes all understanding."† The force, then, that is, "the ultimate of ultimates," cannot be clearly and distinctly conceived, cannot, therefore, be so known as to be scientifically analyzed, characterized, and described. Yet what in itself we cannot "form any idea of," is made the cause of the universe, manifested in matter and motion, is calmly transmuted into a plural, credited with relations and brought under laws. This is a feat, if not supernatural, yet contrary to Nature, achieved by no logical process, justified by no psychological proof. In reality, what is termed force is a pure metaphysical abstraction. It does not exist in the realm of Nature, is something assumed to explain what is found there. It is no result of experiment or scientific observation, is as purely a speculative creation as any entity, quiddity, or essence of the schoolmen, the only difference being, their names were honestly abstract, but this name is deceitfully concrete. The one element of reality in it is the causal idea, an element it owes to the free and constitutive reason it is invoked to explain. But an idea derived from reason ought to be expressed in its terms; it is not simply degraded, but falsified, by being expressed in the terms of matter. Subtract the causal idea from what is here designated force, and it is annihilated; but add to the causal idea the elements and associations connoted by the material name, and it ceases to be the "ultimate datum of consciousness," becomes a doctrine that must be proved in the methods and stated in the terms of physics. But so to state or prove it were to make it useless for Mr. Spencer's purpose; it must be an *à priori* truth to be the corner-stone of his system. Make it *à priori*, and it may be expressible by Cause, cannot be expressible by Force; name it Force, and it becomes dependent for its right to be and to be believed on methods of experiment and inference that utterly disqualify it for standing where it does, the

\* "First Principles," 61.

† *Ibid.* 66.



absolute cause of all phenomena. The system that builds on the idea of cause is a Theism; the system that translates cause into force, even though by an illicit process, becomes a Physicism, pure, but not simple.

3. But though the notion of Force be in Mr. Spencer's system ontologically unjustified and psychologically invalid, yet it may be necessary to a philosophical conception of the universe, to a scientific doctrine of evolution. Is it? Here is the third point, and the questions it raises are—How must we construe the causal idea in relation to the Cosmos? Is Force the fittest and most adequate expression for it? Can we better conceive and describe the creation and the creational process by positing Force as the cause and interpreting Nature and mind in its terms, or by positing reason and will and interpreting the result in terms ideal, rational, and ethical? To discuss these questions is to discuss the problem as to the relation of the Creative Cause to the Creative Process, of the primal Mover or Power at once to its works, the mode in which it acts and the goal whither its actions tend. It is too vast to be more than most briefly touched in the few sentences I can here give to it.

Let us note, then, how Evolution as the creative mode has at once simplified and enlarged the question as to the cause; simplified it, in so far as it has made the creative process, consequently the creative action, continuous, universal, and natural; enlarged it, inasmuch as it compels us to conceive the cause as, from the very first, containing implicitly and essentially in itself all the energies and resources needed to conduct the whole process and achieve all the results. In short, if Evolution be true, the cause must, so far as active, be conceived as the inexhaustible, infinitely resourceful, and unresting energy that everywhere works creatively in Nature and directively in Mind; and so far as Cause or Sufficient Reason of all that has become and is becoming, as the immanent potentiality of the universe, the only power equal to the production of all the effects we term the world. There are thus two points, the first relating more specifically to the creative action, the second to the nature and character of the cause. Now, as to the first it may be enough to say a creative process continuous, universal, natural does not necessarily exclude divine action, nay, all the more includes and demands it. "Special creations" are not necessarily the ways of God, though it may suit Mr. Spencer to represent these as the only possible modes of His working. It was an old question of the schools, whether Providence was not continuous creation, and the affirmative was as common as the negative. Spirit is essentially energy, and the God who is a spirit can never be inactive, must be everywhere and at every moment a living Force, a producing and efficient Will. Continuous and universal action is given in the very idea of God; it is impossible to conceive Him without conceiving it. Then, as to his relation to Nature it is and must be natural. I utterly refuse to conceive Nature as the antithesis of God, independent of Him, going its own way, doing its



own work, without, save at special moments, any care or concern or touch of His. I utterly refuse to regard His action in Nature as supernatural or miraculous, as interposition or interference from without, possible only by a violation of what men call law. Nature has no being without God; its energies are His, its processes are His, His are the works it is daily performing, His the results it daily achieves. And this conception of their relations is based on the nature of Nature as well as of God. It came into being through its cause; it is only as its cause is; continues to be and to act only as the cause abides unchanged and unchangeable. And on His side isolation is impossible; were He to withdraw from the world He would surrender His infinitude, sacrifice His omnipotence to inaction, and reduce His wisdom to silence. In evolution, then, the creative action does not exclude God; its process is one that only the more demands the exercise of His energy and the direction of His will.

And here we come to the second point—the nature and character of the Cause. As to these, let the determinative significance of evolution be noted. It is not an *à priori* truth, founded in the criticism of the pure reason; it is essentially a scientific doctrine, formulated only after extensive induction, altogether dependent for its validity on rightly construed experience and experiments. Yet, so far as it represents Nature's way of creation, it determines two things as to the cause: (1) the point where its interpreter must stand; and (2) the necessity for conceiving it not simply as the possible factor of a world or condition of its being, but as bearing within it, by immanent and, as it were, aboriginal nature, all the potencies and qualities needed to originate and direct all that was to be. As to the standpoint of the interpreter, mark where it must be—the collective effect, what is in relation to what has been as expressive of what has caused to be. The highest point reached in the evolutionary process must be the best revelation of the evolutionary cause. The process is but the unfolding of the nature of the power that works and guides it. First to determine the cause, and then to deduce from it the way of its action, is hyper-transcendentalism. Scientific method should compel us to study the works that we may understand the worker. Now the fundamental or essential character of the collective effect is its intelligibility to intelligence—its thorough rationality to reason. Mind and Nature confront each other, and Nature is intelligible to mind. Mind everywhere finds intelligence in Nature. Only on this ground is science possible; reason is incapable of apprehending any but a rational order. It is this truth that underlies all our transcendental Idealisms, from Plato to Hegel, and has forced from the scientist, in his moment of inspired discovery, the confession that to read the secrets of Nature was but to think the thoughts of God after Him. But he who interprets the cause through the collective effect will find it as impossible to deny to it as to himself reason and will. Without these he could not interpret Nature;



without these in Nature it could not be interpreted. Evolution does not abolish teleology, only affirms it on a more stupendous scale. He who seeks a cause for the world seeks a reason for it, and to ask for a reason is to search for an end. If creation be the result of a continuous and normal process, then its first or parent factor must have been laden with the germs of all after-being; must have been the fruitful bosom in which lay the latent but potent seeds of all future worlds. An infinite intellect exploring the cause ere yet the Cosmos was could have found the reason and foretold the moment of every phenomenon and event that was to be. But this only means that Source and Issue are bound not simply by mechanical laws, but in a rational order, intelligible sequences expressing intelligence. And so we may say, the effect is the evolved cause, the cause the involved effect, and the more natural the process of Evolution, the less room is there for the intrusion of elements alien in nature and character to the source. If, then, intellect, freedom, conscience, heart, have emerged in man, whence came they? If the creative process be natural, how can their emergence in the effect be reconciled with their absence in the cause? Force cannot explain thought, but thought can explain force—nay, force has no being save through thought, as it has none save to thought. I know force because I am a force; only to a free intellect can phenomena speak of energy; only by it can the manifold of sense be made a unity, articulated by a single power. Force can be traced outwards from intellect to Nature, but it cannot be traced inwards from Nature to intellect. Thought never has been, never can be, proved to be transformed force. Man's will can work changes in Nature, but the forces of Nature are not convertible into volitions of the human will. If, then, man stands crowning the glorious edifice of creation, explaining force, but not explicable by it, are we not bound in reason, spite of all agnosticism and physicism can say, to see in him the mirror of the Creator, the manifestation or revelation of the essential and immanent qualities of the Primal Cause?

II. But this discussion of Mr. Spencer's ultimate philosophical and religious ideas has been but preparatory to another—his conception and treatment of religion as an historical and social at once fact and factor. The two are indissolubly related. The philosophy of man's fundamental beliefs forms the necessary basis of the Philosophy of Religion. To abolish Idealism from the universe is to abolish Idealism in man, to reduce all the ideal elements in his life to superstitions, or the follies of ignorance and fear. Religion can be real only as subject and object are the same. If man has no religious ideas to express, and if there be no realities in the universe correspondent to these ideas, then there can be no reasonable reality in religion. Religion is man seeking to know that he may serve the highest Reason in Nature, and only the existence of this Reason can either require or justify the being of his religions. Our concern now is to see how these Religions are conceived and described by one whose only known ultimate is Force.



And at the outset of this new discussion this remark may be allowed—the Philosophy that best conceives and explains the highest and most complex phenomena of history is certain to be a good philosophy of the universe. This, of course, involves the converse. That must be a bad philosophy of the universe which most signally fails to understand and scientifically interpret the humanest and most universal facts in history. It is hardly too much to say, that the most signal failure in this respect is Mr. Herbert Spencer. I speak, of course, of attempts made since such a thing as scientific method existed, and within these limits what I have said I soberly and seriously mean. Were he simply an ethnographer, he would deserve no such censure—even very considerable praise. His position would be before Sir John Lubbock, and beside Mr. Tylor, though far below the late Theodor Waitz. But he is no mere ethnographer; he is a philosopher who has by an *à priori* method constructed the universe, and now by a similar method seeks to construe religion. So regarded, his attempt is not simply a failure—it does not fulfil any one of the conditions necessary to scientific success.

This is a very severe judgment, and may seem condemned by its very severity. The only apology possible for it is its truth. In coming to the question as to the origin and development of religion, its place and action in society, Mr. Spencer came to a series of the profoundest and most intricate problems, philosophical, ethnological, political, and historical; but he has dealt with them less as a patient special inquirer than as a brilliant *à priori* generalizer, has less studied his philosophy in the light of the facts, than used the facts to illustrate and verify his philosophy. It would be interesting to compare Mr. Spencer's treatment of religion with Hegel's, on the one hand, and Comte's, on the other. No man can study Hegel's "*Philosophie der Religion*" without feeling the whole subject penetrated with a new meaning, illuminated, as it were, from the heart outwards. He may differ from Hegel radically, both as regards his transcendental and historical philosophy; but he must confess that here he has so patiently studied facts, with all the lights then possible to him, so sympathetically thought himself into the innermost sanctuary of the religions he explains, as to make reasonable and orderly what had seemed dark and confused. He may find Hegel's knowledge, measured by what is now accessible, most imperfect, his classification false, and his characterization inappropriate; but he will still find such wonderful appreciation of the spirit and nature of each religion, the causes that made it what it was or is, its action on the people and the people's on it, its national and its universal significance, that he will feel to it as to a once perplexing but now almost solved riddle, lighted up in all its parts by the presence of a great idea. But in Mr. Spencer's "*Principles of Sociology*" he will find almost every point reversed. Most religions are touched, no religion illuminated, or made in any degree whatever articu-



late or intelligible. Certain elements or features in some are used, though in the most arbitrary manner, to illustrate certain positions in the Philosophy of Evolution; but they remain, after manipulation by that philosophy, an incoherent mass, a *moles* within which no *mens* has ever acted or moved. As to Comte, whatever may be thought of the truth or adequacy of his law of the three States, it must be confessed that he recognized the place and action of religion in history, and struggled hard to conceive and explain the special characteristics of the more eminent religious systems. His reverence for humanity made him, in spite of his philosophy, respectful to its most splendid creations and distinctive institutions, and his study of them as historical facts and factors of social change and human progress was often most careful and almost loving. He so distinguished and characterized religions like those of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, monotheisms so apparently alike, so essentially unlike, as those of ancient Judea and modern Europe, as to convey clear ideas, and, in a degree, knowledge of the religions and their historical significance. But with Mr. Spencer all is different; we are never brought face to face with a single historical religion, find nowhere in his pages any one critically examined, analyzed, presented, or understood. Of course, it will be said that he neither proposes nor attempts to exhibit the historical religions in their respective positions and relations, similarities and differences, characters and results. But he attempts what, as more fundamental, is more ambitious—to show how religion became, how by its becoming it made society possible, and contributed to its evolution. And so his theory stands in a twofold relation to historical religions: they are, after a fashion, directly used to explain and confirm it; and it is presented as a philosophical account of their common origin, of man's distinctively religious ideas, customs and observances. Now, this twofold relation ought to have involved a most careful critical study of these religions, the determination of their oldest elements, of what was native and what was foreign, what was of natural growth and what was borrowed from the alien. What this relation involves must not be forgotten when we seek to determine what claim Mr. Spencer's theory has to be regarded as either philosophical or historical.

And let us begin by acknowledging the difficulty and delicacy of the work Mr. Spencer had to perform. He had to explain the genesis and development of religion, with its action in Society and the State, in harmony with his primal cosmic doctrines of Force and Evolution. These he had used in his "Biology" to explain the birth, development, and multiplication of life, and in his "Psychology," the formation and growth and distinctive nature of mind and knowledge. The evolution of the more from the less complex, the more from the less definite, was accomplished by the intercourse or converse or interactive play of organism and environment, the process in its last analysis being due, of course, to the persistence and conversion of Force. But difficult and delicate as was the



problem in these stages, it became far more difficult and delicate in the next. Here the philosopher had to face not Mind in the making, but Mind made and become active and creative, thinking, looking before and after, forming Religions, Societies, States.

Now man in history and society is not so easily interpreted as either Nature or man in the abstract; he has an awkward way of refusing to fit into the finest and most complete theories, or even rudely breaking through them. But, of course, a philosophy that is to be universal must not fear man, and Mr. Spencer came to "Super-organic Evolution" fresh from his achievements in Organic. This "Super-organic Evolution" includes "all those processes and products which imply the co-ordinated actions of many individuals—co-ordinated actions which achieve results exceeding in extent and complexity those achievable by individual action."\* "Human societies exhibit in their growths, structures, functions, and products," a "form of super-organic Evolution which so immensely transcends all others in extent, in complication, in importance, as to make them relatively insignificant—almost too insignificant to be named at the same time."† Of these super-organic structures or products, religion, as the very basis and beginning of sociological development, is the first to demand explanation. How does it arise? What are its causes? Whence and how its genesis? Its germs must be sought in the few and crude ideas of primitive—*i.e.*, savage—man, the roots of these in his character and tendencies as affected and conditioned by his environment. The first thing, then, is to reconstruct the primitive man and his conditions. This is done in the familiar Spencerian manner; the external and internal factors of social phenomena are described, and primitive man—physical, emotional, intellectual—stands within his environment, alive to the modern scientific imagination. But now, how does he come by his primitive ideas, the germs of future religious beliefs? He is ignorant, Nature is variable, surprising him with appearances, disappearances, reappearances. He learns in his spontaneous pre-speculative stage to distinguish between the animate and the inanimate. In passing out of it he is led by some striking experiences into an erroneous set of interpretations, the seed of that system of superstitions which the primitive man forms. He knows himself to be a living being, but he is a living being who sleeps, and in his sleep he dreams. The dream is interpreted as a real experience. He explains it by supposing he has a shadow or double, which can leave the body, and go to hunt, eat, or fight of its own accord, returning again at pleasure. This notion is confirmed by such phenomena as swoon, apoplexy, &c., where consciousness is restored after temporary insensibility. And as these are death-like states, the primitive man imagines that the dead are only asleep or swooned, with their double alive somewhere, and certain sooner or later to come back.

So the idea of soul or ghost is developed, with a sort of magni-

\* "Principles of Sociology," vol. i. p. 4.

† *Ibid.* 8.



fied grave as its home. The ghosts are soon credited with supernatural attributes, are feared, and fear creates rites of adoration and atonement. "The awe of the ghost makes sacred the sheltering place of the tomb, and this grows into the temple, while the tomb itself becomes the altar."\* From the food offered to the dead grow sacrifices, oblations, &c. The dead are the ancestors whose once familiar forms appearing in dreams strengthen the belief that they are still alive; and ancestral ghosts are beneficent ghosts, able in counsel or war to aid their pious sons. And so the ghosts become gods. Reverence, regarding as sacred whatever was associated with the dead, creates idols and fetiches.

The poverty of his speech forces the savage to name his kinsmen after natural objects, or animals, and this community of names causes the person, when he has become a mere memory, to be identified with the thing, and hence arises animal, plant, and nature worship. Great men, too, arise and are as extraordinary beings deified. And so Mr. Spencer concludes,† "There is no exception. Using the phrase ancestor-worship in its broadest sense as comprehending all worship of the dead, be they of the same blood, or not, we conclude that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion."

Here then, though only in rudest outline, is Mr. Spencer's theory, and it is worked out with an ingenuity so surpassing and extraordinary that were the ingenious always the true, it could not possibly be false. Into the question of its antecedents there is no need to enter. Mr. Tylor ventured to doubt its originality and hint at obligations to himself, but Mr. Spencer has strenuously affirmed his independence, and even his claim to priority both in view and statement. But this is a small matter, though it may be noted that the cardinal position, the place of sleep and dreams in the genesis of religious ideas, is far older than either—almost as old as Empiricism. What is more to the point is this, the elaboration is Mr. Spencer's own. And a wonderful work it is, most significant of the ability and right of the new agnostic and transcendental Empiricism to be a true philosophy of Nature and man. It explains religion in what seems a thoroughly and consistent empirical way. Religious ideas—soul, spirit, another world, deity, worship—are all traced to impressions of sense, explained through what may be termed the sensations of our dreams. Yet, even as such, they are effects, worked in as by the Unknown Cause. Religion may become but a series of organized delusions, a web woven from the unsubstantial stuff of our dreams; but even as such, it is a necessary moment in the great process of evolution, an inevitable stage in the progress of man from his unknown Whence to his unknown Whither. Our question is not—How does this theory affect religion? but, Is it true? what is its scientific warrant, its philosophic worth?

We shall best discuss these questions from two distinct yet comple-

\* "Principles of Sociology," vol. i. p. 446.

*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 440.



mentary points of view, the relation of the theory and its elaboration, first, to Mr. Spencer's own system, and, second, to the facts or phenomena to be explained—the religions of man.

1. How do the theory and its elaboration stand related to the fundamental doctrines or ideas alike of the Primary and Derivative Philosophy? Were it not most undesirable to raise subsidiary questions, it might be shown that the ghost theory had not been discovered when the "First Principles" were written. The one hinted at there had more affinity with what may be termed the causal instinct; leaned more to Hume's "Natural History" of religious ideas than to what is now Mr. Spencer's. Increased knowledge of savage peoples has not been conducive to the belief in the creative potency of the causal impulse. But this is quite unimportant. What is vital, however, is this—in the Primary Philosophy he holds that our beliefs are "produced" in us by "the unknown cause,"\* which expressed in the language of the Derivative becomes this—"Those modes of the Unknowable which we call motion, heat, light, chemical affinity, &c., are alike transformable into each other, and into those modes of the Unknowable which we distinguish as sensation, emotion, thought."† Now this is rather a perilous doctrine for a man who has to write a scientific history of the evolution of thought. If it does not bind him to find for every idea a physical cause, the force out of which it is transformed, it yet obliges him to exhibit Mind and Nature, thought and force, in the vital and active inter-relations that show the products of mind to be only higher and rarer products of Nature. Uniformity of product becomes here as impossible as in the organic kingdom—nay, as the conditions are more complex, more impossible. As the scientific naturalist must, in explaining species in their variations and genesis, take account of every physical condition, climatic, geological, botanical, zoological, physiological, so in a still higher degree is the philosophic historian of religion bound to do, especially when he believes that its ideas are transformed forces, and man's religions super-organic structures built up by the converse of organism and environment. And does Mr. Spencer deal with his problem as one who so believes? No, not he; rather in a method the most grotesquely opposite. He confounds one by his large-minded neglect of his own laws. He remembers them, indeed, in his theoretical, and here and there, in matters of very simple detail, in his historical exposition, but, as a whole, it is a splendid example of laws most completely broken when they ought to have been most rigorously observed. Time and place, race and racial relations, historical antecedents and conditions, degree of culture and moment of development are in the matter and method of treatment utterly ignored. In the same chapter, or even paragraph, the Tahitians, the American Indians, the New Zealanders, the Veddahs, the ancient Hindus, the modern Hindus, various African tribes, the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans, the

\* "First Principles," 123.

† *Ibid.* 217.



Hebrews, the Arabians, Semites in general, and "Europeans in old times," whoever they may be, whether Esquimaux, Finns, Basques, Kelts, Teutons, or Slavs, and multitudes more, are cited to illustrate some particular statement or doctrine, without the slightest regard to the cardinal point of their respective environments and the no less cardinal point of the history and "experiences" of their antecedent organisms. Give a man bound by no law of logic, by no method of science, the universe to range over for proofs and illustrations of a peculiar theory, and he will find them—only the calamity will be, when found they will signify nothing. Mr. Spencer's, indeed, signify much more than this—they signify his failure to work out his problem on the field of history, and even to apply or use the factors he himself had declared necessary to its solution.

2. How do Mr. Spencer's theory and its elaboration stand related to the facts to be explained—viz., the religions of man? In this relation the theory raises three cardinal questions, first, what were the primitive religious ideas? secondly, how they came to be? thirdly, how and by what means they were developed and organized into real and historical religions? This latter may seem to involve issues beyond any Mr. Spencer intended to raise and discuss, but it certainly does not, and for two reasons, (1) his theory is meant to show the origin and development of religion as such, what may be termed universal religion; it is meant to be, in short, a theory explanatory of all religions; and (2) he uses all religions, savage and cultured, barbarian and historical, to illustrate and prove his theory. Hence it is necessary to judge it, not simply as an hypothetical doctrine as to the origin and development of primitive customs and beliefs, but by its ability to explain the actual and historical religions. As this is, as regards the specific subject, the ultimate measure of scientific sufficiency, it determines the standpoint from which our criticisms must proceed.

The first point to be noted is this—considering his problem, Mr. Spencer's Method is wrong, unscientific, and therefore unfruitful. It may be described as the Ethnographic, as distinguished from the Historical. History, indeed, is used, but only for ethnographic purposes. Now ethnography can only describe man as he is, cannot show him coming to be what he is. Evolution is a process which must be described as it actually proceeds, to be described at all. The Evolution of the ethnographer is imaginary, but of the historian real. Mr. Spencer thinks it possible, indeed, to paint by the help of Ethnography a relatively true picture of the pre-historic state, the modern savage taking us nearer the primitive man than the oldest historical peoples, with their languages, traditions, and customs. But his primitive man is a purely hypothetical being, too much the creature of a philosophic consciousness to possess objective reality. The Modern Savage is no more primitive than the Modern Sage. The one is as old as the other. Change has been as busy with him as with us, though it



may not have been so fruitful. If his nature has not developed it has as little stood still. If civilized man is the evolved manhood of primitive man, the savage is his evolved childishness. And there is less of the primitive where the once nascent manhood has died than where it has been realized. No being would be so little of a child as an eternal infant. A child at sixty would be less a man than an idiot, and an idiot of sixty were hardly a type of a rational human child. The case may be strong, but is not irrelevant. Then, too, Mr. Spencer says, that the savage is "improvident," "lazy," "conservative in an extreme degree," comes early to maturity, and begins soon to decay; but the ancestors of our civilized peoples must have had qualities as nearly as possible the opposite of these, especially if with peoples, as with animals, the fittest survive.

We say this without holding any more than Mr. Spencer the ancient crude degeneration theory. He believes, indeed, that "retrogression has been as frequent as progression." Well, granted, and what follows? That those who have retrograded are worse representatives of the original than those who have progressed, worse because without their unspent creative energies. The only scientific method is the historical, the method that by the most patient and jealous criticism seeks out the oldest elements and most primitive form of our ancient religions. What stands in radical contradiction to these, and to all of these, cannot possibly be primitive. Now, while Mr. Spencer's knowledge of ethnographic literature, of savage rites and customs, is extensive, while he has, in a fashion, and by means significantly represented by his "Descriptive Sociology," made himself familiar with such features and facts in ancient religions as suited his purpose, it can yet be most truly said, he does not know, he has not, in any tolerable sense, studied a single organized and developed classical and historical religion. If he had studied even one he would have had some authority to speak, but then he would not have spoken with so much authority. And, perhaps, too his system, though less positive, had been more complete, less imperious in its logic, but more rational in its philosophy.

As a necessary result of his method, Mr. Spencer's treatment of ancient religions is in the highest degree uncritical and incorrect. He handles them as if there was no such thing as genetic development, or historical evolution. Criticism, historical and literary, is for him as if it were not. He never distinguishes old and original from recent and foreign elements, but deals with the immensest systems as if they had had no history and had known no growth, at least none save such as could be determined by "the laws of mental evolution."\* Thus he cites† the Rig Veda and the Laws of Manu, as alike veracious witnesses as to "what the original Aryan beliefs were," which is very much as if one were to quote the Epistles of Paul, and the decrees of the Vatican Council, as equally valid testimonies as to the most primitive elements

\* "Principles of Sociology," vol. i. p. 232.

† *Ibid.* p. 315.



in Christianity. With quite as delightful naïveté the Hebrews are proved to have had "rites like those of ancestor-worshippers in general," mainly by an appeal to Deuteronomy, Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit.\* The "Hebrew ideas of another life" are described in a few crude sentences,† and ideas of Persian origin and peculiar to later Judaism are regarded as distinctively Hebrew. The Greek and Roman religions are handled without regard to their history; myths are interpreted without any regard to their origin or significance, and are made to illustrate Mr. Spencer's thesis either by an utter inversion or by entire forgetfulness of their meaning. He is aware, indeed, that his interpretations will be called "Euhemeristic," but he does not see that the objection to Euhemerism is, that it is radically unhistorical and unscientific, possible only where a developed mythology is studied through a philosophy, quite impossible where it has been studied in its genesis and development. It is significant, too, that he is equally confident about his doctrines and theories when without as when with evidence from the ancient religions. He finds in none but the Egyptian evidence of belief in a Resurrection, but he never seems to miss it. His case in no way rests on history or criticism; it is an evolution from consciousness, a theory transcendently deduced, ethnographically illustrated, but in no respect historically proved.

Where the method is so uncritical, the theory is necessarily unhistorical; it not only cannot explain, it directly contradicts, all the more eminent historical religions. Mr. Spencer's cardinal positions are two—the belief in deity grew out of the belief in ghosts, produced by the phenomena of sleep and dreams, and all religion is developed from ancestor-worship. Now, how stands the historical fact? The oldest elements in all known religions either negative both positions, or so negative the one as to leave the other without significance or worth for the theory. Were it true, the ideas of the soul and its future life would be the most developed in the oldest forms or states of the ancient religions, but as a simple matter of fact they are the least distinct and developed ideas. The Egyptian, indeed—for reasons Mr. Spencer's vague and uncritical generalities do not comprehend—had clearly conceived continued existence and a hereafter, but it had emphasized the notion in what is, judged from the comparative point of view, an altogether exceptional manner. The ancient religion of China, which is of all historical religions the purest ancestor-worship, has a deity that cannot possibly be resolved into an ancestral ghost, and is absolutely ignorant of a future life, at least it breathes nowhere any hope of continued or immortal personal existence. In Hebraism, Brahmanism, the religions of Greece and Rome, the notions of a future life were not primitive. Their ideas of the gods were clear and developed when their ideas of the soul and the hereafter were indistinct, uncertain, and rudimentary. Yama, the Vedic God of the dead, was

\* "Principles of Sociology," p. 317.

† *Ibid.* 208.



one of the latest creations of the Vedic period, and the idea of the Pitris, or Fathers, no older. The Greeks conceived the relation of their gods to the dead in a way precisely the reverse of what Mr. Spencer's theory requires. Their upper was not an after world. The ancient Olympians were the rulers of men in time—had no dominion over men in eternity. The Shades that flitted in Hades had no fellowship with Zeus, and no man who understood what Zeus was to the Greeks, the range and limits of his actions and authority, could imagine that he was a transfigured ghost. If men are raised into his society, it is by escaping death, by being, like Ganymedês, snatched up into heaven. The Elysian plain or the isles of the blest are the home of the translated, not of the dead. The gods to whom men prayed and sacrificed, distributed good and ill not to the dead, but to the living. And there are other facts equally fatal to Mr. Spencer's theory. Names of deities are very ancient—in certain cases the oldest elements in the religion, the mirrors of primitive ideas. Now terms like Varuna-Ouranos, Indra,\* Dyaus-Zeus-Jupiter, Demeter, Agni, are expressive of a faith that regarded the here rather than the hereafter, suggested by the phenomena of Nature rather than the accidents and fatalities of life, and suggesting a worship which craved present and temporal rather than eternal good. The primeval gods are not steeped in the gloom of the Shades, are not hollow or fearful or feared ghosts, but deities that live above and around man, radiant with the brightness of heaven, but fierce and active as the forces of earth. Mr. Spencer's theory simply reverses the truth. The idea of deity created the belief in continued existence after death; the idea of a surviving soul did not create the belief in deity.

As a consequence of his uncritical and unhistorical method, Mr. Spencer fails to notice what is, perhaps, the most potent factor of religious progress and change—the action of creative personalities. We hear enough, indeed, of the deified ancestor; he is, in a sense, the source of all movement and growth in religion. But he is so, not by virtue of the religious significance he had while living, but of the process that deified him after he had died. What is absent, and what ought to have been present, is the recognition of the creative and evolutionary action of the distinctively religious personality. Mr. Spencer alludes to the religion of China, but he never inquires how it was affected and modified by Confucius or Lao-tzse, though without them the two native Chinese religions could not have been what they have been, alike as regards literature and history. He frequently refers to Buddhism, and cites certain of its special customs, like relic worship, but he never asks who Buddha was, or what he did for it, or whether the quite exceptional influence of his personality can in any way explain the more peculiar development of the Buddhistic faith, worship, and communities. He

\* On p. 315, vol. i., of his "Principles of Sociology," Mr. Spencer attempts to prove that Indra "is but the ancestor considerably expanded." This is one of the passages that the historical critic must regard with something like despair. The argument so proceeds as to show that the very terms of the problem have yet to be mastered.



illustrates important stages in his evolutionary process from Mosaism, Hebraism, and Christianity, but though these are utterly inexplicable—nay, not even intelligible, apart from certain historical persons, persons, too, that can only be understood as historically and critically studied—yet Mr. Spencer does not condescend to glance at Moses or the Prophets or Christ. And these are only typical cases, but significant as typical. Religions that are used to explain or illustrate cardinal positions in a new science without having been carefully investigated and scientifically handled, are religions used in a way that can only mislead, and for purposes neither scientific nor critical. A theory that utterly ignores the forces that have most moved and most modified religion, as it is actually presented to us in history, may be a very ingenious, wonderful, and even well-articulated theory, but then it cannot be either a science, or its basis, least, and last of all, a Science of Religion.

But, though the subject be scarcely more than glanced at, this criticism must end. Perhaps, hurried though it has been, enough has been said to show the unscientific character of Mr. Spencer's method, the unhistorical nature of his theory. While I have spoken plainly, I have spoken with pain. Adverse is never pleasant criticism, especially when it is criticism of one so eminent as Mr. Herbert Spencer, whose aims are so comprehensive, positive, and constructive, as to make his system as impressive and educative as it is in its general conception sublime. But his speculations as to religious ideas, and as to the origin and development of religion, seem to be so hopelessly at variance with fact, with the nature and history of Man, as to leave no alternative but great plainness of speech, or no speech at all. I confess to a profound interest in all that relates to the religions of man. I believe that they are capable of scientific treatment, and promise, perhaps, richer results to inquiry and thought than any other field now open or opening to mind. But in the very degree that I love the subject, I deplore such dealing with it as we owe to Mr. Spencer. It can, by its defiance of scientific method and its neglect of fact, simply succeed in here making science and philosophy alike impossible. But, whatever the regret on these points, on this, let me say, it is far greater—the unenlightened, because inappreciative and unsympathetic, spirit in which Mr. Spencer conducts his speculations. He never seems touched with the sense of what religion has been to man, what man has found in religion—all is narrow, pragmatic, drily doctrinaire. There is no quick glance into that common human heart which has through all the ages so hungered after the spiritual and eternal, no sense of the infinite want religion has at once symbolized and satisfied. It is handled only as a series of transfigured dreams, of glorified superstitions, of silly and senile, because savage, imaginations. Of the great religious personalities of the race there is no knowledge, into their meaning and mission no flash of insight, with their achievements and aims no mere transient sympathy. Certain of them belong to the foremost men of the world. Moses and Zoroaster, Confucius



and Lao-tzse, Buddha and Mohammed, are among the elect few that have worked mightiest changes in the heart and history of the world, and have worked them in and through religion. Were they taken out of the past, the present could not be what it is—man would be immensely poorer and less civilized than he is. But Mr. Spencer has no word of recognition for the men—they are not friendly to his evolution, and his revenge is to ignore their very existence. In seeking for the fragments and signs of savage dreams and deifications in their religions, he forgets all about the men. To give an account of Evolution, and yet forget its most potent factor, is not science—it is ill-imagined fiction. The system that does not know what our supreme religious personalities signify to religion, does not know what religion signifies to man, and so, while it may represent a passing phase of speculation, when a philosophy of Nature has for the moment attempted to become a philosophy of man, yet it can never belong to the systems that stand among the eternal possessions of the spirit, attempts, almost too glorious to be successful, to read the mysteries of being, to spell out the meaning of the secret hidden by Nature, yet searched for so anxiously and unweariedly by mind.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

## THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT.

"The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government."  
By JEFFERSON DAVIS. Longmans, Green & Co.  
1881.

POLITICAL consistency, loyalty to the memory of the brave men who laid down their lives in a lost cause, and a debt due to history, would naturally lead us to expect from one who played so conspicuous a part, as the author of this work, in the bloody drama which convulsed the American Continent now nearly twenty years ago, an earnest defence of the principles by which his companions and himself were actuated. The North has teemed with such publications, given to the world too early to be untinged with the passionate sentiments evoked by the war. As the natural advocate of the South, her former President has delayed the attempt at her complete vindication, till the generation which fought and bled on those deadly battle-fields has passed into middle age, while many more who shared in the conflict are now old men, or have sunk into the grave. Time may not have dimmed his recollection of wrong and defeat, but it has enabled him to look back, perhaps, with a calmer, truer judgment on the retrospect of years. It is unfortunate for English readers, at any rate, that the form in which the defence of the South is attempted by Mr. Davis is, throughout, of so purely controversial a kind; though this may possibly increase its interest on the other side of the Atlantic, where it appears simultaneously. Those, however, who look in these bulky volumes for graphic pictures of a campaign as romantic in its incidents, as gigantic in the forces engaged, and the material interests involved in the issue as any in this century, will be disappointed. The thread of the narrative is obscured by a minute and wearisome prolixity of detail. There runs through its pages, from first to last, the abstruse reasoning of a treatise on international law; while the mass of letters, extracts from despatches and State-papers, interpolated, give it something of the intolerable dulness of a Blue-book. This treatment of his subject may



have been necessary to the objects which Mr. Davis had in view in his elaborate attempt to rehabilitate the South; but it will deter any but the most ardent student of the history of the great American conflict from a careful perusal of his work. In fact, it almost takes for granted in the reader an intimate acquaintance with the involved political questions which culminated in the war, and a general knowledge of the plan of the campaign, with which ordinary English readers, at any rate, can hardly be expected to be familiar after the lapse of twenty years. We ought not, perhaps, to forget, in justice to Mr. Davis, that he rather disclaims for his work a strictly historical character. His design is to furnish matter for the future historian rather than to write history. From such causes as these the views of the sometime President of the Confederate States will be known, on this side of the Atlantic at least, chiefly through the medium of the reviewer's pen, whose task in condensing anything like an intelligible analysis of his voluminous argument into a reasonable compass is of the most difficult kind.

A recent residence of some years in one of the Northern States has made the writer of these pages, to some extent at least, familiar with the real issues at stake; and it will, perhaps, best pave the way for an intelligible criticism of Mr. Jefferson Davis's defence of his cause, if we recall, in the briefest possible way, the impelling causes of the conflict between the North and South, and the ground taken by the former in declaring war. We may admit, at the outset, that the existence in the South, long after it ceased in the North, of the "peculiar institution," which is often, by a popular error, supposed to have been the *cause* of the war, was really only the *occasion* of it, and that but incidentally. Early in the contest, however, its importance as an offensive political weapon was perceived. The abolition of slavery was seized upon as a party war-cry, and used by the Northerners to inflame public opinion against the South. And it led to that strange alliance between unscrupulous Northern politicians, who cared in their hearts nothing for the question of slavery, and the earnest abolitionists, who numbered within their ranks the great mass of the religious communities throughout the North. All this helped to influence the popular sentiment here in favour of the North. Those who remember the anti-slavery crusade, commenced by the famous American preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, in the heart of the Southern sympathizing cotton-brokers of Liverpool, or have read the sensational romance in whose pages the woes of the African slave in Southern States are portrayed in vivid colours by his hardly less celebrated sister, can understand the formidable barrier which they helped to build against the demand for recognition by the British Government (clearly foreseen by the astute North) of a Confederacy which was fighting—as one of its objects, at any rate—for the maintenance of this unholy traffic in human flesh and blood. It was forgotten, or kept out of sight, in judging the South, that whatever the moral wrong involved in African slavery, it was a wrong which existed



when the States of the Union were colonies of the British Crown ; that the slave was a chattel recognized by the Fourth Article of the Constitution ; that he was only found in greater numbers in the South from climatic causes, rendering his labour more available and profitable there than in the North ; that for the same reasons slavery was abolished in the Northern States, though the importation of slaves continued to Southern ports long after by Northern merchants and Northern ships, with no outside interference, until such importation was prohibited by the Southern States themselves. The question finally at issue was, slavery or anti-slavery ; but the motives on each side which were really influential were in the main political, and had little or nothing to do with the moral right or wrong of the domestic institution confined to the South ; though this, as we have seen, powerfully recruited the ranks of the political anti-slavery party by the accession of the mass of philanthropic abolitionists.

The great Confederation known as the United States became divided as it settled up into two vast political camps with interests at many points antagonistic. The coincidence that the broad dividing line was identical with that which separated slave-holding from non-slave-holding States, was in reality seized upon by the one side as a colourable weapon with which to attack and reduce to subserviency the other. Originally all the States (if we except perhaps Massachusetts) were slave-holding, as the British Colonies had been before them. They were also all agricultural, and dependent for their manufactures on foreign imports, and their general interests were so far identical. By the purchase of Louisiana from France at the beginning of this century, and the taking of Florida from Spain, the area of slavery was widely extended. Now each State, whatever its geographical area or population, was entitled to two representatives in the Senate, but the ratio of representation in Congress was numerical, and depended on population. It was subsequently reduced from a lower denomination to one in 127,922.\* There were thirteen States when the Union was formed. When the war commenced they numbered thirty-four. This arose from the gradual formation of what are known as the Western States, out of a vast tract of country north-west of the Ohio River, ceded as territory to the United States by Virginia ; the seizure of Texas from Mexico by the South, which led to the Mexican war, which, in its turn, led to the expansion of the Union to the Pacific Coast, the discovery of gold, and the formation of the two great States of California and Oregon. While these vast tracts of country were unpeopled, and even after some of them were formed into States, with a sparse and scattered population, a policy in Southern interests was dominant. The South still held commanding majorities in both branches of the Legislature. But

\* These figures were calculated in slave-holding States not by the number of freemen in each, but by a census-law under which three-fifths of the slaves were to be reckoned as an integral part of the population—a decided political advantage to the South.



the increasing volume of the stream of immigration to the new States northward, and the consequent rise of manufacturing industries there, made a protective policy the interest of the North. The object of the South was to get manufactures cheap in exchange for their cotton and sugar, coffee and tobacco. Hence it was their interest to deal with Europe. The North wished naturally to foster its rising industries, and to attract settlers by the creation of a certain market for its wares. Its design was, by a prohibitive import tariff, to compel the South to become its customers. About 1820 the scale was so nearly balanced that the admission of a single new State would incline it to the Northern or Southern policy, as it declared itself slave-holding, or the contrary, because this meant a difference of two votes in the Senate either way. The question was brought to an issue by the demand of Missouri, formed out of the old French Louisiana, to be admitted to the sisterhood of the Union. It was, of course, slave-holding, and the North raised a violent anti-slavery cry to exclude it. The matter was ultimately settled by what is known as the "Missouri Compromise," by which slavery was excluded from all territory embraced in the acquisition of Louisiana, north of a geographical line coinciding with 36° 30' latitude. The next contest arose as to the admission of Texas, which was torn from Mexico by the South, as Florida had been from Spain. It seemed an important gain for the South, but it led to a war with Mexico, and this led to the extension, as we have seen, of the Union to the western sea-board. The gold fever attracted an immense influx of population to those regions; the Irish famine caused rather the exodus of a nation to the Northern and Western States, than an immigration. A single year sufficed to convert these starved-out peasants into voters. This increase of population meant an increase of representation. The scale was turning sensibly in favour of the North, and the South, by way of imposing a counteracting check, proposed, through Mr. Davis, then Senator for the State of Mississippi, the extension of the geographical line which marked the boundary of slavery to the Pacific coast. This move was unsuccessful, and the result was the passage of what is known as the "Nebraska Bill," which established the principle of what is called "squatter sovereignty." This was equivalent in Southern interest to permitting each territory before its admission to the Union to declare itself slave-holding or the contrary, and so to be admitted. A celebrated test case, known as the "Dred Scott" case, was submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States, and was followed by a decision which upset the principle of "squatter sovereignty," as opposed to the Constitution which recognized and permitted slavery everywhere; and which decision further declared the geographical line determined by the "Missouri Compromise" to be illegal. The North, to whom this decision was of course adverse, flouted and ignored it. It not only drew the sword, but flung away the scabbard. "The Fugitive Slave Law" became a nullity. The marshals



who sought to execute the law were mobbed and beaten. The slaveholding Southerner was forcibly hindered from entering with his slaves the common territories, purchased many of them with the common treasure, and declared open to him by the law. The fact that the Northerner was fully aware that these settlements, insignificant in extent, had for their object the assertion of a political right for the political purpose of influencing the balance of State representation in favour of the South was the excuse alleged for the force employed, on the principle that "the end justifies the means."

The South was thus borne down by a crushing weight of political force from the North. The vast streams of emigrants flowing into new States or territories were rapidly turning its numerical majority in the United States' Congress into a minority; while the forcible exclusion of slaves from any but the States which lay south of the geographical line of demarcation referred to prevented the loss being balanced by an increased representation in the Senate. Such were the means adopted to enforce the hostile tariff of the United States, which threw the main burden of taxation on the South, who were consumers and not manufacturers, both by raising the price of imports, and reducing thereby the value of exports, chiefly Southern products. And the last ounce of the grievance was, that this profit went not into the Public Treasury for the general benefit, but directly into the pockets of their political opponents, the Northern manufacturers. All these causes tended, of course, to turn the tide of immigration either to the North-west, or to the new States on the Pacific coast. Cooped up with their slaves in the limits of their own States, victims of a hostile tariff which enriched their already too powerful political opponents, and placed a huge dam against the stream of profitable immigration in their direction, the South received the announcement of the election, by a sectional minority, of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency with a sense of bitter resentment. He was, as usual, a compromise candidate; Mr. Seward being the natural head of the Republican party. He was a plain, well-meaning man, whose name had previously never been heard of by the vast majority of the electors. He was ill-fitted to guide the helm of State during a period of American history which demanded the very highest qualities of statesmanship. There can be little doubt that his election precipitated, if it did not cause, the secession of the South. He had declared in his Presidential campaign that the Union could not subsist "half-slave and half-free." Shortly after his election he declared that, under the Constitution, he had not the right, as he had not the intention, to interfere with slavery in the South. Mr. Davis charges his Administration, however, with "fraud and prevarication" in its opening months, and asserts that the efforts of the South to obtain redress of their grievances by peaceable means were met by "evasion, prevarication, and perfidy."

It has been impossible to render intelligible to the general reader the relative positions of the North and South on the eve of hostilities



without this brief historical retrospect. It may be that Mr. Davis takes for granted a general familiarity with the immediately impelling causes of secession other than the question as regards slavery. But had he devoted to these even a small part of the time and space bestowed on an elaborate argument of enormous length in favour of the doctrine of State sovereignty, and by which every act of the United States' Government during the four years of the War, is tested and condemned, he would perhaps have avoided leaving on the reader's mind the impression that the desire to avoid the financial ruin involved in the dreaded emancipation of the slaves without pecuniary compensation for their loss was the true reason why the South determined on secession. For, in treading on the delicate ground of slavery, or, as he prefers to call it "servitude," as though conscious of the prejudice with which it necessarily surrounds his case so many years after the principle has been condemned by the voice of the civilized world, he offers a passing apology for what he remarks is "the mildest form of enforced labour ever stamped with the name of slavery," instancing how the planters left their property and their families to the care of their slaves when they went to fight the North, though he makes no attempt to deny that the "institution" permitted the separation of husband and wife, of parent and child, and placed the virtue of every female slave at the mercy of a master.

The argument by which Mr. Davis defends the right of a State, or any number of States comprised in the Union, to secede is the doctrine of State sovereignty. He explains and defends that doctrine by a mass of legal decisions and authorities, and by an exhaustive retrospect of the history of the States from the period when they were Colonies of the British Crown; and, though the issue of the contest was adverse to the cause he advocates, he has apparently convinced himself that that cause was impregnable in its attributes of justice and right, and that the South was only borne down by lawless force, and the flagrant violation of Constitutional rights. His argument may be stated in a very few words. When the British Colonies in North America revolted from England, and Washington succeeded in defeating the forces of Lord Cornwallis, the British Government acknowledged the independence of the several States by name, as she had acknowledged the individual dependence of each Colony. For their mutual advantage they formed a Federation, and conferred certain powers on a central Government with the proviso that all powers not expressed as delegated were to be understood as reserved. It is true that both in the original and in the amended Constitution the Union is implied to be perpetual. But, argues Mr. Davis, not only did Washington himself, who must have known the meaning of the original framers of the Constitution, more than once express a doubt of the possibility of continued union; but the State of Virginia did actually, unquestioned, exercise her right of secession, and remained out of the Union for some time. Upon this platform Mr. Davis, as the



champion of Southern secession, takes his stand, and from such premises the logical inferences are directly adverse to the action of the North. The South were no rebels. The campaign of the Northern armies was an illegal and unjustifiable invasion of a foreign soil; the final subjugation of the seceded States an act of tyrannical force; the confiscation of their slaves not only a robbery, but a violation of the very Constitution which cements the Union of the States, a fundamental provision of which is the right of every man to hold slaves, and to recover them, if fugitive, by the aid of the law, like any other property. Mr. Davis, in his eagerness to establish and maintain the right and the justice of the cause he defends, seems to us to keep unfairly in the background the fact which must have been notorious to him, that there had always existed within the Union two widely-diverging theories as to what the Republic of the United States really meant; and these theories were in the main coincident with the individual interests of each section. Was the United States one great republic, or was it merely a confederation of separate republics, which, for their mutual convenience and safety, delegated certain powers to a common Government, one of whose duties was to "secure to each State a republican form of government?" The North held that the Federation of the States formed one united nation with a central Government, to which each State was amenable, though each was still to a limited extent an *imperium in imperio*. The South held that the Federation was a partnership of sovereign States which might be dissolved, or from which any of the members might retire, whenever they considered that the objects for which the partnership was formed were not attained, or whenever its continuance became injurious to their individual interests. These two parties were known as the Federalists and anti-Federalists, though their respective theories had never been brought to the test of action when such action might involve to any serious extent the individual interests of either side. They were now for the first time to be brought to that test which proved to be a crucible at white heat. The North held in the main the position which the German Empire would do in resisting the secession of the sovereign nationalities which have voluntarily entered the German *Bund*. Another comparison would be that of the Austrian Empire, if the kingdoms of Bohemia or Hungary should desire to assert their independence; or, to use a nearer illustration still, of Great Britain in refusing to consent to the repeal of the Union, always remembering the difference of sovereign authority, of whatever degree, delegated to an individual constitutional ruler, or to the executive of a republic. Which was the just and true view of the Constitution, or, rather, which should now be maintained, could, it appeared, only be determined, when the hour of trial came, by appeal to force; by a struggle foreseen clearly enough by some who read the signs of the political sky, deemed impossible by others less far-seeing or more blinded by their individual wishes and interests, but which caused, in the brief years of the memorable struggle which ensued for supremacy



of a disputed principle of Government, the sacrifice of more than a million of human lives and of thousands of millions of treasure. Mr. Davis admits that he foresaw from the first that the secession of the Southern States would be fiercely disputed by the North, though that opinion was not generally entertained among the Secessionists. One point at any rate he clears up at the outset of his history. It has often been asserted, that he and his brother senators retained their seats in the United States' Legislature but to undermine and destroy the Union. He states that this slander is repeated by the Orleans Prince, who served as an officer with the Federal Army, in his "*History of the Civil War.*"\* His farewell speech in the Senate (given *in extenso*) when he learned that Mississippi, the State he represented, had seceded, is a manly defence of his constituents, and his parting words of friendly good-will to his brother senators on both sides of the Chamber, are full of a touching pathos as the last plea for peace ere the sword was drawn.

The opening scenes of the War, as depicted in Mr. Jefferson Davis's pages, have an irresistibly serio-comic air, too soon to deepen into lines of tragic interest. The new-fledged President, his staff, and his cabinet, seem to have formed the members of a Mutual Admiration Society. He attributes to his newly-made generals and colonels, fresh, many of them, from the counting-house and the office, military capacities equal to those of a Wellington or a Moltke. We can forgive the eulogies on the many brave men who laid down their lives in that unhappy conflict; but the indiscriminate apotheosis of the respectable middle-aged gentlemen who are now peacefully pursuing their avocations as merchants or professional men in Southern cities, or even following the arts of husbandry, may be to them like the sacred oil which fell on Aaron's beard, and descended to the skirts of his raiment, but it leads the reader to distrust the writer of such universal panegyrics.

Never in the history of the world did a great people enter upon the first stages of a war, which quickly developed into one of the most gigantic and terrible of any age, with such utter want of preparation. It is only fair to say, that never before was a great army collected and maintained with such celerity; never did one maintain for so long a period so desperate and successful a struggle against overwhelming odds; never was more self-sacrificing devotion displayed by any people in the fight for what they believed to be liberty; and we fear we must in justice add, that no war of modern times has been waged in a spirit so bitter, so unsparing, so ungenerous, as that displayed by the North. The sinking of stone-fleets to destroy harbours, the burning of houses, and of entire towns, with barely time allowed for the inhabitants to escape, stripped of every article of value, except a covering; the cutting of levees to inundate great districts and drown the inhabitants; the shooting of prisoners, on more than one occasion, in cold blood; the barbarous neglect and ill-treatment of others in Northern prisons; the outrages

\* "*History of the Civil War in America.*" Comte de Paris.



permitted towards gentle women at the hands of a brutal soldiery, unrestrained by their commanders; the avowed attempts to destroy and subdue by famine, through the torch laid to the standing crops and the stacked grain; and the indiscriminate plunder of private property; all these are historical facts supported in Mr. Davis's pages by evidence too clear to be contradicted or explained away.

The war commenced, as is well known, at Fort Sumter. It was in the confines of North Carolina, and had been ceded to the United States to be used in the defence of that State, and was useless for any other purpose. She was the first to leave the sisterhood of the Union, and a demand was made for the evacuation of the fort, and its surrender to the State which claimed it. Mr. Davis alleges that, while the Cabinet at Washington amused himself and his Cabinet with promises to observe the *status quo*, not to permit any hostile movement against North Carolina, or to reinforce the garrison, they were making secret preparations to throw in relief. Sumter was attacked by the Confederate troops. Major Anderson was permitted to retire with the honours of war; and, in defiance of all the efforts of the United States' navy, the Confederate flag floated on the battered ramparts till the fort was surrendered, when the war closed, its earthworks actually made impregnable to shot by the mass of metal embedded in them by the enemy's artillery. The first shot of the war was fired by Confederate guns. The first conflict was a Southern victory, as, indeed, was the very last engagement before the end came, in the bare little room in Appomattox Courthouse, where Lee surrendered the army of the South to Grant—though all the long intervening struggle and sacrifice by Southern patriots, the exciting ebb and flow of victory and defeat, were to be all in vain for the Southern cause.

Two considerations appear to have inspired the South with an unfounded confidence. They seem to have thought it impossible that the North would draw the sword to compel their return, and so steep the Union in the blood of its brethren. They imagined that after some remonstrance and recrimination, perhaps, they would be permitted to go in peace. But that if this expectation were not realized, "Cotton was king," and that the inevitable disturbance of this trade, so necessary to Europe, by a civil war would procure foreign intervention in their favour, and put a speedy end to the contest. How little that confidence was justified the events of the war showed. The South rushed into a conflict with the general Government without a military chest, while their opponents had command of the National Treasury; without a single ship of war, while their enemies had command of a navy which ranked third among those of the world; without arms, except those in the hands of private individuals; without gun manufactories, or powder mills, or artillery; without a soldier, except those fresh from the plough or the shop; without a military commander, except such of their fellow-citizens who held positions in the United States' army would



resign their commands and come to their help in their hour of need. They took down the bells of their churches, in the early days of the war, and converted them into cannon; they stripped the roofs of the houses of lead, to be cast into bullets; saltpetre for the manufacture of powder was sought for in cellars of old houses; the simples of the Indians were gathered in their woods to supply the place of medicine; the bark of the trees was utilized for leather; the want of cloth set every housewife to her spinning-wheel; carpets, and even the altar-cloths of churches, were made to do duty for blankets; steamers were padded with cotton-bales, and made to serve the purpose of iron-clads; the very railroads were rifled of their iron to find the materials for an armed resistance. The first efforts of the South resembled—indeed they were—the rising of a population of volunteers, officered often enough by civilians untrained in the arts of war. The steps by which these deficiencies were remedied, detailed at great length in Mr. Davis's pages, demonstrate not only the energy of the Southern character, but the self-sacrificing patriotism of her people in their determination to throw off the Northern yoke. Powder-mills were quickly built; manufactories erected for the repair and conversion of small arms which poured in from every part of the country, which long before the war ceased had developed into manufactories of arms themselves. Foundries were established to provide a Confederate artillery, while agents were dispatched across the sea to buy up the stocks of war material in European markets, and keep up a stream of supply till the South could equip herself from her own resources. It would be an impossible as well as an unprofitable task to follow the varying fortunes of the struggle, as set forth in minute detail in Mr. Davis's long-drawn pages. The long series of battles and sieges which commenced in the narrow neck of land between the James and York rivers in Virginia, and only closed after the four years' struggle, when Richmond was surrendered, contain a host of names which are inscribed in characters of imperishable fame on that brave Confederate flag which is now for ever furled. The North sustained a defeat at Bull Run, early in the struggle, from an army of volunteers of which veteran troops under the ablest generals of the century need not have been ashamed. The South defended its capital successfully for four long years against all the troops the North could hurl against it, with a daring and a skill which entitle the exploit to rank with the greatest achievements of the kind in history. At one time it even carried the war into the enemy's country by the invasion of Pennsylvania. More than once a panic was created for the safety of the Northern capital, and the Confederate flag hoisted at the White House might easily have been one of the incidents of the war, and terms of peace have been dictated to the North by a victorious Southern general in the Executive Mansion at Washington. An army called from the plough to the field to defend the Southern soil, achieving, over the overwhelming forces opposed to them, such victories as those of Bull Run and Shiloh, Fredericks-



burgh, Manassas, Chancellorsville, Mansfield, Olusta and Chicamanga, the seven days' rout before Richmond, of Elk Horn, Murfreesboro', Sharpsburg, and Gettysburg, the deadly repulse of Petersburg, the siege of Charleston, and heroic, unconquerable Sumter, may well have felt, when crushed by overpowering numbers, and with the fiery torch of its enemies threatening its people with the horrors of a famine, that the moral victory was on its side. A struggle which produced commanders with the noble dignity of Lee, the Christian heroism of Stonewall Jackson, the gallant daring of Stuart, the engineering skill of Beauregard, the self-devotion of Polk, and a host of others, will not be branded by posterity as a rebellion, however disastrous its results to those who cast everything, including life, upon the die.

Where Mr. Davis turns aside from controversial discussions on the relative claims of either side to victory in particular battles; from apparently profitless discussions of the effect of different dispositions of troops, or of different tactics, to the consideration of the conduct of the Federal Government in its hostile legislation towards the revolted Southern States, he is on ground where we can follow him with more interest. Early in the conflict it became evident that the African slave was the weak spot in the armour of the South, and that here was the point where the mortal wound would be inflicted. Mr. Davis and his friends in dissolving their connection with the North, and becoming involved in a war in which each side declared the other to be the aggressor, seem to have had the visual angle so filled with the enormous financial loss which the emancipation of the slaves would entail on the South, as to deny to their opponents the possession of the commonest honesty. Even the professions of conscientious abolitionists are attributed to an hypocrisy dictated by sordid greed and malignity. With a candour we hardly expected from so partisan an advocate, Mr. Davis admits—we are almost inclined to think by an oversight—in the plainest words, that the South perceived the intention of the North to legislate for Emancipation, and that they had no escape from ruin but secession. He says the Constitution reserves to each State the right to determine the question of slavery for itself; and on the States' sovereignty theory upon which all his arguments are based, he urges that the United States had no right to interfere with it, because it denied the fact of separation or secession, and was using the strongest measures to coerce the revolted States to submission. But he throws into the background the fact that the North almost unanimously denied this interpretation of the Constitution, that there existed an inherent right in every State to secede; that the South had disturbed the *status quo*, and was raising vast armies to escape being forced to remain in the Union, by the Northern, or to return to it, by the Southern view. Here was a State of war undisputed. Whether it be designated civil war or rebellion is immaterial to the argument. By every law of nations a state of war suspends, if it does not dissolve, mutual obligations between the belligerents. It may have



been quite true that the Constitution reserved to each State the regulation of its internal domestic affairs, including slavery. It is the fact that Mr. Lincoln declared on his election his intention not to interfere with Southern slavery. But the slaves were the sinews of the war waged against the North. They cultivated the fields while the white men enrolled themselves as soldiers, and thus prevented any disturbance of the staple cotton industry. They could be utilized in the construction of forts and fortifications. Their emancipation would be the death-blow of the South, the end of the war, and would probably prevent the dismemberment of the Union. The North pleaded "necessity" for its acts. The abolitionists, backed by the verdict of civilized Europe, threw their weight into the scale. In vain the South sought to defend their "peculiar institution." Says Mr. Davis, "Never was there happier dependence of labour and capital on each other. The tempter came, like the serpent in Eden, and decoyed them with the magic word of 'freedom.'" And, referring to the enrolment of freedmen in the Northern armies at a late period of the war, he adds: "He put arms into their hands and trained their humble but emotional natures to deeds of violence and bloodshed, and sent them out to devastate their benefactors." President Lincoln was of opinion that in this case "the end justified the means." He perceived that Emancipation had "the double advantage of taking so much labour from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men." This was truly "to seethe the kid in his mother's milk." And Mr. Davis triumphantly "appeals to the judgment of a Christian people how such a boast befits the President of the United States."

The lengthy chapters in which Mr. Davis recounts the struggles of the Confederacy to create a navy are chiefly interesting as they relate to the romantic stories of the *Alabama*, and the hardly less celebrated *Florida*. The Confederate States, coast-bound, or traversed by navigable rivers, as many of them are, were unusually open to attack by the naval forces of the United States. The Federal Government confessedly swept everything before it in direct attacks on the great Southern cities which lined the banks of the Mississippi. But these notorious cruisers were a rankling thorn in the side of the Federal Government, and we think the Confederate ex-President may well be proud of achievements which inflicted enormous loss on Northern trade, entailed on the Treasury a cost of £80,000 for the coals alone of the United States' steam-ship *Vanderbilt*, which for years scoured the seas in pursuit of the destroying *Alabama*, and came near to involving this country in a war with the United States after the subjugation of the Southern States, and eventually cost her three millions sterling in damages. The story of the *Alabama* is a familiar one; but it will bear repeating here from a Southern point of view. She

built by Messrs. Laird, of Birkenhead, as a steam  
ters as No. 290, not, as President  
her having been built by



290 Englishmen who were sympathizers with the Southern cause, but that, from not having been christened, she was so named as the 290th ship built by Messrs. Laird. She went out to the Azores, where she was armour-plated, and received her famous name of *Alabama*. Her first exploit was to engage the United States' man-of-war, *Hatteras*, whom she sank. In her brief and brilliant career she captured sixty-three vessels, among them a gunboat, and sank the *Hatteras*. All neutral ports being closed against her prizes, the vessels were of necessity burnt at sea. So long and so often victorious on distant waters, the *Alabama* was fated to end her career not very far from the place of her birth. Like an old foxhound, weary and footsore with the chase, she needed rest and repose. On the 11th of June, 1864, she entered the harbour of Cherbourg; asked leave, readily granted, to land prisoners from her last two captures, when Captain Semmes went on shore to see about "docking and repairing" the *Alabama*. As there were only Government docks at Cherbourg, the application had to be referred to the Emperor. Before an answer was received, the *Kearsage* steamed into harbour, sent a boat ashore, and then ran out and took her station off the breakwater. Her object, as Captain Semmes learned, was to impress for the *Kearsage* the prisoners discharged from the *Alabama*. This request was refused by the port-admiral. But the plucky Confederate commander regarded the presence of the *Kearsage* in the offing as a challenge, and sent word to Captain Winslow that if he would wait till the *Alabama* coaled he would come out and give him battle. Captain Semmes, in his report of the engagement, writes:—

"After the lapse of an hour and ten minutes our ship was ascertained to be in a sinking condition. . . . To reach the French coast I gave the ship all steam, and set such of the fore and aft sails as were available. The ship filled so rapidly, however, that before we had made much progress the fires were extinguished. I now hauled down my colours, and dispatched a boat to inform the enemy of our condition. Although we were now but four hundred yards from each other, the enemy fired upon me five times after my colours had been struck. It is charitable to suppose that a ship of war of a Christian nation could not have done this intentionally."

The wounded, as well as those who could not swim, were saved, and went off in the boats to the enemy's ship. Ten of the crew, however, were drowned. "Captain Semmes stood on the quarter-deck alone until his ship was settling to go down, then threw his sword into the sea, there to lie buried with the ship he loved so well, and leaped from the deck just in time to avoid being drawn into the vortex caused by her sinking." And so ended the career of the brilliant and much-dreaded cruiser. It seems strange, however, that Mr. Davis, who speaks with exulting pride of the destructive raids of the redoubtable *Alabama*, and her fellows, should have so little common fairness towards the North as to denounce her reprisals on the sea, in blockading the Confederate ports, and watching the West Indian ports for blockade-runners, as "undertaken for no better reason than greed and malignity." He



can neither forget nor forgive the refusal of recognition to the Confederate States by Great Britain, and can hardly conceal his delight at what he evidently regards as the retributive justice meted out to her at the Geneva Conference.

The tragic fate of President Lincoln at a moment when, as Mr. Davis believes, he was willing to make peace with the South on almost any terms, seems to have at once given a new intensity to the war, and to have caused the work of reconstruction to be carried on with much of the harshness of a military despotism. Mr. Lincoln's assassin was not a Southerner, but a stage-struck fanatic, one of a class by which every ruler's life is threatened in times of popular excitement. But his successor, Andrew Johnson, the late Vice-President, backed up by the extreme radical faction which had so long held Lincoln back from a course of conciliation and mercy, at once assumed that he was but the hired dagger of a band of conspirators among the Confederates. The first act of his Government was to offer a reward of one hundred thousand dollars for the arrest of President Davis as a party to the murder. That such a story should have been credited in the North against a man of pure and noble character, who had long been a prominent senator and a member of the United States' Cabinet, and under whose Government in the South the rigorous necessities of war had always been tempered by mercy and a chivalrous bearing towards an unscrupulous and unsparing foe, is but another example of that strange perversion of moral sentiment engendered by war.

Though Mr. Davis does well, as we think, to be angry at the infamous charge hurled against him by President Johnson's Government, he has hardly just grounds of complaint when he denounces the measures adopted by the United States' Government in reply to the remonstrances of Great Britain and France as to the distress caused by the withholding of cotton, which threw thousands of operatives on the poor-rates. That, under the Confiscation Act, as applicable to the property of the revolted, the United States' Government sent a military force into the cotton districts to seize the crop, and opened the blockade of the Southern ports, to allow of its transmission to Europe, he stigmatizes as a "grand scheme for the plunder of our cotton crops, to enrich whomsoever it may concern."

President Davis's views as to the justice of the neutrality maintained by Europe under the lead of Great Britain and France, and the refusal to recognize the Confederacy, may be easily inferred. Europe persisted in believing that the sovereignty of the several States was merged in that of the United States, with the Government of which it held diplomatic relations, and not with each individual State; and, therefore, measured by Mr. Davis's theory of State sovereignty, Europe was wrong. The apparently equal measure of justice, meted out to both parties as belligerents, in refusing the use of neutral European ports, for "causing to be condemned in their favour as prizes," fell, as he



explains, with crushing weight on the South, while it scarcely affected the North—where, nevertheless, it excited a very angry feeling against this country, of which Mr. Davis makes no mention whatever. The recognition by Europe of a mere paper-blockade of the Southern ports, contrary, as he asserts, to the well-recognized principles of international law; the partiality shown towards the North in the purchase of arms; are set down to our “hollow profession of neutrality towards the belligerents.”

The method of reconstruction adopted by the Central Government as each State was successively subdued, is the part of Northern policy which excites Mr. Davis's bitterest wrath, and calls down his fiercest denunciations. He was himself incarcerated as a felon at Fortress Monroe, and held to await his trial for treason. “Bitter tears have been shed,” he writes, “by the gentle, and stern reproaches have been made by the magnanimous, on account of the needless torture to which I was subjected, and the heavy fetters rivetted upon me while in a stone casement and surrounded by a strong guard; but all these were less excruciating than the mental agony my captors were able to inflict.” Well was it for America that the rising clamour for his blood was not gratified. A moment would have sufficed to take that life upon the scaffold, but all the ages to come could not have wiped out the blot from the page of American history; and his murdered corpse, as the South would have believed it to be, would have placed a bloody barrier against the hopes of general reconciliation and peace. That reconstruction was conducted with harshness, that the conquered were made bitterly to feel the iron heel of the conqueror on their necks, is certain. They were forced to acknowledge the usurping acts, as they deemed them, of the Government, to be lawful and constitutional. The penalty of refusal was perpetual disfranchisement. At a stroke of the Executive pen their enormous property in slaves was swept away. It was inevitable, and but the retribution, perhaps, which an enlightened civilization demands as the final expiation for an hereditary crime.

Such are some of the salient points in the case of the South. It has been impossible, within the brief limits at our disposal, to do more than merely touch Mr. Davis's arguments at those points. Theoretically, the position of the South may have been right. We may admit, perhaps, by a strict interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, that the several States retained their individual sovereignty, and were in a position analogous to the nations which compose the German Empire. The point of the argument turns partly on the *right* of one or more members of the Confederacy to dissolve the compact, and partly (though Mr. Davis refuses to recognize this) on the *result* of such a course to the contracting parties. His unbending rule is *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*. The Union was the growth of less than a century; but the revolted Colonies bade fair to rival the British Empire in power and wealth, and in all the arts of civilization. *Their union was their strength*. The secession of the South, once permitted to be accomplished, might lead to a



further split in the North. Another line might be drawn from North to South, and the young States on the Pacific slope form again a new Confederacy. The instinct of self-preservation roused the North to action. It was a war of giants: the passions excited in a people unused to war were so fierce; the side issue raised by the abolition question was like oil poured upon the already raging flames. The history of the rise and fall of the Confederate Government, as related by its late President, might, with more truth, perhaps, be described as the rise of the Imperialism of a Republic, on the ruins of State rights. Its reconstructed basis is the despotism of a packed majority; and, strange as it may sound, the declaration of every man's inherent right to freedom has been the instrument which made such a result possible. The North seems to shun the contact of negro blood, as the assassin the dagger of the bravo he hired; while the South sees in the freedmen, who jostle it at the polls, the ever-present symbol of its subjugation and its ruin.

Was the victory attained worth the cost? The events are, perhaps, too recent for the question to be answered with the calm impartiality of history. Thus much at least is visible—that blot upon civilization, the enslavement of the African race, has been wiped from the face of Christian America. Its material resources have received from that moment an enormous impulse and development. Nothing in the history of the world has ever equalled the settling up of the vast territories of the north-west, and of the Pacific seaboard. The policy for which the North drew the sword, successful as it was in the end, has been to the full as victorious in the senate as on the battle-field. Since the gauntlet of defiance thrown down to the South by the election of Abraham Lincoln, the string of Republican Presidents has been unbroken in the chair of Washington. It would be idle to suppose that after the lapse of barely twenty years the angry passions aroused on both sides have been completely allayed. Indeed, Mr. Davis's book affords in every page but too plain evidence that, on the side of the South, they are not. A long residence in the North has convinced us that the antagonism between the two great sections of the Union is still in vigorous force. The South is held to the North now but as it was twenty years ago, by the iron will of an autocratic Republican Government. How long the cohesion of this vast, incongruous, unwieldy mass can continue time alone will show. Twenty years ago Europe looked on at the spectacle, as it believed, of its breaking up into separate fragments. The several States have, at the present moment, little more individual independence than the counties and shires of England have of the British Government. But to those who have resided for any length of time in America, there is a surcharged feeling in the air. The threatened 'third term' of Grant was the "waving of the bloody shirt" in the face of the vanquished South. Its completion, stayed by the acceptance of a compromise candidate in Garfield, would have been followed by an outbreak  
aps revolutionary, resentment. The thirst for



revenge seems to sleep in the South; it is but the deceptive quiet of the serpent. There is still a "solid North" arrayed against a "solid South," as when the battalions of Grant faced those of Lee on many a gory battle-field. Perhaps the truest epitaph which could be inscribed on the grave-stone of the so-called Rebellion would be:—

"Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

J. M. FARRAR.

P.S.—The attempted assassination of President Garfield, which has occurred while these pages are going through the press, is worthy of remark here, as illustrating an antagonism of a powerful kind in force, though in quite a different direction, between the principle of Federalism, or an all but autocratic Central Government, and the modified rights, or rather claims, of individual States to a share of the patronage which is identical with power. General Garfield embodies the policy which maintains that all Federal offices throughout the Union shall be in the uncontrolled, as well as actual, gift of the Executive. This policy maintains the right of the Central Government to select, through its President, the best men for the positions in its gift in every State, and assumes in this way to inaugurate a thorough and much-needed civil-service reform. The opponents of this principle are practically the senators of the respective States, who naturally wish to retain the immense political influence and security of tenure afforded by the common system hitherto in vogue, of regarding their recommendations to the President for all vacant Federal offices in their respective States, as equivalent to nominations for the same. The appointment of General Arthur to the Vice-Presidency was understood to be a concession to the views of Mr. Conkling, who represents the system of senatorial nepotism, and the death of General Garfield would have raised General Arthur to the Presidency for the nearly four remaining years of the present term. The assassin Guiteau was but a representative of the horde of disappointed place-hunters, armed with recommendations and testimonials from their respective States, who haunt the purlicus of the Executive Mansion from March to July of every new Presidential term. Had his aim been as fatal as that of Booth, civil-service reform, the great need of American political life to-day, as peace was when Lincoln fell, would have been indefinitely postponed, and the vast territories of the United States have been ruled for years to come, by a man not chosen of the people for the Supreme Office of State, and who is supposed to represent the policy of States' patronage, which has proved a fruitful source of corruption, and which the election of General Garfield was meant to condemn.



## MY ANSWER TO OPPONENTS.

SOME answer will be expected from me to the statements of Father O'Leary in the article in your REVIEW for July.

It may not, I hope, be quite uninteresting, as a picture of the management of an improving Irish estate.

In substance, Father O'Leary is the local Land League in Clonakilty. He was its chairman, and almost the League itself, not one man of any character or influence belonging to it. The outrage of drawing away my labourers last December, and trying to starve the large head of stock on my farm, was managed by him and another priest. He got the money to pay my labourers, going to Dublin to ask some of it from the Central League. It was he who instigated my tenants not to pay their rents; and when I had lately recovered judgment against the three largest tenants for above £450 rent, and the interest in their farms was put up to sale by the Sheriff in Cork, these two priests attended the sale, bid on behalf of the tenants, and got their costs paid by the Land League.

He is thus very far from being impartial. In truth, no one can read the article under his name, without seeing that its one object is to annoy and injure me to the utmost possible.

This being so, it is satisfactory to find that the men with the worst will towards me, have really nothing to say against my treatment of the many labourers and others in my employment. Paying, as I did, more than £1,300 a year in wages directly—and very much more indirectly—no complaint is made of my wages per week, the houses I provided, of arbitrary discharges, or getting rid of old men, of fines or pinchings of any sort, nor of the condition of my labourers and their families. The single complaint is, that my labourers had to get their breakfasts before going to work in the morning, and even that is but partly true.

In regard to my tenants, nothing is said of their being in poverty or distress, their houses inferior, and farms exhausted—a solitary case of an expiring lease excepted. The one complaint is, that in the last fifteen years I have raised the rent of some. It is, of course, kept out of sight that there had been no increase of rent for a great many years before, nor since the principal sorts of farm produce in Ireland had nearly doubled in price, and that the rise of rent was only made on fit occasions, and with the grant of new leases for thirty-one years. Any one who takes the trouble to look at Father O'Leary's statements will see that, in most cases, the rent charged has not been more than 20s. per acre. Such, in fact, with few exceptions, where the land is exceptionally good, has been all I have asked. The cases mentioned of £2 and £3 per acre are those of town parks, accommodation land near the town, and let mostly to thoroughly thriving shopkeepers and traders in it, who are as independent in their class as I am. Similar land is let by others as high as £5 per acre.

When the tenants of these town parks want to manure them, they let them for con-acre potatoes to others in the town who do not hold land. These con-acre men pay the tenant £4 per acre, and find their own manure. My town parks at last are laid out in grass, and cows kept on them. The milk is sold in the town, at a higher price than English farmers receive who send their milk to London. From three to four acres, according to its condition, feed a cow; and as by thus selling the milk a fair cow will yield £15 to £16, it will be seen that £3 per acre for accommodation land of this kind is no undue rent. I have hardly ever known one of these town tenants dissatisfied with his holding. If he is dissatisfied, he has the complete remedy of giving up the land, as he has his trade to support him. By not mentioning that these holdings are town parks, Father O'Leary tries to give colour against me, without any just reason, of charging unduly high rents.

Further, much the larger number of the tenants he says I ejected, left of their own free will, during, and just after, the famine of 1846. During those years I gave an abatement of a quarter's rent to all. There was certainly no pressure on my part to get rid of tenants; on the contrary, it was a sore trouble to me. I did not then know how to make money out of the land. When the famine began, my tenants were far better off than most others, and suffered nothing in the first year; all had means enough to keep the wolf from the door. But when the potatoes failed in the second spring, those whose land was much reduced saw they could not go on. I forgave all rent due, let them take away whatever stock they had, and gave a small sum besides to help them to emigrate. There were no ejectments; they went away of themselves. I have not had more than half-a-dozen ejectments in forty years. If any tenants who left were willing to work, I gave them work in plenty, often allowing them to stay in their old houses and work for me. These have lived in comfort and respectability much greater than when they held land. I



built twenty-two good cottages of two stories, and also repaired a few old farm-houses for labourers. I thus had between thirty and forty men employed until last winter. (During the famine, and after, I had more than a hundred men.) I had more men in regular employment than before held the land as tenants. The state of exhaustion to which tenants had reduced the land—having fairly worn it out by paring and burning and over-cropping—was the true cause of their ruin, as can be seen from the fact, that at first all I could make out of it for rent and interest was 8s. per acre. Father O'Leary implies that this was the value of the land. It was their own bad farming having exhausted the land, that drove them away when the potatoes failed. All this happened about the time Father O'Leary was born.

I will now take the cases he mentions in order. Happily, the tenants and their farms are still there to be seen. I invite any indifferent person who understands land to see them for himself. I assert that at this moment, as a body, they are better off, and their farms in better condition, than any body of tenants in the county on the same number of acres.

(1.) Widow Dempsey, of Cloheen. When her father-in-law died he left her thirty-seven acres, in fair condition, and more than £200 in cash. In rearranging the land she lost five acres, not two-thirds of the farm, as Father O'Leary states. Her family consisted of two or three daughters nearly grown up. She was charged £2 per acre rent because the land was worth it. It is near enough to the town to get the benefit of town manure and selling milk. The thirty-two acres could feed eight cows, allowing some land for tillage. If the cows were let to a dairyman he would have been glad to pay £10 each, and give the best security for the rent = £80, from cows alone, whilst her rent was £64. Mrs. Dempsey and her daughters could have managed the cows as well as any dairyman, and with more profit. The dairyman would have lived out of the land, and made his profit besides, both of which gains she might have had. Mrs. Dempsey was a silly woman, with neither industry nor sense. She married her daughters worse than badly, got rid of all her money, reduced the land, and was at last ejected for non-payment of rent, not for misconduct. The twenty acres now in my own hands are rather far from the town for choice. The other twelve acres, for which she paid £2 per acre, have always since been held by a wealthy man in the town at £3 per acre. For the twenty acres I have been offered lately £2 per acre by a thriving man. I prefer holding them till better times.

(2.) Mrs. Brian, of Carrig, pays 20s. per acre for forty-four acres of excellent land. Her whole troubles come from her own and her sons' drinking and their grievous idleness. She has some children in America. So long as any one will pay her rent for her no doubt she will be glad of it. With the habits of herself and sons she can never thrive anywhere.



(3.) The Driscoll children, at Carrig, are next. Their father was the most "worthy" and indolent man I ever knew. He paid £60 a year for near sixty acres. He let his eight cows for £10 10s. each. He died leaving four young children, the eldest being sixteen. Their mother's brother had been in Australia, and by keeping an hotel brought home £30,000 (this I know from a Bank). He has a farm near Cork, and keeps his carriage. They have other uncles very well off. What could four children of this kind do as joint tenants of such a farm? I let them hold on at first, but soon they had not enough cows, so they ploughed the best grass fields for ley oats, and a bad harvest following, it made an end of them; they had neither corn to sell, nor grass for cows. Their uncles took the children amongst them, which it was plain from the first was much the best thing for them. They left because unable to pay the rent, and for no other cause. The uncles never offered to pay or secure the rent. I lost three half-years' rent, £75, by them.

(4.) Edmond Lucey, of Cashalisky, was ejected nearly twenty years ago, having been tenant of one of the best farms I have, 118 acres, at £84 per annum. I offered it to him at 20s. per acre. He refused it. I gave time for consideration again and again. He still refused. He had a son a priest, and thought I should not dare to go against the priest's father. Though nominally tenant, he had really divided his farm between two sons who lived with him. When they left, each son hired a good-sized farm, of I believe more than fifty acres, a few miles away, where I am told they have done well. The first year I cleared for rent and interest from this farm more than the rent I asked them. Last year, 1880, I cleared £285, instead of £118 I asked. Old Lucey had still another farm of 47 acres, held by him from me for thirty-one years, at 5s. 9d. per acre. This, a third son still holds. Father O'Leary says the very neighbours are in dread of me. I was driving home from Lucey's farm one day, after he was gone, when a man ran out of a house by the road-side, and dropped on his knees, holding up his hands, as if praying. I stopped to ask what he wanted. He answered, he was praying God for blessings upon me for having turned out Ned Lucey, who had injured him. I can say that he seemed very much in earnest.

(5.) On the same land, John Duggan is mentioned, though not by name. He holds thirty-two acres at 5s. 9d. per acre, £7 17s. per annum, for a thirty-one years lease. He never hinted to me that he wished to build a house. At such a rent I have no doubt he has money saved, and would like by any means to get his lease renewed at the same rent. When his lease is out I shall do all the improvements of all kinds wanted on the farm, and offer it to him at its honest value. If he lays out his money in manuring it, it is sure to give him four times as good a return as if he laid it out in permanent improvements. He is a backward, ignorant man, and very likely, with the priest's advice, will not choose to do right, which will be to his own loss.



(6.) Patrick Hennessy, of Mounteen, is the largest tenant I have. He held 256 acres, in two farms. I bought the land in the Estates Court, and as the buildings were on it at the time, by the Act of 1870 I was not liable for them, so it makes no difference to me what they are worth. They are not worth £700, nor half of it, nor a fourth part of it; nor did they cost it. The walls are built with mud mortar. The roofs are of the cheapest inferior white deal, quite too slight, even if the timber had been good, and with the rafters too far apart by one-half, most of it covered with bad small slate, of which there is a quarry three miles off.

These very buildings convinced me, ten years ago, that the only prudent course for a landlord was to build all necessary for his farms himself, and charge the interest on the outlay. Otherwise, whenever a tenant leaves, he is certain to make an outrageous claim for bad work, far beyond the honest value of good. Such cases are sure to be given against the landowner. Good work will last three times as long; and its first cost is less.

About half Hennessy's farms consist of a bottom of first-rate land, the best I have. The other half runs up a steep hill, almost impracticable for wheels, with a flat at the top. In substance, all the rent was made out of the good land below. The top and siding had been exhausted in old times, and were left in bad grass, that only fed a few sheep and dry heifers. A field above was tilled now and then with guano, and all the produce drawn down to the house. So the field was left worse than before. The lease of one farm ended, and I decided it was best for us both to leave him all the good land below, and take away the hill, charging the same rent for the good part (out of which it had always been made) as he had paid before for the whole. I am said to have coerced him into this. The facts are these:—The lease was to expire at Lady-day. In February, before I left home for London, he came to settle about a new lease. I told him my proposal. Without a minute's hesitation he said, "I'll take it, your honour." A few minutes after he said, "Now they tould your honour I was going to give ye trouble. Have I done so?" "No, indeed, Paddy," was the answer. He gave up the hill at Lady-day. The following July he took his lease of the rest. This man was able to give one daughter, on her marriage, £600. Only last Shrovetide his son married, and got a fortune of £300 with his wife. Another daughter married at the same time, in a way that displeased her father, so he gave her only £150 as fortune. This is Father O'Leary's own example of my poor oppressed tenants. At this moment Hennessy's rent averages 20s. per acre on 185 acres, most of it very fine land.

(8.) Then, Sam Kingston, of Cloheen, who pays three times Griffith's valuation, and has a neighbour who only pays half the rent per acre that he pays; unluckily, he is the most wealthy tenant I have. He has no children of his own, and so gave his niece £600 fortune on her marriage, and is believed to have as much more money still. In spite



of his oppression we have always been the best of friends, and he never gave me a hint that his rent was high, but has often laughed with me at the silly talk about Griffith's valuation, and compared it with the rent he pays.

(9.) Then, old Hayes, of Carrig. His eldest son being joined in the farm with his father when I bought the land, tried to make him pay the whole rent, so I had to eject him, but gave the whole farm back to his father. The younger son was convicted of a bad attempt at rape, and sent to the treadmill in Cork Gaol for twelve months for it. He used to rob his father's potato-pit, and sell the potatoes to get money. So he was out of the case. The only daughter, married to a well-off farmer, twenty miles away, had to take her father to her house to save his life, as he was unable to move. I was forced then to rescue my farm, and so had a land case, for the gain of the son-in-law, to fight. I was most unjustly treated by the County Court Judge, and therefore was driven to appeal to the Judge at the assizes, which forced on a compromise—for which, it seems, I am to blame.

(10.) Lastly, the late Mrs. Walsh and her son Dan. The rent had not been raised since before 1830. The farm was not let just before the famine, nor is it true that before the famine rack-rents prevailed. This is a mere invention of Father O'Leary's, to try and make out his case. Unluckily, he asserts the farm was hired just before the famine, while the truth is, it was more than fifteen years earlier. No doubt Mrs. Walsh married not long before the famine. She had some money, and wisely spent it all in manuring the farm. The large sum I mentioned, over £800, was made somehow; that is admitted, but, with the usual truth, we are told it was not out of my farm. I did not complain of Mrs. Walsh's industry, but she and her son always kept their land full of weeds and dirt. If their crops were kept even moderately clean, this, as the Registrar of Agricultural Statistics tells them again this year, 1881, would add greatly to their profits. I believe it would pay them all the increased rent I asked. Further, their fifty-eight acres is more than enough to feed eight cows. If they would make good butter, instead of bad, the difference would be double the increased rent asked; £2 per cow, for eight cows, would cover the whole increase. I asked 20s. per acre rent for the farm. I let the adjoining farm, not at all better land, two years ago, for 24s. per acre, to a Scotchman. They hired another farm, two miles off, from another landlord, last year, for 17s. per acre, the land being not nearly so good as mine. The road complained of as having taken up much of the farm was made long before the Walshes hired it at all. The road is a great gain, worth to the farm much beyond the land lost. It does not occupy five acres, nor half that quantity. That, too, is a pure fiction.

I think I have now gone through all the cases of tenants mentioned in the article, except one Noonan, of whom he tells a story which I



believe to be a simple untruth. I never had such a thought, or acted to any one as is described.

I think the first feeling anybody must have on reading the article will be, What a rich country, after all, Ireland is, when, on one moderately sized estate, so many cases of wealth need to be explained away! I ask any one to look at the string of prosperous tenants, whose wealth is Father O'Leary's stumblingblock, and consider, How did I manage to get them? He will have to believe, either that I have a remarkable power of selection, in spite of charging exorbitant rents, or else that there must be some cause at work on the estate to produce such a result in a country like Ireland.

The truth is, the result proceeds in part from both causes. The selection was made only among the tenants already on the property, and, having fixed on the best tenants, their farms have been enlarged and arranged to the most advantage; they have been required to pay regularly whatever rent they promised; they have known they would be treated with perfect fairness and consideration, but that no scheming was of any use, whilst every word said to them might be relied on. There were no underlings to bribe, or be bribed against them, nor a shilling beyond the rent taken from them in any way. And these things have given a confidence by which the tenantry have greatly prospered. It suits Land Leaguers to say they have been oppressed because rents were raised at long intervals. No doubt every one would rather pay less than more; but I am sure no one has thought the increase of his neighbour's rent has been excessive. Until the Land League doings began, there was not even any hesitation in agreeing to such increase as I have mentioned.

Father O'Leary rightly feels the results of the balance-sheets of my farm are a still worse stumblingblock. He has never seen the balance-sheets, and knows nothing whatever about them, or about my accounts, and what works I have done, or have not done, since a time before he was born. He does not know the principle on which the accounts have been kept, and he makes it clear, from what he says, that he does not understand how farm balance-sheets must be made out to give reliable results, nor what are farm improvements and what estate improvements. All he has seen, are the totals of the results of my farm that I printed; and with the help of thorough unscrupulousness, he asserts I do not make what I say I do make.

Once before, he stated publicly that I claimed the balance I show as rent. I told him then, that I claimed it as rent and interest, and have from the first so stated it. He again repeats the same untruth. If he had seen the accounts, he would know, that every one of near forty balance-sheets has written against the sum total, "balance for rent and interest." I have shown the balance-sheets to Mr. J. C. Morton, Prof. Baldwin, and many others. If Father O'Leary thinks I am such a fool as to cheat myself, he need not think others are such fools as to be



cheated by me. For simpleness, the accounts are kept on the principle of drawing out the net cash profit, which, if it has not been made by the farm, somebody must benevolently have made me a present of, and leaving each person to divide the profit between rent and interest in such proportions as he judges right. And further, every single point possible has been taken against the farm, or omitted wholly, many of them such as most farmers take credit for, and in strictness are right in doing so.

I have already said too much. I must only deny a few more untrue assertions. I have done much draining and reclamation for tenants. As soon as I had got the farms re-arranged compactly, I first made roads, so that every field should be accessible to wheels; then I took up draining as the most profitable work, and drained for tenants and myself indiscriminately. Many of my present tenants hold land that I drained. I never took a loan from the Board of Works, repayable in thirty-five years, and never made a tenant pay the instalment of a loan.

In the Famine, I took a loan of £1,000, for twenty-two years, because I feared rents might not come in, and so I might not be able to keep employed the many poor labourers I had. But rent did come in, and these men were paid out of it. I put the instalments of the loan to quite a different purpose, the return from which yielded the instalments repayable. I charged tenants for whom I drained five per cent. on the outlay, knowing, from my own experience, that they usually made a gross profit of ten per cent., or near it, and often much more from the improvement. Having thus asserted that I did little or no improvement for tenants, Father O'Leary then takes my whole expenditure for improvements, and asserts it is all chargeable against my farm. He has never heard of plantations, estate buildings, new fences, and getting rid of useless old fences, and the number of other improvements that are usually wanted on Irish estates. And, with the foolish ignorance of such men, he does not know that in business it is often necessary to sink capital on one thing, for the sake of other objects, and be content with the gain coming at a future time, or only indirectly.

I never bought the plough-land of Maulrour, as asserted; I inherited it from my father. I paid much more than twenty years' purchase for the plough land of Monteen, I am sorry to say. A richer proprietor than I am, at the other side of it, wished for it as much as I did. I got the first offer, and had to give the price the owner asked. There was, too, a heavy charge upon it, which I had afterwards to pay off, and which added three years' purchase to the cost. This was known to very few. Father O'Leary, knowing nothing of the facts, based his untruth on rumour, which he exaggerated to suit his own purpose.

There is hardly one of his statements about me that I cannot also contradict. Probably I have said enough to show his character.

Father O'Leary tries to represent, by garbled extracts from what I have written, that my only object has been to make my tenants pay more rent.



The truth is, that I saw from the first that the land was capable of producing much more largely than it did in its neglected state. The balance-sheets, of which I gave the results quoted, beginning with 8s. per acre, and steadily increasing to 40s. for rent and interest, are the best proof that such opinion was sound. I saw that tenants with capital and knowledge, and larger, better arranged farms, could pay me a better rent, and yet make a much larger profit for themselves. I knew that such a result would be a gain to the country, to the tenants, and to me. I have said plainly that my leading motive has been duty. I assert that nothing has been done, or left undone, that the best landlords in the Three Kingdoms are in the habit of doing for their tenants. I will not repeat what I have before said on this point, nor on my great outlay in employment and other ways for so many years. No doubt the tenants would have preferred to enjoy all the other advantages, and also to have paid no higher rent. As I have said, my rents were never unduly high, but strictly considerate. My books will show the rents were paid with thorough regularity for forty years, which would have been impossible if they had been too high.

There never has been any serious discontent among the tenants. Amongst my many labourers there was none whatever. The prosperity of my tenants and labourers was such that it was the talk of all who saw it in contrast with other estates, and was a gain to the shopkeepers with whom they dealt. It pleased a few Roman Catholic priests to set themselves to try to break up what I had done. It was a stumbling-block in the way of their schemes. At first only three or four tenants could be got to take any part in the Land League. But they hindered many from paying their rents by threats, and by promises that the League would pay their costs if I took proceedings against them. They persuaded my thirty to forty labourers to leave my employment, in hopes of starving my farm stock. Though the labourers only held their houses by my permission, and never paid a penny of rent, these priests set up the claim that they were cotter tenants. I had to defeat this at law. I wanted one of the cottages in winter for the police, and that the labourer should go to another house; and his table and kettle were put out of his door for the purpose, before the inspector of police changed his mind. They brought an action against me in the County Court for £50, loss and damage. This, of course, was dismissed. All the Boycotting, and trouble in buying and selling I have elsewhere described, was inflicted on me and on my family. Finding that what I wrote in the papers elsewhere was hurting their schemes, this plan of unscrupulous misrepresentation and falsehood about me and my doings was resorted to, in the name of Father O'Leary. Whether written by him or not, those who know the man and his education and antecedents, can judge for themselves.

No doubt, as Father O'Leary complains, I have spoken strongly of the falsehood that prevails so grievously in Ireland. I did so deliberately,



knowing well the objection to using strong words, and the liability to prejudice of the best class of readers ; but it is impossible to make known the state of things in Ireland except by using very plain strong words. It is the lying, the idleness, and the drinking, and nothing else, that are the cause of all the troubles. When it is too late this will force itself on the conviction of all true men.

There is a further point of a very serious kind, and that touches Father O'Leary and Father Mulcahy, and still more their Church. (Let me state plainly that, in what I am about to say, I by no means wish to say a word against the majority of the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland. Many are worthy men, doing their duty fairly and honestly, like the parish priest of the parish where Father O'Leary is curate.)

I have said enough of Father O'Leary. He asserts that Father Mulcahy denies having helped to draw away my labourers. A dozen persons saw my men going into his vestry on the Sunday before they left me. My son saw him in the village next day with the men. The windows of the police barrack, too, look on the place. Father Mulcahy holds a few fields from a magistrate near his house. He refused to pay his rent, and about a month ago had to be sued in the County Court for three half-years' rent. A few days afterwards the magistrate received a dead rat by post in a letter ; a few days more, and all his beagles were poisoned. When such things are done, it is right they should be known.

But the really serious question is this, What must be the character of a Church whose ministers are permitted to do even a part of what these Roman Catholic priests have done ? Put aside all doubtful points, and consider only those that are admitted, and even gloried in. They are done by the ministers of a Christian religion, because a landowner charges his tenants rather higher rent than these priests like, and will not submit to their dictation on the subject. Have the ministers of any other form of the Christian religion acted in this way ? Has it come to this, that such interference of Roman Catholic priests is to be borne in this kingdom ?

We all know what has long been the accusation against Roman Catholic priests, that they aim at directing the affairs of this world, both in families and in civil society, for their own purposes, in a way that has raised distrust and suspicion in every country where they have a footing.

All, too, know what effect this very same interference has produced on men's minds in France, Belgium, Germany, and even Italy, and the strong, scarcely justifiable, measures the Governments of those countries have been driven to take in consequence against the priests. There never was a clearer and more wholly unjustifiable instance of this evil-doing than that of Fathers O'Leary and Mulcahy, and the other priests in Ireland who have acted in the same way. I ask the attention to it of all honest men in all the countries of Europe. I abstain from drawing the moral ; but I am quite certain what will be the effect of



such conduct on the interests of their Church. Backward as is the state of Ireland, still it is growing fast in education and knowledge.

No minister of religion can abuse his office for such purposes as these without inflicting the worst injury on his religion, and giving a justification to the opponents of it, of the greatest value and effectiveness in their hands. One thing more I ought to mention, lest I should seem to avoid it on purpose.

Father O'Leary states that my grandfather was an attorney, and the Town Clerk of Cork. On a previous occasion he said the same thing, and his New York friend, who drew his information from him, repeats it. It is plain he thinks the statement will cause me annoyance or injury. The fact has been always known to all in County Cork. Many must remember my grandfather, as I do. I certainly never gave any one the impression that I wished to keep the fact out of sight, nor has any act of my life assumed a position inconsistent with it. The unusual truth and uprightness of my grandfather's character, and the great esteem he enjoyed in consequence from all sorts of men, is one of those things that have been the pride of my life, and I have always rejoiced to believe that what there is in me of truth and uprightness, was inherited from him. Father O'Leary can know little of England if he thinks that any man of education, whose conduct and character are such as they should be, will lose the good opinion of any whose opinion is worth having, because his grandfather had not the advantages of birth others enjoy.

To conclude. Dealing with land, whether by the owner or occupier, is a business and nothing else, just as much as cotton-spinning or selling cotton goods. It can only prosper when conducted on the same sound principles. It does not, therefore, follow that kindness and fair consideration are to be excluded from the business of dealing with land any more than from any other business, not because of any right in the receiver, but because they are duties due by the giver to his own character. It follows, therefore, that if a large sum of capital is to be expended on land, it must yield an honest business return to whoever expends it. If from any cause it does not yield the return, capital will soon cease to be laid out. It is for this reason—a great expenditure of capital being the chief want of Ireland, by which alone production and employment can be increased—that so much care is needed not to deter any one who has been laying out capital, or can be induced to do so.

Such ideas are wholly outside men like Father O'Leary, and others of his sort in Ireland. Hence the unreasonable and dishonest views put out, which have led to the present trouble, and which it is impossible to satisfy, because their one aim is to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

W. BENICE JONES.

July 15, 1881.

## ARE REFORMS POSSIBLE UNDER MUSSULMAN RULE ?

I MUST ask to be excused for prefacing the answer which I propose to make to this question with some observations on an article in which the *Saturday Review* criticised my paper on Lord Beaconsfield in the June number of this REVIEW. On the personalities in which the writer of that article thought fit to indulge I shall make no remark further than to express my surprise and regret that they should have been permitted to appear in a journal of the character and reputation of the *Saturday Review*.

The readers of my paper on Lord Beaconsfield will remember that I was not niggardly in my praise of his private worth. I said that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, "so admirable a husband and so true a friend was clearly not deficient in generous and amiable qualities;" that he was "honest and straightforward" from his own point of view; that even when I felt bound to call attention to conduct which seemed to me morally indefensible, still "I made no imputation whatever on his sincerity;" that "his private life had been unsullied by the breath of scandal;" that "in his private character it seems to be generally admitted that he was not only irreproachable, but graced with some ennobling qualities;" that "he has left behind him warm friends and no enemies;" that "equity requires that in passing judgment on Lord Beaconsfield's political career we should not apply too rigorously in his case our ordinary canons of political morality," because adverse circumstances, not of his own creation, "are answerable, to a degree not commonly suspected, for what even a friendly judgment must condemn in Lord Beaconsfield's character and career."

Having thus done full justice to the man, I felt myself at liberty to criticise all the more frankly the conduct of the politician. I accused Lord Beaconsfield of having "made self-aggrandisement the one aim of



his life." For this the *Saturday Review* has taken me severely to task, and has referred me to Lord Hartington's judgment on Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy in his last administration—namely, that "it has been one which in his [Lord Beaconsfield's] judgment has been calculated to promote the greatness, the honour, and the prosperity of this country." Now, in the first place, Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy in his last administration was but a small part of his public career. But, secondly, it is by no means impossible for a politician to persuade himself that the path which leads to self-aggrandisement is also the path which "promotes the greatness, the honour, and the prosperity of this country." No form of self-deception is more common. If the *Saturday Review* knows how Lord Beaconsfield could have achieved personal greatness through the littleness, and degradation, and ruin of his country, I candidly confess that I do not. But, thirdly, I prefer Lord Beaconsfield's own account of his political conduct even to the judgment of Lord Hartington or anybody else. Whatever else I may think of Lord Beaconsfield, he was, in my opinion, as little of a hypocrite as most men. When he entered the political arena he avowed candidly and publicly the principles by which he intended to be guided. In a deliberately composed manifesto he said:—

"A statesman is the creature of his age, the child of circumstances, the creation of his times. A statesman is essentially a practical character; and when he is called upon to take office he is not to inquire what his opinions might or might not have been upon this or that subject; he is only to ascertain the needful, and the beneficial, and the most feasible manner in which affairs are to be carried on. The fact is, the conduct and opinions of public men at different periods of their career must not be too curiously contrasted in a free and aspiring country. The people have their passions, and it is even the duty of public men occasionally to adopt sentiments with which they do not sympathize, because the people must have leaders. . . . I laugh, therefore, at the objection against a man that, at a former period of his career, he advocated a policy different to his present one."

On that rule of conduct Lord Beaconsfield's whole career was based, and he took no pains whatever to conceal the fact. Free Trade, Parliamentary Reform, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church—these and other questions he advocated or opposed alternately according as the one or the other promoted or impeded his own possession of power. Other men have changed their political principles and connexions. The late Lord Derby began life as a strong Liberal and ended as a strong Tory. Mr. Gladstone began life as a strong Tory, and is now the chief of the Liberal party. But Lord Beaconsfield "piqued himself on his consistency" to the end of his career. In opposition he advocated the policy which he considered most likely to oust the Ministry. In office he adopted the policy which he thought best calculated to retain power. And this he did openly and without any disguise. Politics were with him a game of skill, of which the great object was to win. On the other hand, he had such confidence in his own powers that he sincerely believed himself better able than any competitor to promote



the welfare of the country. His pursuit of aggrandisement thus coincided with what he believed to be the welfare of his country. Even the *Saturday Review*, when not bent on venting its spleen upon me, slips into agreement with my estimate of Lord Beaconsfield. "The early part of his Parliamentary career," it says in its obituary notice, "was devoted to the establishment of his own position, as the necessary step to his further efforts." "It was to Mr. Disraeli that the Conservative party was indebted for its relief from the dead weight of Protectionist pledges. The opponents who denounced a cynical breach of consistency well knew that he had no economic convictions to repudiate." Precisely. But that did not prevent his professing Free Trade principles until his quarrel with Peel, nor his subsequent advocacy of what he styled "the sacred cause of Protection" until he stood upon the threshold of office, and found that a Free Trade policy was the only passport to power.

Are these facts? Have I misquoted or misrepresented Lord Beaconsfield? And if I have not, what is my critic's alternative interpretation of the facts? The key which I have applied to them has been furnished by Lord Beaconsfield himself. And in the same passage he incidentally suggests the plea of mitigating circumstances which I have urged on behalf of the man for the immorality of the politician. "A statesman is the creature of his age, the child of circumstances, the creation of his times." Lord Beaconsfield's personal environment up to the period of his entrance on the stage of public life was such as, humanly speaking, to leave him no chance. Men ought to be judged not so much by their acts as by their opportunities. "Mr. Disraeli," as I said in my article upon him, "started on his public career with little or no furniture of moral or religious principles of any kind—and this from no fault of his own." In passing judgment on his public conduct, therefore, equity requires that we should leave his personal character to the judgment of Him who "seeth not as man seeth," and who has warned us, in arrest of hasty condemnations, that very often "the first shall be last, and the last shall be first." It would be most unfair to judge Lord Beaconsfield by the standard by which we measure our ordinary public men; all the circumstances of his life are so entirely different. But, on the other hand, those who believe that the influence of his public career was, on the whole and in itself, an evil influence, ought not to abstain from saying so because it might be more agreeable to shout with the crowd.

"They are slaves who will not choose  
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,  
Rather than in silence shrink  
From the truth they needs must think.  
They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three."

The chorus of indiscriminating adulation which the death of Lord Beaconsfield evoked was, for the most part, an exhibition of flunkeyism



which Lord Beaconsfield himself would have been the first to despise. There were those, indeed, whose sorrow was real enough: men who stuck to Lord Beaconsfield in the season of adversity and admired not only the attractive qualities of the man but the public conduct of the politician; others whose unfavourable opinion a closer intimacy with the man had altered. The panegyrics of such as these are to be respected even by those who may chance to think them exaggerated. Very different is the feeling excited by the intolerant eulogies of critics who failed to discover any virtue in Lord Beaconsfield till the world had crowned him with its laurels. If he had died before he had become a Court favourite and a powerful Minister, the list of his eulogists would, I fear, have been woefully thinned. And I have no doubt that if, through some unforeseen circumstances, Mr. Bradlaugh were to become a Cabinet Minister and a favourite at Court,—a contingency not more improbable than Lord Beaconsfield's Premiership and Earldom and Garter forty years ago,—many of those who now shun him as a leper would compete for the honour of his friendship.

The *Saturday Review* is indeed hard to please in this matter. Even silence about Lord Beaconsfield's merits is a heinous offence in its eyes. Dr. Liddon referred to Lord Beaconsfield's death in terms of dignified and appropriate reserve; yet the *Saturday Review* thought fit to fling an unmannerly sneer at him because he did not desecrate the pulpit of St. Paul's by the language of insincere panegyric. "Amid the general chorus of eulogy," it wrote, "three persons only, whose names are known to any one beyond their own immediate circle, have ventured in various manner to hint faults and hesitate dislikes. The dubious language of Canon Liddon may be held to be either an apology for or a consequence of the uncertainty of vision which once made him unable to pronounce that bean-sacks were not men." So then it is a grave offence not to have joined "the general chorus of eulogy" on Lord Beaconsfield. One must not even venture to "hint faults" in the *Saturday's* tardily adored idol, nor hold any "dubious language" concerning him.

It is time to protest against this degrading fetichism when we see a journal of the reputation of the *Saturday Review* falling prostrate before it.

Curiously enough, in the number preceding that which contained the attack on me for what the *Conservative Standard* called my "moderate" criticism of Lord Beaconsfield's public career, the *Saturday Review* contained an obituary article on the late Governor of Madras, of which the following is a specimen:—

"It is of course not known what the pressing necessity was which made it necessary in the interests of Liberalism that the Duke of Buckingham should be succeeded at Madras by a distinguished Parliamentary tactician of the opposite party. Despite some early Indian experience, Mr. Adam did not seem to possess any special capacities for the post, and still less any reason for desiring it."

Having discarded every honourable motive from his analysis of Mr. Adam's conduct, the reviewer offers the following solution of the question :—

"It must have been a special reason for hesitation with him in accepting the appointment that he was thereby deprived of the chance of showing to the various Election Commissions the purity and public spirit which doubtless characterised the Liberal successes of 1880. Such a demonstration might, for aught that was known, have contrasted strongly with possible awkward exposures on the other side. Mr. Adam must have fervently desired the opportunity of making it which might have presented itself, and which he alone can have possessed. The interests of the nation and the party, however, required his absence in India, though his health was known to be somewhat uncertain, and he accepted the necessity. It must be a deep source of grief to Mr. Gladstone that this devotion should have been rewarded by such a fate. . . . Mr. Ellice, the elder, is said to have taken with him to the grave the secret of the winning of the Whig members and patrons to the Reform Bill of 1831; Mr. Adam has taken with him to the same rich repository the secret of a revolution, hardly more surprising, which took place fifty years later."

That is to say, that Mr. Adam preferred to face the risk of almost certain death in India to the exposure of his malpractices before "the various Election Commissions." The discrepancy between preaching and practice is an old story; but I have seldom seen so striking an illustration of it as this.

But the *Saturday Review's* sneer at Dr. Liddon is instructive as an illustration of the power of prejudice to blind the mind to the plainest evidence. All through the controversy on the Eastern Question the difficulty has been to get the elementary facts into minds which are encased in a panoply of invincible prejudice. Here is a gentleman, perhaps a lawyer, accustomed to weigh conflicting evidence and cross-examine witnesses, and so obdurate is his prejudice in a particular case that he accepts, with child-like simplicity, a series of assertions so portentously absurd that if he found himself confronted with them in an English court of justice, he would laugh to scorn the idea of their being considered evidence at all. The case is this :—

Three travellers, whose veracity has never, that I know of, been called in question, declared that on a given day, and in a singularly clear atmosphere, they saw a human body impaled on a stake. They believed that their distance from it was not more than 100 yards; anyhow, they were so near that one of them made a sketch of the figure, with its bare head and its arms tied behind its back. If three other witnesses, of equal veracity, had declared that they too saw the object in question, and that they believed it to have been "a sack of beans," I admit that the *Saturday Review* would have some ground for its sneer. But what did occur was something very different. Some weeks after the event a British Consul, who had never been within two hundred miles of the spot, and who was totally ignorant of the locality, gravely assured the Foreign Office that, "after much reflection," he had



come to the sage conclusion that what the travellers had seen was "a faggot of beans."\*

When this wild guess was shown to be absurd by the fact that the scene of the impalement was a wild mountain-side, miles away from haricot-beans and cultivated fields of any kind, the undaunted Consul, still ruminating hundreds of miles away in Bosna-Serai, hazarded another guess. "What Canon Liddon and Mr. MacColl really saw"—the "really" is delicious—"must have been a watchman who had mounted on his stake to look at the steamer descending the Save." The watchmen on the Save must certainly be very dexterous gymnasts, and somewhat pachydermatous to boot, if they can "mount" smooth stakes with their arms tied behind their backs, and then sit comfortably on the sharp point to contemplate a passing steamer.

As each instalment of this farrago of nonsense reached the Foreign Office it was instantly published, and a large section of the intelligent British public swallowed it as conclusive evidence against the testimony of three credible eye-witnesses!

But had Mr. Consul Holmes nothing better than his own random guessing to aid him in his "much reflection?" Yes: he hazarded two assertions which proved to be just as imaginary as his "haricot-beans." (1) No impalement could have taken place in Bosnia, he declared, "without immediately becoming publicly known" (a marvellous assertion by one who knew anything of that country); and "no statement of the kind has appeared in any Slav newspapers." How did Consul Holmes know that? He could not read a sentence of the Slav newspapers to save his life. He had not heard of any such statement in a Slav newspaper, and he concluded, *suo more*, that what he had not heard did not exist. He told me afterwards that he had lived so long in Turkey that he possessed "a sort of gift of divination" in sifting evidence. As a matter of fact Slav newspapers did contain the statements which Consul Holmes said they did not contain, and not Slav newspapers only, but the German press of Vienna as well.

(2) "For the last twenty years," wrote Consul Holmes, "not even in the wilds of Mesopotamia, much less in Europe, have I ever heard of a single instance of this old barbarous custom." This is a clear categorical statement: for twenty years Mr. Consul Holmes had "never heard of a single instance" of impalement in any part of the Turkish Empire. Rather more than a year before Consul Holmes made this statement he himself forwarded to the Foreign Office a document drawn up by the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic of Bosnia, and giving a detailed account of the grievous sufferings of the Christians of

\* "After much reflection, the matter is, I think, as clear as possible. Near most Bosnian farmhouses there are stakes such as Mr. MacColl describes, around which the haricot-beans are fixed up to dry, with something above them to keep off the birds. At the time of Mr. MacColl's voyage down the Save it is probable that most of the beans had been garnered; but a portion might have been left on one of the stakes which attracted his attention," &c. The haricot-beans, and farmhouses, and all the rest of Mr. Consul Holmes's "might-have-beens," are purely and absolutely mythical.



Bosnia and the Herzegovina. And among those sufferings the arbitrary infliction of impalement is specifically mentioned.\* Eight months later Consul Holmes's own clerk and Vice-Consul had sent from Consul Holmes's own office a despatch to Lord Derby (with a copy to Sir Henry Elliot at Constantinople), in which a detailed account was given of an impalement in Bosnia on March 10, 1876—that is, five months before the date of the impalement witnessed by Dr. Liddon and myself and our Croatian fellow-traveller. On receipt of this despatch Sir Henry Elliot made a strong protest at the Porte, and assured the Turkish Government that “when authentic accounts of such abominations were received in Europe they must excite the indignation of the whole civilized world.” The Porte took alarm and sent a commission of inquiry to the scene of the impalement. It frankly admitted that “the Vienna papers spoke of it,” and that “the excitement which the affair caused at the time forced the Imperial authorities to inquire into it.”

Now all these facts were in possession of Mr. Consul Holmes when he assured the Foreign Office that “for the last twenty years not even in the wilds of Mesopotamia, much less in Europe, had he ever heard of a single instance of this old barbarous custom.” They were also in possession of the Government when they published Consul Holmes's extraordinary statement without note or comment. But what became of those despatches from Vice-Consul Freeman and Sir Henry Elliot? *They were suppressed.* I found a slight clue to them in a Blue-book of 2,000 pages, and published the fact in the *Times*, with the result that their production was called for in both Houses of Parliament.

Here then we have this singular state of facts. The Foreign Office and Mr. Consul Holmes had been assuring the British public for months that “for the last twenty years” they had “never heard of a single instance” of impalement in the Turkish Empire. Yet all the while they had evidence to the contrary which they themselves described as “authentic.” And that evidence they quietly suppressed till a clue to it had been accidentally discovered and they were forced to publish it. Its publication was, of course, an awkward fact for Consul Holmes, and it extorted from him an explanatory despatch. In that despatch he admits that the impalement related by Vice-Consul Freeman rested on sufficient evidence; but adds:—“I would ask any impartial person whether the inference to be deduced from *the establishment of this case of impalement* is in favour of Mr. MacColl's statement, or the reverse.” “He relied on his own eyesight while passing the object he saw at a certain distance. . . . There is nothing astonishing that, considering all the peculiar circumstances of the case, he should have been misled by his own eyes.”

Verily Consul Holmes is “a reasoner not to be reasoned against,” but in a sense very different from that in which Dr. Johnson used the phrase of Leslie. My evidence must be rejected, forsooth, because I

\* Parl. Pap. for 1876, No. 2, pp. 29, 38.



"relied on my own eyesight" and that of two other witnesses, as to the character of an object at a distance of not more than 100 yards, in preference to the "much reflection" of Consul Holmes pondering on "haricot-beans" at a distance of nearly 300 miles! And, after all, what had my eyesight to do, one way or the other, with Consul Holmes's assertion, that "for twenty years" he had "never heard of a single instance" of impalement? I ought to add that this last despatch from Consul Holmes was not published for a year after it was written. The whole circumstances furnish an illustration of the tremendous disadvantage at which a private person must conduct a controversy with a Government. Whatever the Government publishes is generally copied in all the papers in the kingdom. And by a judicious selection and suppression of evidence in this case the Government was enabled to inoculate the public mind with an entirely false version of the facts, which closed almost every avenue by which the truth might find an entrance. My friend, the late Mr. Delane, kindly allowed me to conduct my share of the unequal controversy in the columns of the *Times*. But what could an occasional letter from one man, even in the *Times*, do against the hosts that were arrayed against me? The correspondence, however, brought me many letters corroborative of my statements, and expressing amazement that anybody should discredit the practice of impalement in Turkey. One of these was from Captain Richard Burton, the traveller, and now British Consul at Trieste. But I prefer to quote from a work ("The Land of Midian") which he published in 1879. In that book he speaks of impalement as "a pet punishment which, *pace* Musurus Pasha, is not wholly obsolete" in the Ottoman Empire. And with special reference to the impalement witnessed by Dr. Liddon and myself he says:—"On this vexed subject of 'man *versus* bean-bag' . . . the argument of the Greco-Turkish diplomatist, opposed to eye-witnesses, was convincing! Turkey has abolished the stake; consequently men are never impaled. Yemen in Southern Arabia could tell another tale."

Sir Samuel Baker, who is personally a stranger to me, wrote:—

"I followed with great interest the gallant fight which you made about impalements in Bosnia, and I have now read your book. . . . I have not the slightest doubt that the body you saw was actually that of some poor wretch who had been impaled. Your description is so perfectly clear that it is unquestionable. . . . I was two years in Turkey about twenty years ago, and having had considerable experience of Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, and very brutal fanatics of all kinds, I should not be in the least surprised at any atrocities, such as impalements or other tortures, committed by infuriated soldiery."

And then he describes the impalement of a friend of one of his own servants who "lived for two days upon the stake in the public market-place" of Khartoum. "Why people should discredit," he adds, "stories of impalement I cannot conceive."

I make no imputation at all on Consul (now Sir William) Holmes,



or on any one else who took part in this controversy, except the imputation of an overpowering prejudice. I have talked the matter over with Sir William Holmes, and although I cannot in the least understand the process of reasoning by which he arrived at his conclusions I am sure that he intended to be quite honest and truthful. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the time was Lord Derby, and nobody would believe him capable of deliberately suppressing evidence which told against him. But the fact remains that evidence was suppressed which, if published at the time, would have demolished the case set up against me.

The explanation of the fact I leave to whomsoever it may concern.

There is one other point which I should like to clear up before I address myself to the proper subject of this article. The *Saturday Review* has been good enough to characterize me, in its own choice language, as "a bore" through whom Mr. Gladstone sometimes communicates his views to the public. Whatever I may chance to be is a matter of very small consequence to anybody but myself; but it is a matter of some consequence that Mr. Gladstone should not be held responsible for what in no way concerns him. As a matter of fact, Mr. Gladstone has literally had no more to do with anything that I have ever written than Lord Beaconsfield had. I am not in the habit of obtruding my opinions on Mr. Gladstone, nor is he in the habit of honouring me with his confidences. I have no knowledge that he has read anything of mine except one book which happens to have nothing to do with politics. Not seldom, indeed, I have not even known what Mr. Gladstone's opinions were on the subjects on which I have written. I cannot imagine the ground on which the *Saturday Review* made its absurd imputation, unless it be an incident in a controversy which, under the signature of "Scrutator," I had ten years ago in the columns of the *Times* with Professor Max Muller. The subject in dispute was the responsibility of France and Germany respectively for the Franco-German war, and the following passage in one of Professor Max Muller's letters misled the German press into the belief that "Scrutator" was no other than Mr. Gladstone:—

"When I ventured to accept the first challenge of 'Scrutator,' it was not from any presumptuous confidence that I should be able to withstand in argument one of the most formidable athletes of our time, but simply and solely because I had such perfect confidence in his love of truth and his passion for justice, that I felt convinced he would rather break his sword than use it against an adversary whom he thought in the right. Nor have I been mistaken in my expectation; and, though in his last letter there are a few thrusts which show a love of victory rather than a love of truth, I feel it right to thank him thus publicly for the tender way in which he has dealt with one who, after all, can only handle a wooden sword, while he wields the very brand Excalibur."

The official press of Berlin declared, on the authority of "a trustworthy correspondent," that "Scrutator" was "no other than the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Gladstone," who was made ac-



cordingly a target for several violent articles. Both Professor Max Muller and myself published our letters separately, with additions; and this gave me an opportunity of declaring that Mr. Gladstone had no connection whatever with "Scrutator." But the official press of Berlin seemed to think that its reputation for "trustworthy" information was at stake, and it resolved to brazen out its original assertion. The *German Correspondent*, for example, declared, in a style worthy of the *Saturday Review*, that "Scrutator's" letters "were evidently written by Mr. Gladstone, but copied and sent to the *Times* by a literary hack who, when it is required, fathers such *opuscula* as it may not suit Mr. Gladstone to avow. In this way the editor of the *Times* was for a few days misled respecting the identity of his correspondent, the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, Curate of St. Giles's, Camberwell."

The truth is that I was out of England when I began the controversy, and I concluded it without knowing what Mr. Gladstone's opinions on the subject were. To this day I do not know whether Mr. Gladstone has ever read a line of what I wrote. The statement of the *German Correspondent* was copied into the London papers, and is, I suppose, the origin of the *Saturday Review's* canard. It happened that "the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, Curate of St. Giles's, Camberwell," was quite a different person from me,\* and "Scrutator" declared accordingly, in the second edition of his *brochure*, that he had as little connection with the curate of St. Giles's, Camberwell, as he had with Mr. Gladstone. This threw the Berlin press off the scent, and three or four members of Parliament have since then been at different times credited with the sins of "Scrutator." It may possibly save some innocent person from annoyance if I now assume the responsibility which belongs to me alone and exclusively.

I am sorry that the *Saturday Review's* attempt to "poison the wells"—to quote Cardinal Newman's phrase on a similar occasion—should have forced me to say so much about so disagreeable a subject as myself. I do not at all resent censure, however severe, provided that it is sincere and courteous. But the imputation of base motives is an illegitimate method of controversy; it is an attempt to poison the wells, and ought to be reprobated by all men who value the purity and independence of the press. For my own part, so far from complaining, I think it quite right that the interference of the clergy in political controversy should be regarded with some jealousy. But, in my judgment—and that is my reason for meddling with it—the Eastern Question is quite as much a moral as it is a political question. That fact will come out as I proceed; and so, without more ado, I address myself at once to the question which heads this article.

\* I fear that my clerical namesake, the other Malcolm MacColl, receives, by mistake, not a few shafts which are intended for me. My little book happened to be translated into French and German, and the mistake of the Berlin press brought me, in the evident belief that I was Mr. Gladstone, some exceedingly curious and interesting letters from distinguished men on the Continent.



In seeking to maintain, and at the same time reform, the Turkish Empire, European statesmen are aiming at two incompatible objects. To reform the Turkish Empire is in fact to destroy it. This may seem a paradox; but a little consideration will show that the statement is strictly true.

In the territory which Europeans improperly call Turkey there is nothing answering to what we commonly mean by the word State. All civilized States have for their foundation a nationality and a national territory. In the Ottoman Empire there is neither nationality nor national territory. What is there in common, from a national point of view, between a Mussulman of Kurdistan and a Mussulman of Bosnia? or between a Mussulman of Crete and a Mussulman of Bagdad? That which binds them together is not a common nationality but a common faith. For the sake of convenience we may talk of the Government of Turkey, the Government of Afghanistan, the Government of Morocco, just as we may talk of the Church of France, the Church of Austria, the Church of Spain. In point of fact there is only one Roman Catholic Church in the world, and the branches of that Church, which are locally distributed in different countries, are strictly bound by a common code of fundamental rules and dogmas. In the same way there is only one Mussulman Power in the world, and what we call Mussulman States are only branches of a cosmopolitan theocracy, and are all bound by one common code of civil and religious rules and dogmas which are essentially and eternally unchangeable. Mahomedanism is thus a vast militant Papacy, more compact and more powerful in its organization than the Papacy of Rome. And this system is bound by the fetters of an infallibility as dogmatic as that of Rome since the Vatican Council, and much more rigid. The infallibility of the Pope is, at all events, that of a living voice. You may perchance convict it of logical and historical contradictions and inconsistencies; but *solvitur ambulando*. While you are arguing, the organ of infallibility moves on and meets a fresh requirement with a fresh decree. But the infallible Pontiff of Islam has been dead for centuries, and he can have no successor. What seemed to him good to decree twelve centuries ago for the guidance of rude and ignorant Arabs must rule for ever the conduct of the Mussulman world. And the inviolable sanctity of his decrees is guarded by a most powerful and wealthy corporation, whose duty and interest it is to prevent the introduction of any of those reforms which European Cabinets periodically recommend to the favourable consideration of the Sultan. "It is easy to understand," says Ubicini, "that a body so powerfully organized as the Ulema, which has centred in itself all the vitality of Islam, and achieved the formation of a sort of aristocracy in a country where privileges are unknown, must be opposed to all ideas of reform, which would be the utter ruin of its power." The case is in reality much stronger than Ubicini puts it. It is not self-interest alone, but the imperative obligations of a sacred code, which



impel the Ulema to resist the introduction of European reforms. The Ulema are the official guardians of the Sacred Law; and the Sacred Law, which is absolutely and in all points unchangeable, forbids all such reforms. The institutions of every Mussulman State are necessarily built upon the Koran; and the Koran being, for every Moslem, the last expression of the Divine Will, reform is not only superfluous, but presumptuous in addition.\* It is an article of necessary faith throughout the Mussulman world that every word in the Koran was dictated to Mohamed by God through the mouth of the Angel Gabriel and in the Arabic tongue. Ibn Khaldoun, an accomplished Moslem historian of standard authority, says:—"Of all the divine books the Koran is the only one of which the text, words, and phrases have been communicated to a prophet by an audible voice. It is otherwise with the Pentateuch, the Gospel, and the other divine books, which the prophets received under the form of ideas."† This view is fully borne out by the Koran itself. In the 75th Sura, for example, God is represented as saying:—"Move not thy tongue, O Mohamed, in repeating the revelations brought thee by Gabriel, before he shall have finished the same, that thou mayest quickly commit them to memory, for the collecting the Koran in thy mind and the teaching them the true reading thereof are incumbent on us. But when we shall have recited the same unto thee by the tongue of the angel, do thou follow the reading thereof; and afterwards it shall be our part to explain it unto thee." The Koran is, therefore, regarded by every Mussulman as an objective revelation, Mohamed being only the passive organ of its transmission.

"Spiritual power in Islam," says Ubicini truly, "begins and ends with Mohamed." There is no hint of spiritual succession in the Koran, and Mohamed himself carefully excluded any such idea when he was asked to appoint a successor. He professed to be the last and greatest of the Prophets, and, as such, incapable of having either a successor or representative. And, as a matter of fact, the Kalifs never arrogated to themselves any such position; nor does the Sultan make any such pretension now. He could not, if he would, for such pretension would be repugnant to the Sacred Law. The Kalif is, in fact, merely the chosen delegate of the True Believers, and among the qualifications of the office are the following, as laid down in the Sacred Law: "The Supreme Head of the Mussulmans must profess the doctrines of the Koran; have attained his majority; be of sound mind, of the masculine gender, and a free man. He is the depository of the Sacred Code, and the guardian of the Canon Law. . . . He is forbidden to make the slightest change in any part of the canonical [*i.e.*, the civil] constitution, more especially if such change, by its nature and

\* "L'ultima edizione de' comandi del Creatore Scritta ab eterno; recitata a brani dall' angelo Gabriele all' apostolo illiterato, il quale veniva ripetendo la rivelazione, e si chiamolla *Korân*, ossia lettura."—*Amari: Storia dei Mussulmani di Sicilia*, vol. i. p. 51.

† *Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, vol. i. p. 195.



object, should tend to alter the condition of the nation—of the servants of God confided to his care and protection.” “The Supreme Head of the Mussulmans” therefore—call him Kalif or Sultan—is always under the Law, never above it. He is to be obeyed so long as he conforms to the *Cher’iat*, or Sacred Law. The moment he transgresses it his subjects have not merely the right, it is their bounden duty, to disobey him. And if he continues to transgress he may be deposed under the sanction of a *fetva* from the Sheik-ul-Islam.

For some time after Mohamed the Kalifs combined, in their own persons, the functions of pontiff, lawyer, and judge. The Kalif recited the public prayers at the stated times in the mosque; he made such changes in the civil law as he deemed expedient, subject always to the proviso of their being in accordance with the Sacred Law; and he heard complaints and administered justice in person. As the empire of Islam extended the Kalifs found the discharge of their multifarious duties too much for them. The reading of the public prayers was therefore, except on some special occasions, discharged by deputy, and the administration of justice was gradually resigned into the hands of the Ulema. “These men, possessing, like the priests under the Jewish theocracy, the oracles both of law and religion, not only unite in themselves the power of two great corporations—those of the law and of the church—but also share with the sovereign the direct exercise of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers.”\* At the head of the Ulema in the Ottoman Empire is the Sheik-ul-Islam, or Grand Mufti. His rank is co-ordinate with that of the Grand Vizier, and his official salary, independently of perquisites and bribes—an important exception—is about £12,000 sterling. All the judges of the Empire are practically appointed by him. Some he appoints directly, without consultation either with the Grand Vizier or Sultan; and the rest are appointed on his nomination, or through his subordinates. It is, moreover, the privilege of the Sheik-ul-Islam to sanction the political acts of the Government with his *fetva*, or sacred *imprimatur*, certifying them to be in accordance with the Sacred Law, and therefore obligatory. This is a most important power, for without the Sheik-ul-Islam’s *fetva* no legislative act or treaty of the Government can take place; nor can the Sultan wage war or make peace, or even repel an invasion, until he has been thus empowered. The Hatti-humayoun of 1856, which promised equality of rights to the Sultan’s Christian subjects, never received the necessary *fetva*, nor indeed could it, for equality of rights is forbidden to the non-Mussulman by the Sacred Law. The Hatti-humayoun, therefore, remained a dead letter, as all reforms must do which conflict with the Sacred Law of Islam.†

The whole religious organization of the Ottoman Empire, and the

\* Eton’s “Survey of the Turkish Empire,” p. 19.

† “Les Docteurs de la loi sont unanimement d’accord sur l’obligation de conformer ses actions à ce qui est indiqué dans les traditions attribuées au Prophète.”—*Ibn Khaldoun*,



entire magistracy, are thus seen to be under the direct control of the Ulema; and by its power of veto in the sphere of legislation it commands the political situation also. It is at once a political and religious corporation, formidable both from its recognised position and privileges, and from its enormous wealth. About three-fifths of the land in the Turkish Empire is *vacouf*, or mosque property, and the whole of this property, which is secure against confiscation and taxation, belongs to the Ulema, or is under its control.

To talk, therefore, of any reforms under the Sultan's direct rule which shall alter in any material degree the condition and *status* of the Christian population is in truth to talk nonsense. No reforms of the kind are possible. For the dominions of the Sultan are merely a part of one vast theocratic Power which claims divine sanction to reduce all mankind to the alternative of embracing Islam or submitting to servitude or death: servitude in the case of Jews or Christians; death in the case of all other non-Mussulman people, and of Christians who take up arms in defence of their liberty.\* The Koran accordingly divides the world into Dar-ul-Islam and Dal-ul-Harb—*i.e.*, the country of Islam and the country of the enemy; and it is the duty of the head of the Mussulman faith to compel Dar-ul-Harb—*i.e.*, the whole non-Mussulman world—to embrace Mohamedanism at the point of the sword.

Islam thus claims to be a universal Empire, based on the unchanging and unchangeable law of the Koran, and the Sunnat or supplemental Traditions.† And the right of citizenship in this world-wide polity is not based on birth, or race, or language, or country; for it recognizes no country but Dar-ul-Islam: it is based on a religious profession.

vol. ii. p. 465. "The traditions attributed to the Prophet" mean the Sannat, which is an integral part of the Sacred Law.

In 1827 Sultan Mahmoud issued a protest against the interference of the Christian Powers in the administration of the Ottoman Empire, "the affairs of which," he said truly, "are conducted upon the principles of sacred legislation, and all the regulations of which are strictly connected with the principles of religion." These principles are immutable, as we were forcibly reminded in the summer of 1879 by the *fatwa* published by the Council of the Ulema against some of the reforms proposed by Khair-ed-din. The reforms were inadmissible, said the *fatwa*, because opposed to "the unalterable principles of the Cheri," or Sacred Law.

\* This policy of extermination was found impracticable in India, and impolitic in other places. But it was more generally acted on than is commonly supposed. "Of all the native populations in the countries subdued," says Finlay, "the Arabs of Syria alone appear to have immediately adopted the new religion of their co-national race; but the great mass of the Christians in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Africa clung firmly to their faith, and the decline of Christianity in all those countries is to be attributed rather to the extermination than to the conversion of the Christian inhabitants." Elsewhere he says that "Mohamed II. deliberately put to death every Greek who exercised any political influence, as the simplest mode of establishing tranquillity in Greece; and the torpid condition of Greek society for several generations attests the wisdom of his satanic policy."—*Hist. of the Greek Revolution*, vol. i. p. 13. Satanic or not, it is the policy of the Koran.

† "That Islam ever stepped beyond the limits of Arabia and its borderland was due to circumstances rather than design. The faith was meant originally for the Arabs."—*Sir W. Muir: The Rede Lecture of 1881*, p. 5. It is presumptuous to differ from so high an authority; but "the despatches to the Kaiser, and the Chosroes, and other neighbouring potentates, summoning them to embrace the true faith," seem to prove the contrary, even though "the step had never been followed up" by Mahomed. He had not the power to follow it up. At all events, the universality of the Empire of Islam is certainly an article of faith throughout the Mussulman world.



Citizenship in the countries of Christendom, and also in civilized Pagan lands, does not, and never did, depend exclusively on the profession of a religious creed. Even in the Middle Ages, when Christendom was undivided, a man did not become a citizen of England, or France, or any other Christian country, in virtue of being a Christian. An English Christian was not, as such, entitled to French citizenship, nor *vice versé*. But a Mussulman is, as such, a citizen of all Mussulman countries; for his only country is Dar-ul-Islam—the country of Islam. Wherever Islam rules there the Moslem is at home. Where Islam ceases to rule, on the other hand, he ceases to have a country. We read just now of an exodus of Mussulmans from the territory ceded to Greece. It does not follow at all that they fear oppression or injustice under Christian rule. The reason of their leaving is that the ceded territory has ceased to be their country, though they may not have a drop of any blood but Greek in their veins. But a Chinese, a Hindoo, a Mexican, an Englishman, a Frenchman, if he is a Mussulman, is in virtue of that simple fact a citizen of Dar-ul-Islam, and consequently of any territory under Mussulman rule. He is a citizen of the Ottoman Empire, of Afghanistan, of Morocco, of Khiva, of Bokhara, and is as fully entitled to all the privileges of citizenship as a native of any of those States.

Let him, on the other hand, have been born in the Holy City of Mecca or Medina; let him speak the sacred language of Islam—Arabic; let him have rendered services of the highest value to the State; still, unless he is a Mussulman, he cannot be a citizen of any Mussulman country. Let him be a prince of ancient lineage and ample wealth, yet he can never enjoy equality of rights with the meanest scavenger or beggar who happens to be a Mussulman. A Mussulman ruler may indeed, and often does, employ non-Mussulmans in the service of the State, and may advance them to dignity and honour; but this is always a matter of condescension and favour, never of right. Musurus Pasha, for example, is no more a citizen of the Ottoman Empire than the meanest Raya in Macedonia or Armenia; for the right of citizenship is through the gate of Islam, and through that alone.

Among the legal disabilities under which the non-Mussulman subjects of a Mussulman Government lie are the following:—

1. Their evidence is never admissible against a Mussulman. For this and other statements which I make on this subject I could give volumes of proofs from the Reports of British Consuls all over the Turkish Empire. A sample will suffice. Consul Rassam, a friend of Sir Henry Layard, reports as follows:—

“There are two instances which to the Mohamedan are insurmountable—to rise before a Christian, and to receive in the Mehkemeh (Court of Justice) the evidence of a Christian against a Mohamedan. These are religious dogmas which will never alter unless the whole fabric of their religion pass away and another institution is planted in its stead. I have opened the subject before the doctors of law, and they assert: ‘These are dogmas based on our religious principles; and if His Majesty the Sultan wishes to order anything contrary, the Mohamedan



population will not obey him;' and they have added, 'that such a step would bring on an insurrection.'

One of the demands of the Andrassy Note, which the Great Powers addressed to the Porte five years ago, was "equality before the law" in the matter of "Christian evidence against Mussulmans."

2. Religious liberty is forbidden by the unalterable law of Islam. The following are extracts from Reports by Vice-Consul Maling, Consul Sandwith, and Consul-General Sir A. Kemball:—

"The use of Church bells, to which the Christians particularly cling, is never allowed where mixed creeds congregate. The liberty to build churches, sometimes without any shadow of reasonable pretext altogether refused, always encounters immense difficulties when the mixed races dwell in proximity. The never-wanting opposition of the Mussulman section causes the negotiations to be prolonged for years; and notwithstanding the Government expressly disclaims all fees on the grant, the costs of obtaining it form a preliminary outlay out of all proportion to the undertaking. . . . Ceremonial and even funeral processions are often molested, and but for the forbearing spirit of the Christians, dictated by their sense of helplessness before the law, very grave excesses would ensue. . . . In the councils and seats of justice there is no form of abuse of which the Turkish language, so pre-eminently rich therein, is capable, however gross, disgusting, and insulting to his faith, which is not openly and hourly applied to the hated and despised 'Ghiaour' by the judges and authorities of the land. Christian subjects of the Porte, except in one case which scarcely establishes a principle, have not been admitted at any time to offices of emolument in the local administration. . . . The public schools and charitable foundations are, without exception, closed to the Christians."

Consul Sandwith writes:—

"There exist here some 1,500 persons who are Mussulmans in name only; but a great many are Christians at heart, but are obliged publicly to acknowledge the Prophet, and can only secretly testify their adherence to Christianity. There can be no doubt that if there was a perfect toleration in religion, those persons would gladly emancipate themselves from the thralldom of their position."

Sir A. Kemball declares that "Christians are exposed to the aversions which are inculcated in the Koran." Moreover, it is death for a Christian to convert a Mussulman, and death also for the converted Mussulman.

In a Blue Book entitled "Religious Persecution in Turkey," published in 1875, I find the following facts stated on the authority of Her Majesty's Ambassador and Consuls in Turkey: That the Porte "definitely refused" to permit the establishment of Christian schools; that it prohibited the publication of the Bible in the Turkish language; and that, in direct violation of the Hatti-humayoun, the children not only of Mussulmans, but even of heathen parents, can never be recognized as Christians, even if they have been baptized in infancy." "The law did not recognize such men as Christians at all, but as Mahomedans." Such is the answer made by the Grand Vizier to the British Chargé d'Affaires, on the 18th of May, 1874; and the latter found, on inquiry, that the Grand Vizier was strictly accurate.



By Article 62 of the Treaty of Berlin the Turkish Government undertook as follows:—

"The Sublime Porte, having expressed the desire to maintain the principle of Religious Liberty to its fullest extent, the contracting parties take note of this spontaneous declaration. In no part of the Ottoman Empire can any difference of religious belief exclude any one from any civil or political rights, from any public offices or honours, or from the exercise of any profession or industry. All will be admitted without distinction of religion to testify before the Courts."

This was in the summer of 1878. In October of the following year Achmet Tevfik Effendi was condemned to death for the crime of correcting, as a purely literary matter, a Turkish translation of the English Book of Common Prayer. I know Achmet Effendi. He is a man of unblemished character, and of high rank in the hierarchy of the Ulema. He was a favourite of the Sultan, and at the time of his arrest was at the head of an important school at Constantinople, and a professor at a Madressé. He had made no profession of Christianity or of any intention to change his faith. Yet he was summarily condemned to death, and it was only the intimacy of his wife with powerful persons in the palace that prevented the immediate execution of the sentence. This gave time for the intervention of the foreign ambassadors, and, after much difficulty, the sentence of death was commuted to banishment.

Is it not marvellous that, with facts like these before them in superabundance, the Governments of the Great Powers should, from time to time, gravely take note of the "spontaneous declarations" of the Sultan in favour of conceding equality of rights to his Christian subjects? Surely they ought to know by this time that these spontaneous declarations of the Porte are a mere diplomatic *façon de parler*, which the Sultan has not the power, even if he had the will, to translate into fact. It is a maxim of Mussulman law, attested by innumerable *setvas* of the Ulema, "that a treaty made with the enemies of God and His Prophet" (*i.e.*, with non-Mussulmans) "may be broken."

3. It is unlawful for the Christian subject of a Mussulman Power to bear arms. This is an unrepeatable law, and was declared to be such by the Ulema of Constantinople in 1878.

4. The Christian pays a yearly ransom for the right to live, and the form of the receipt certifies that he is entitled to keep his head on his neck for another year.

There are other disabilities. But these will suffice. Yet we constantly hear of the "toleration" of the Turks. The truth is, travellers are deceived by two circumstances. The first is the fact of the Capitulations under which all foreigners are withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Mussulman courts, and placed under the protection of their respective Governments. In the large towns multitudes of natives manage to place themselves under the ægis of the Capitulations. In the second place, the rigorous execution of the Sacred Law is kept in chronic check



by the pressure of foreign ambassadors and consuls. Wherever this foreign pressure is absent the vitality of the Sacred Law is in full vigour. It is so at this moment, for example, in Armenia, and would be so throughout the Turkish Empire if fear of foreign intervention did not prevent it. I will cite in this connection the testimony of three witnesses, who will not be suspected of any strong antipathy to Mussulman rule. Consul Holmes says, in a despatch dated February 24th, 1871 :—

“The unnecessary delay and neglect, to the prejudice often of innocent persons, the open bribery and corruption, the invariable and unjust favour shown to Mussulmans in all cases between Turks and Christians, which distinguish the Turkish administration of what is called ‘justice’ throughout the empire, cannot fail to suggest the question : What would be the lot of foreigners in Turkey were the European Powers to give up the Capitulations? I am convinced that their position, in the provinces at all events, would be intolerable, and that they would quit the country to a man, while the outcry and feeling in Europe against Turkey would ultimately cause her ruin.”

Mr. Consul Stuart declares that all the international engagements as to reform undertaken by the Porte, “are as dead a letter as if they had never been.” And he furnishes, at the same time, the following specimen of the Moslem style of reasoning on the subject :—

“God, who gave us these countries, can, if He pleases, enable us to hold them. If we are to lose them, His will be done. But, happen what will, we must follow the commandments of the Prophet. At the same time we must try, as long as we can, to keep up appearances with the Ghiaours, promise anything and boldly affirm the execution of the promises. Deception is lawful with the Ghiaours.”

Our Consul-General at Tunis, Mr. Wood, gives his experience in the following passage :—

“It must always be borne in mind that the Koran is at the same time a religious and a political code. All Mussulmans admit it to be so, and it cannot be expected therefore that, since their religion is intimately connected with their national policy, they will not make use of the former to carry out the latter. Their policy may be briefly defined, namely, the maintenance of their faith in its purity by exclusiveness and isolation; the emancipation of the countries which have fallen under Christian rule; and the extermination of the infidel nations and races who, by refusing to pay tribute for the redemption of their blood, are pronounced by the Prophet to be in a state of open rebellion against the law, and consequently deserving of death. Enlightened and tolerant Mahomedans will endeavour to palliate these precepts by quotations from the Koran and Hadis; but they are not the less the cherished creed, the conscientious belief, of upwards of 200,000,000 Mahomedans.”

Facts like these, I own, go far to reconcile me to the virtual annexation of Tunis by France. Nothing, indeed, can well be more revolting to one’s moral sense than the canting cynicism with which that annexation has been carried out. But those who have had no share in the transaction may be allowed to rejoice at the event itself, however much they may reprobate the means employed. There is no hope for the civilization of any people while it remains under Mussulman rule. Shall I be reminded, by way of refutation, of Spain under Moorish



rule, of Bagdad under the *régime* of the Abbaside Kalifs, and of the Empire of the Moguls? I remember them all; but they are all irrelevant. Let us glance at the facts, and let us begin with Spain.

I assert, then, that the civilization of Moorish Spain is but very partially due to the Moors, and is due to them at all precisely in the degree in which they emancipated themselves from the fetters of Islam. I shall give reasons for that assertion presently. Meanwhile, those who hold the contrary opinion are bound to account for the following facts. When the Moors invaded Spain they were utterly uncivilized; when they left Spain they lapsed quickly into their original barbarism, and there they have remained ever since. How is this to be reconciled with the burst of splendour which illumined the rule of the Moors in Spain? Was there any magic virtue in the soil or climate of Granada which could thus transfigure the genius and character of an alien race? The present Minister for Foreign Affairs in France has acutely remarked on the "singular fact that Arabia itself has never been the theatre of that new glory" which irradiated Arab rule in Spain and Sicily. And he gives the explanation of the fact when he adds that "Arabia seems satisfied to be the inviolable asylum of the Mussulman faith. Mecca and Medina continue to be holy cities, and to this day the unbelievers are under the ban of exclusion from that sacred soil."\* In other words, the Arab's capacity for improvement is in an inverse ratio to his proximity to the heart of Islam. In Spain the virus circulated through his system at a distance from its source, and mingled with a variety of counteracting influences which served to keep it in check. It is in the capital of a country that we naturally look for the development and concentration of the intellectual capacity of its people. The capital of Islam is Mecca, and the condition of Mecca is the measure of the highest degree of civilization which Islam, left to its own resources, is capable of reaching. Prescott writes of the Moors of Spain with a certain degree of sympathetic admiration; yet even he is obliged to admit that in so far as they had imbibed the spirit of European civilization, they were acting in a manner "altogether alien from the genius of Mahomedanism." The Moorish civilization withered in proportion as Islam was able to assert itself, and could not be transplanted to a soil which was purely Mussulman.† It "shed," as Prescott says, "a ray of glory over the closing days of the Arabian Empire in Spain, and served to conceal, though it could not correct, the vices which it possessed in common with all Mohamedan institutions."‡

The Moorish civilization in Spain is due to three causes. First, a large number of Spanish Christians professed Mohamedanism to escape

\* "Mahomet et le Coran." Par J. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, p. 225.

† Compare the expulsion of the Moors from Spain with that of the Huguenots from France. The former left every vestige of civilization behind them; the latter carried their civilization with them, and it readily took root in the congenial soil of other Christian lands.

‡ "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i. pp. 295-6.



persecution and, in many cases, death. "The ambassador of James II. of Aragon," says Prescott, "in 1311, represented to the Sovereign Pontiff, Clement V., that of the 200,000 souls which then composed the population of Granada, there were not more than 500 of pure Moorish descent." Prescott considers this estimate "extravagant;" but the renegades unquestionably formed the majority of the Mussulman population,\* and in their ranks were some of the most cultivated men in Spain. Secondly, there was a large colony of highly-cultivated Jews in Spain, and the Moors employed them extensively in the work of education and administration. Thirdly, many of the Moorish princes and nobility carried their religion very loosely, intermarried with Christians, and abandoned some of the cherished institutions of Islam. Their women—and this was in itself a long stride forward in civilization—abandoned the veil, cultivated letters, mingled freely with the other sex, and presided, like Christian ladies, at jousts and tournaments. In these ways the invaders, who were in a minority of the population of the conquered territory, were elevated by contact with a civilization which they did not bring, but found. It was brains fed by Christian and Jewish ideas, and disciplined by Christian and Jewish influences, which reared the fair fabric of Moorish civilization in Spain. The only philosopher of note which the Moorish domination produced was Averroës, and he became eminent by breaking loose from the Koran and the Sunnat. He was accordingly disgraced, forbidden as a heretic to attend the mosques, and finally banished. He died in exile, and Islam has as much right to claim him for its offspring as the Inquisition has to claim Galileo. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries contact with Christian and Persian civilization impelled a number of bold and aspiring spirits at the chief centres of Mussulman rule to try to break the bonds of their inflexible creed, and a transient gleam of glory was thus cast on the essentially barbarous system of the Arabian Prophet. But it was soon seen that for Islam to be reformed was in truth to perish. Orthodoxy accordingly took the alarm, declared a fierce war against the Moslem rationalists, and prevailed. The disgrace of Averroës was followed up in Spain by a peremptory prohibition of Greek literature and philosophy, and valuable libraries were ruthlessly committed to the flames. From the close of the twelfth century to the fall of Granada in 1492 the Moslem world may be searched in vain for a single work of a Mussulman author which is of perennial value to mankind. And even the value of the Aristotelian commentaries of Averroës himself, the most eminent of Mussulman authors, is not rated very highly by competent authorities.†

The toleration, too, of the Spanish Moors is just as mythical as that of the Turks. "The Arabs," says a writer who will not be accused of undue prejudice in favour of Christianity, "though they conquered

\* See Dozy, "*Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*," vol. ii. p. 53.

† See Degerando, "*Hist. de Phil.*," vol. iv. c. 24.



Spain [they only conquered part of it], were too weak in numbers to hold that country otherwise than by politic concessions to the opinions and customs of the people."\* And these concessions were arbitrarily withdrawn whenever it was considered safe to break a treaty.† In a demonstration by the Christian renégades of Cordova against an unpopular governor thousands of them were slaughtered like sheep. Three hundred were impaled with their heads downwards in rows along the banks of the river; and the survivors—twenty-three thousand in all—exclusive of women and children, were bidden to quit Spain within a period of three days on pain of crucifixion. And this decree was rigorously carried out; a fact—and a far from solitary one—which ought to be taken into account when judgment is passed on the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

And what is true of Cordova and Granada is equally true of Bagdad and Delhi. "There never was any Arabian science, strictly speaking. In the first place, all the philosophy and science of the Mohamedans was Greek, Jewish, and Persian. . . . It really designates a reaction against Islamism, which arose in the distant parts of the Empire—in Samarcand, Bokhara, Morocco, and Cordova. The Arabian language having become the language of the Empire, this philosophy is written in that language. But the ideas are not Arabian; the spirit is not Arabian."‡ "The translation of the works of Aristotle, as indeed of all the Greek authors, was made by Syrian and Chaldean Christians, and especially by the historians who, as physicians, were in high favour with the liberal Kalifs of the Abbaside dynasty. In some cases the translation into Arabic was made from Syriac versions, for in the time of the Emperor Justinian many Greek works had been translated into the latter language."§

In Hindustan, as in Spain, the Mussulmans were in such a woful minority that they were compelled to make concessions which were antagonistic to the spirit and letter of Islam. Akbar, the most illustrious of their rulers, was enlightened and tolerant; but then he was an avowed sceptic as to the tenets of Islam. So long as the Mussulmans of India "confined themselves to making known their wants and providing money to meet the estimates, there was no want of skilful artificers to build mosques, mansions, and mortuary monuments, such as have never been surpassed. But when they cashiered the indigenous workmen and took in hand to build for themselves they produced works which are only remarked for their vulgarity."||

In short, what Amari says of Mussulman rule in Sicily is true of Mussulman rule all the world over, and especially in conquered foreign

\* "Hist. of Phil.," by G. H. Lewes, vol. i. p. 36.

† Dozy, ii. p. 58; Fleury, "Hist. Eccles.," x. livre 49.

‡ "Hist. of Phil.," by G. H. Lewes, vol. ii. p. 34.

§ Sell's "Faith of Islam," p. 181-2, a learned and valuable work. Cf. Osborn's "Islam under the Arabs," pp. 93-4.

|| Keene's "Turks in India," p. 10. He quotes Fergusson's "Indian Architecture," p. 602, in corroboration of this severe judgment.



lands:—"The constituent elements of society (*i corpuscoli sociali*) were not held together by love of country or obedience to authority; but everybody did what was right in his own eyes. The Arabic régime was, in fact, born with the germ of premature death, resulting from the character of the conquerors, their imperfect assimilation with the conquered people, the immutability of their laws, the necessity and at the same time the impotence of their despotism, the foreign mercenaries on whom they were obliged to rely, their confused municipal democracy, their system of levying tributes of blood, and their general anarchy under the garb of an absolute religious and political unity."<sup>\*</sup>

Apart from its attitude towards subject races, Mohamedanism carries in its bosom three incurable vices which, being of the essence of the system, bar for ever all possibility of reform. These are, the degradation of woman and the institution of slavery; the imprisonment of the human intellect within the narrow circle of knowledge possessed by an able but uncultivated Bedouin of the sixth century; the inevitable penalty of death for forsaking Islam. These "three radical evils," says Sir W. Muir, who is profoundly versed in the literature of Islam, and acquired in the East an intimate knowledge of its practical working, "flow from the faith in all ages and in every country, and must continue to flow so long as the Koran is the standard of belief"—that is, so long as Mohamedanism lasts. The result is to sap "the roots of public morals, poison domestic life, and disorganize society. Freedom of thought and private judgment are crushed and annihilated. The sword still is, and must remain, the inevitable penalty for the renunciation of Islam. Toleration is unknown. . . . No system could have been devised with more consummate skill for shutting out the nations over which it has sway from the light of truth. . . . The sword of Mohamed and the Koran are the most stubborn enemies of civilization, liberty, and truth which the world has yet known."<sup>†</sup>

Thousands of devout Mussulman students go out every year from the theological schools of Cairo, Stamboul, Central Asia, and India to preach throughout the realm of Islam that all these laws and regulations have been given direct from God, as the last and unchanging expression of His will. Reform is, therefore, not impossible merely; the very suggestion of such a thing is impious in the eyes of every sincere Moslem.

Does not this show the supreme absurdity of urging the reform of Turkish Administration at the same time that we insist on maintaining Mussulman rule? It is as if a doctor should try to cure a dipsomaniac, by insisting on leaving him in uncontrolled possession of the key of the cellar. In fact, it is much more absurd; for the dipsomaniac, after all, does not believe that it is the immutable will of God that he should practise habitual intoxication. But the Mussulman does believe that

<sup>\*</sup> "Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia," vol. i. p. 546.

<sup>†</sup> "Life of Mahomed," pp. 534-5, new edition.



his politico-religious system has been divinely granted, and is therefore perfect and irreformable. "When the Koran and Mecca shall have disappeared from Arabia," says a very friendly critic, Mr. Giffard Palgrave, "then, and then only, can we expect to see the Arab assume that place in the ranks of civilization from which Mohamed and his book have, more than any other cause, long held him back."

I am here, however, concerned only with such reforms as would place the Christian subjects of the Sultan on a footing of equal rights with the Mussulmans. Now that is a reform which no independent Mussulman Power has ever granted, and which no Mussulman Power ever can grant voluntarily, without apostasy. The body politic of Islam, let me again remind the reader, excludes from its constitution the very idea of national life. It is a cosmopolitan Religious Congregation in as true a sense as the Order of Jesuits, and equality of rights with the members of the fraternity is only possible through initiation into the Order. To relax that rule is, in reality, to dissolve the Order, and be guilty of apostasy. To ask the Sultan to do anything of the kind is the same kind of absurdity as it would be to ask the Pope to admit unbaptized Mussulmans to all Christian privileges, not excepting the Episcopate. Islam rejects our distinction between the temporal and spiritual functions of Government. The same man may be to-day Sheik-ul-Islam; the week after, Grand Vizier; and the following week, Commander-in-Chief. In fine, the European Cabinets have hitherto been acting on the erroneous idea that in the Ottoman Empire they were dealing with a secular Government susceptible of reform. What they have really been dealing with is a military theocracy, absolute in its principles of government, exclusive in its civil rights, and bound to remain unchangeable, or to perish.

What then is to be done? What hope is there of the possibility of reforms in Armenia, for example, which is the next field of operation for the European Concert? The only possible hope is in the withdrawal of Armenia from the direct rule of the Sultan. Place Armenia on the footing of the Lebanon. Appoint a Christian, or, at least, a non-Mussulman Governor, and make him practically independent of the caprice of the Sultan and the intrigues of the Palace and the Porte. There will then be no difficulty in introducing reforms in all branches of the administration. On making this suggestion, some months ago, in conversation with the able and gallant officer who has held the post of British Consul at Erzeroum for the last three years, he objected that a large proportion of the population of Armenia were Mussulmans. "But what does that matter?" I replied. "You are familiar with Mussulman rule and administration. Now tell me this: Is it not the fact that a Christian Governor can distribute equal justice to Christians and Mussulmans alike? And is it not likewise the fact that a Mussulman Governor cannot do so, and that the more upright a Mussulman he is, so much the worse must he be as a Governor. A bad Mussulman



may be bribed to do justice to a Christian. An honest Mussulman must enforce the Sacred Law of Islam, and that means the denial of justice to the Christian." "Well," said the Consul, after a pause, "if you put it in that way, you are quite right."

But let me not be misunderstood. An honest Mussulman can deal justice to Christian and Mussulman, provided that he is administering a non-Mussulman code, under the orders of a non-Mussulman superior. We have many such Mussulmans in our Indian Empire. But the more conscientious a Mussulman ruler is the less capable is he of doing justice to his non-Mussulman subjects. He is merely the Minister of a law which he believes to be divine and unalterable.

But is the Sultan likely to listen to any proposal aiming at giving self-government, under a non-Mussulman Governor, to Armenia? On the contrary he is bound by the Sacred Law to resist such an encroachment on the domain of Islam until he has convinced himself that superior force will be employed to compel him. When that contingency is made plain to him the same imperative law which bids him resist up to that point commands him then to yield in the interest of Islam. The question therefore is, Have the Christian Powers made up their minds to enforce their demand for a non-Mussulman Governor of Armenia? If they have, the determination to use force will obviate the necessity of using it, as in the case of the Lebanon twenty years ago and of Dulcigno the other day. If the concert of Europe is not prepared to go that length, the only alternatives are to do nothing, or that England and Russia should come to an understanding to coerce the Porte. To do nothing is undoubtedly the surest method of placing Russia in permanent possession of Armenia at no distant date. If the Armenians are forced to make their choice between their present condition and annexation to Russia, they will certainly choose annexation to Russia; and they can and will materially help to bring it to pass. On the other hand, a quiet intimation to the Porte that Russian troops would cross the Armenian frontier by agreement with the other Powers, or even with England alone, would at once extort the submission of the Sultan and avert the eventual annexation of Armenia to Russia. The mobilized Russian Army on the Roumanian frontier was, Lord Salisbury declared in the House of Lords in 1877, "the motive power of the Conference" of Constantinople; and if the Turkish Government had believed that they would have been left alone to contend with that motive power, they would undoubtedly have accepted Lord Salisbury's programme. Midhat Pasha, who was then Grand Vizir, said so in so many words in an article published in this country.

\* The Blue Books appear to me to make it evident that if Lord Salisbury had been properly supported by the Cabinet, he would have succeeded at Constantinople. One of the absurd charges persistently made against him by one or two journals of influence was that he had gone to Constantinople as an emissary of a knot of fanatics, including my humble self, who were bent on bringing about a union between the Eastern and the English Churches. I have never heard that Lord Salisbury has at any time expressed or held any opinion upon that subject. Nor can I see any connection between the liberation of the

The Ottoman Empire is clearly doomed. The question for statesmen to consider is, whether the end shall come in a sudden crash, or slowly, through the gradual emancipation and political discipline of the subject populations. In the former case, there will be a hurried scramble over the spoils, leading, not improbably, to a general war. In the latter, the subject races themselves may quietly and, by degrees, take possession of the inheritance, as has been done in the provinces already liberated. Those, then, who desire to maintain, as long as possible, the material fabric of the Ottoman Empire, should be the first to advocate the gradual extension of semi-independent local administrative Governments, paying tribute to the Sultan, but managing their own affairs. But this can never be accomplished except by coercion through some, or all, of the Great Powers.

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

Eastern Christians and the union of the English and Eastern Churches. My belief is that the emancipation of the Eastern Christians, if it have any effect at all, is calculated to retard rather than promote any such union. At all events, my opinions on the Eastern Question have never been influenced in the very slightest degree by any such considerations.



# ANCIENT EGYPT IN ITS COMPARATIVE RELATIONS.

LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION IN  
FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1881.

## III.

### ETHICS AND MANNERS.

**E**GYPTIAN society lasted unchanged four or five thousand years, from the date of the oldest monuments to the fall of paganism. It is no idle inquiry to search into the causes of this earliest and most enduring form of settled life, and to try to portray it truthfully. Our endeavour should be to form a clear notion of the moral philosophy of the Egyptians, and of their family life, education, and customs. Thus, looking so far back, and across so vast a space, we shall enlarge our horizon; and if by more careful view we can discover how far this ancient nation anticipated, or in any respect excelled us in civilization, we shall gain a clearer insight into the comparative morals of mankind.

### MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

The only ancient Egyptian philosophy we know was moral. How far the wise men of the colleges advanced in speculative philosophy is as yet dark. Apparently they were limited by religion, and confined themselves to those theories of the First Cause and the future state, which are traceable in the varying phases of the Egyptian religion. But speculation, such as we see it in the Greek schools, as to the nature of the Divinity, and the laws of the universe, appears to have been foreign to their studies. The only exception we at present know, in the whole range of Egyptian literature, is a document in demotic, recently explained by M. Revillout, in which a jackal and a cat hold high discourse as to the origin of life, immortality, and cognate subjects. This treatise belongs to the latest Egyptian age, when Greek and Persian influences (M. Revillout adds, perhaps Indian also) had materially altered the Egyptian modes of thought. ("Revue Egyptologique," i. pp. 143, 153.)

The undoubtedly native moral philosophy may be divided into the ethics of religion, and the ethics of the proverbial writers, which are markedly distinct.

*Ethics of Religion.*

As the central document of the ethics of religion, stands the famous Negative Confession, in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, already noticed in the last paper, in which the moral code it contains was deferred for consideration as belonging to the present subject.

The Negative Confession, it will be remembered, is the list of the forty-two deadly sins to which the deceased should plead not guilty at the time of the weighing of his heart before Osiris. He must address in turn the forty-two witnesses or assessors, who form the jury of the final judgment, and each of whom takes cognizance of a particular sin. This is the moral centre of the whole collection of documents which form the Book of the Dead; it is the Egyptian definition of the responsibility which rules the future destinies of the soul.

The unwieldy number forty-two involves virtual, and even actual repetition, and the list varies in different texts. Thus, as M. Naville notices, the sins connected with the distribution of the water of the Nile over the land are sometimes wanting. (Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes, Lyon, i. p. 257.)

An attempt has been made to explain the number forty-two, which is worth noticing. There were forty-two nomes, or provinces of Egypt, according to the ancient division. What more natural than that each of the witnesses represented a nome? But the abode of each witness, generally a city, is mentioned; and we find the same city repeated in more cases than one. Thus the nome theory fails; but we may conjecture that the priests collected the moral doctrine of the different temples, and so framed their code. This would, perhaps, account for the unsystematic character and iteration of the confession.

It has not been unnoticed, that the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead, as given in the Turin papyrus, published by Dr. Lepsius, and translated by Dr. Birch, contains what may be called another, and less formal version of the Negative Confession. At the beginning of the chapter, after a general address to the assessors and Osiris, there follows a Negative Confession to the jury as a body, containing thirty-six items. This general confession, though covering the same ground as the particular one following it, yet agrees in scarcely any item. This is another evidence of the growth and composite character of the code.

Taking the two confessions together, we notice that the general one, though not strictly methodical, at least attempts to group together cognate offences; while the particular one, the Negative Confession, seems wholly without order. In the Papyrus of Setmes, which is of the time of the Empire, the general confession is limited to a few clauses.



This suggests that the fuller form of the far later Turin text indicates an afterthought. Taking the Turin Papyrus as representing the final form of the work, we observe that both confessions may be reduced to four classes, sin against the gods, against one's neighbour, against oneself, and against animals, the last two giving the code a special character. If we take the other simple division, sins of thought, word, and deed, we find the first class absolutely wanting, a circumstance most remarkable in a priestly code of great minuteness.

The details should be more carefully examined, as they give us the measure of Egyptian morals as laid down by the priests, or, in other words, their ethics of religion. The order should be that of the four classes above mentioned.

1. The Egyptians had no aversion to foreign gods as such. They even admitted some into their Pantheon. Consequently, there is no prohibition of apostasy, nor is there any more direct statement of monotheism, that what we should expect from the attempt to reduce the Pantheon to a First Cause, which characterizes the book. God and the gods seem to be used as convertible terms. There is no ground for reading "a god" where the singular occurs; for although the indefinite article is unusual, if "any god" were intended, this would be definitely stated. Probably the singular or plural is preferably used, according to the needs of the clause; but no distinct line can be drawn. Apostasy being excluded, the sins against the gods are limited to blasphemy, robbery of offerings, injury to temple property and the mummies, and to the sacred quadrupeds, birds, and fishes. Injury to sacred buildings, whether temples or tombs, does not seem to be contemplated. So strong was the reverence for the sepulchre in the earliest time, that M. Mariette notices the extraordinary fact that, out of many hundreds of tombs of the ancient dynasties, ending with the Sixth, he found only two which had doors. (Rev. Arch., N.S., xix. p. 14.) This is a remarkable contrast to the Theban custom of closing the tombs, from the date of the Eleventh Dynasty, which we know from the judicial inquiry under the Twentieth, into the violation of tombs of kings and other persons. (Chabas, "Melanges," 3rd ser., i. p. 47 *seqq.*)

2. Sins against one's neighbour and oneself cannot always be separated, because sins against oneself are wrongs to society; but this idea would be foreign to the Egyptian mind. In the Egyptian code, active crimes against others are well defined. On the other hand, the mental conditions which are constructive of crime are left out of sight; no such abstraction as envy, jealousy, malice, is mentioned, just as throughout crimes of speech not of thought are contemplated. The sanctity of marriage is evident, from the fact that, in so large an enumeration, adultery, and corrupting others, cover the whole ground of sins against social morals. The humanity of the code is shown in the clause which protects the labouring man against the exaction of more than his day's labour, and that in each confession which forbids the calumny of



the slave to his master. In the particular confession, this is most remarkably combined with impiety, for in place of "I have not incriminated the slave to his master," of the general confession we read, "I have not defrauded the cycle of the gods, I have not incriminated the slave to his master." This coupling of impiety with inhumanity is very noteworthy.

3. Hard as it is to separate sins against oneself from sins against one's neighbour, we find that the Egyptians distinctly acknowledged not alone those in which there are two agents but also those in which the sinner is alone his own enemy. And this view is supported by the exclamation, "I am pure," reiterated in the Turin text. Purity is the essential condition of innocence.

4. There is but a single clause, and that in the later text, denying the commission of sins against animals; it is a striking one: "I have not hunted wild animals in their pasturages." It occurs in the general confession. Yet no doubt the clauses as to the sacred animals implied a reverence for their congeners.

In spite of its complicated and occasionally trivial character, it is impossible to read this remarkable document without seeing that the Egyptian priests had an honest desire to frame a comprehensive code of morals; and that they cannot be said to have been unsuccessful. Yet so high a standard is required, that one fails to conceive how any one could have hoped to pass the ordeal. Certainly the finer idea that thought of sin as sin does not appear, but such small offences as too much talking and repentance, by which we are to understand having done anything to be repented of, must have been the common faults of all; and we can scarcely wonder that when the code had grown to this minuteness, people escaped from it to the asylum of priestly aid. Nowhere is there any idea of repentance and forgiveness, or of the dead assuming the blamelessness of Osiris. The canon of perfect obedience which was laid down, could only condemn all mankind.

#### *Ethics of the Proverbial Writers.*

The famous papyrus containing the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep has been well called the most ancient book in the world. Copied out under the Twelfth Dynasty, it contains part of a moral treatise of the age of the Third Dynasty, and a complete one, which we have now to consider, of that of the Fifth.

Ptah-hotep, the princely author of this work, tells us that he wrote it in his old age, having attained to one hundred and ten years. His motive is to afford others who, like himself, had passed the time of activity and of enjoyment, a useful purpose. With this object he instructs them in the sayings of the past, that they may counsel the young. It is strange at this remote age, in the days of the Pyramids, to catch such a view of an antiquity beyond; but this is always so in



Egypt, and warns us not to think we are ever near the beginning of her long-lived civilization.

Another surprise is yet greater. The position of Ptah-hotep is at the opposite pole to that of the priests who wrote the Negative Confession. They connect all moral responsibility with the religion of the country; he bases it on the belief in one God. Throughout the work but a single god is mentioned by any proper name. All moral duties are referred to God as the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked. Instead of the idea of legal perfection, the ancient sage counsels his hearers to avoid the common sins of youth. He especially insists on the danger of associating with the evil woman. He teaches the young man his duty to his father, to his wife, the one wife, be it remembered, and to his son. The secret of moral duty is obedience; filial obedience is its root. "The son who receives the speech of his father, will become old in consequence." Obedience is the source of wisdom. The disobedient sees knowledge in ignorance, virtues in vices. He lives as if he were dead. His daily life is what the wise know to be death. A good son is a gift of God.

Ptah-hotep is wearied with religious services already outworn, and instead of the endless prescriptions of the current religion, he attempts a simple doctrine of morals, founded on the observation of a long life. But it is not a system; there are no profound metaphysical abstractions; we find practice rather than theory, facts instead of speculations. His doctrine of reciprocal duties forms the centre and support of Egyptian proverbial morality. Proverbial it may rightly be called, for it is always given in pithy and direct injunctions; without effort to be eloquent, but not without the attempt to be pointed which makes all such writers enigmatical to modern students.

The Proverbs of Ptah-hotep are the type of the later documents, unhappily very scanty. They maintain his monotheistic view. They repeat the same illustrations of principles by practice. And their intensely practical character is seen in the desire to enforce the advantage of virtuous life in the present. The future has no place in the scheme.

Thus, side by side with the Egyptian religious teaching of morals, stood the philosophic protest which maintained its place for three or four thousand years, throughout the whole period of Egyptian literature known to us; a lasting protest against the inefficacy of a system too elaborate and too severe, entangled with priestly regulations, and rendered nugatory by the confusion of the religion of the heart with the performance of perfunctory rites. This moral philosophy of the sages is far above that of the Book of the Dead, inasmuch as it throws aside all that is trivial, and teaches alone the necessary duties. But it rests on a basis of obedience and of expediency. It is your duty to obey God, and so you will prosper in life. The love of God, and the love of man, are unnoticed as the causes of virtue.



This sketch would be incomplete without our noticing how the moral precepts of the priests and the sages were carried out by the Egyptians in daily life. The memoirs in the tombs afford most valuable evidence. They portray just and charitable lives, protection of the widow and the needy, care for the people in times of famine. The records of the Egyptian wars do not show any instances of barbarity; the infliction of torture, except the punishment of beating, is unrecorded and unrepresented. There is, however, no doubt that the foreigner stood on a lower level. The duties inculcated and practised are towards fellow-Egyptians, not towards all mankind. They do not seem to have recognized that moral duties are universal.

How far was their morality ideal? or did it truly characterize the actions of the noblest Egyptians? When we read the legends of Greece and Arabia, or their traditions which we dare not call pure history, we must still hold that they embody the highest conceptions of the national mind, founded on the purest examples of living men. No nation imagines virtues which it has not seen practised. If however we would feel sure that the level to which the Egyptians aspired was sometimes reached, we have only to compare their records with those of Assyria, as will be done in the next section.

#### COMPARATIVE VIEW.

The parallel between Egyptian and Hebrew moral doctrine is close. Moses, educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, was no doubt well acquainted with the abundant literature of the land, full as it was of books, and of great libraries. The scheme of the Decalogue is strikingly like the Negative Confession; and the Proverbs edited by Solomon, many of which may have been handed down for many generations, more strikingly resemble the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, compiled two or three thousand years earlier. But the Egyptian morals fail in the idea of the relation of man to God, as well as in that of his Unity and Personality. The Mosaic moral code has an apparent relation to the Egyptian ethics, and is yet a new creation. It adds the love of God and that of man as the root of moral obedience, and thus gives that obedience a sufficient motive force, and one we cannot trace in the Egyptian doctrine. We may well believe that the monotheistic teaching of the Egyptian proverbial books had its influence on the great lawgiver, but the mode of instruction is far more paralleled in the Solomonian cycle. The same law of filial obedience, the same warning to young men to avoid the great snares of youth, the same limitation to men's not women's duties and relations, and the same practical common sense, mark the two sets of documents. Both deal with the business of life, and the secret of success; neither appeal to the motives which lie at the root of the Mosaic Law, and contain the germ of its expansion.

Comparing Egyptian with Greek ideas of moral duties, we are struck by the superiority of the Egyptian thought. No doubt the importance



of patriotism as a leading motive in Hellenic ethics is lost in Egyptian. There cannot be an intense love of country under the conditions of an absolute monarchy. The citizen of such a state does not feel that the welfare of the state depends upon his loving sacrifice in its defence of self and wife and children. The instinct of the famous ode of Tyrtæus is unknown where liberty is unknown. So it was in Egypt. Yet when the Egyptians were enslaved by foreign rulers, they showed a devoted love of country in their successive risings against the Shepherds, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Even our own days witnessed a revolt of the much-enduring peasantry of Upper Egypt against their Turkish oppressors. On the other hand, patriotism, when as strong as in Greece, is apt to weaken the family ties. Undoubtedly this was the case in the greatest age of Hellenic civilization; but it must not be forgotten that under the Roman Republic liberty and family life flourished together, and together decayed and perished. In Egypt the theory and practice of morals far more nearly approached modern notions. The theory rested, at least with the priests, upon a belief in divine sanctions rather than upon expediency. It is impossible not to feel that with the Greek moralists selfish instincts are very strong. We must, of course, except the ideal standard of Plato, and the rule of duty in the Stoic system.

Of the moral doctrine of the Chaldeans and Assyrians we can as yet mainly judge only by inference. It is true that the Akkadian hymns imply a true consciousness of the evil of sin, and the need of repentance. On the other hand the historical documents show an almost absolute want of morals. The only exception is in the weight attached to justice. Otherwise cruelty of the most horrible kinds is boasted of in the annals of the Assyrian kings, in terms which read like the records of the victims, not of the oppressors. We can scarcely speak of the ethics of a nation, whose state records do not imply the most rudimentary moral sense. Here it is that the historical value of the Egyptian ideal becomes evident, proving a moral sense such as prevails under modern civilization.

#### DOMESTIC LIFE.

It is time to pass from the general theory and practice of morals to the domestic life of the Egyptians, by examining which our views will be tested and enlarged.

The centre of domestic life is the marriage law; more than this, it is the centre of civil and political life. The household is the microcosm of the state, and the orderly rule of individual households makes up the aggregate of a well-governed state. We notice in history that, if the household stands on a basis of just law, the state has permanence, even in spite of a want of patriotism, or a weak sense of individual freedom. But if the household be insecure, or with no balance of rights, the state will not endure, be patriotism ever so strong or liberty ever so vigorous.



With our abundant knowledge of the domestic life of the Egyptians, we have found no actual representation of a marriage ceremony, and until last year we had no idea of the nature of the marriage contract. The classical writers were in this case dangerous guides. The two best informed as to the manners of the Egyptians, Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, contradict one another, Herodotus asserting that the practice was to marry but one wife, Diodorus, that the priests were alone thus restricted. This discrepancy is explained by the recent discovery of the decay of society under Ptolemy Auletes, Cleopatra's father, not long after whose time Diodorus visited Egypt. This, like all we know of the marriage customs, is due to M. Revillout, the eminent demotic scholar. His researches have brought to light a series of marriage contracts. The earliest dates from the time of Psammetichus II.: the others are of the age of the Ptolemies. The time is not ripe for the full discussion of the subject. We do not yet know whether the differences which appear in the contracts imply a change in the law or merely the flexibility of that law. Certainly the difference of our marriage settlements merely shows that we do not live under an inflexible code. Before speaking of M. Revillout's discoveries, it will be well to review the evidence of the Egyptian monuments on the subject of the position of the wife. This evidence is inferential, but it is decisively clear.

The status of the wife is shown by the universal agreement of the monuments. Her style is the "lady of the house." The very title forbids a rival. More than this, the wife is represented as her husband's equal; following, indeed, not preceding him, seated by his side, and not of the smaller dimensions which indicate social inferiority. If in any case the husband takes precedence, he is never called lord of the house. The wife could be buried apart, in her own tomb. She never appears as a mere subject of an arbitrary ruler.

The instances of wives of an inferior rank are very few. A second "lady of the house" must have been married after the decease of the first. A slave wife is found under the earlier dynasties, in the luxurious age of the Twelfth; but even she may not have been taken in the lifetime of the lady whose figure precedes hers (Cf. Revillout, "*Revue Egyptologique*," 1880, p. 133, n. 1.) No doubt some of the Pharaohs allowed themselves a license unusual at least with their subjects. Ramses II., besides his many children by queens who were no doubt successive, had a large offspring of inferior rank. This is but once recorded; and the Semitic tendencies of the Ramessides may explain it. There is no other known case in which the family of a Pharaoh exceeds the number which could be born in monogamy; and had any form of polygamy prevailed, even with the kings, it would have entailed political consequences which we do not trace.

The status of the wife is farther shown by her place in the funeral procession, and the character of her lament; but also by the remarkable



complaint of the bereaved husband, already noticed, who, defending himself against the idea of neglect, urges that when holding high employment, he withheld from his wife nothing of what he received as presents.

Turning to the demotic documents, we observe that they are governed by two principles, protection of the wife against polygamy or divorce, and protection of the offspring of the marriage. We do not find polygamy specified; the mention of another wife may mean divorce. The contracts are aimed at divorce, and the protection of the children only strengthens the protection of the wife; for it will be seen that, if after divorce the husband had property wherewith alone he might have married again, it was unlikely that the administration by his son would leave it at his disposal. The essence of the contracts is to protect the weak against the strong, to maintain monogamy, and to prevent divorce.

It is therefore quite evident that the Egyptians had no fixed marriage-law; and it may be inferred that the marriage custom, grew after the religion had taken a definite form.

The contracts throw no light upon the actual ceremony of marriage, nor is there any evidence that it was performed in a sacred building. It was however ratified by solemn oaths, and thus had a sacramental character. The oldest known marriage contract comprises an oath to Amen, and an oath to the king (as high-priest) binding the husband not to make any other marriage or alliance. This is not universal in the documents, but probably the oath was always taken by the husband, and it was thought needless to record in every case what was a matter of course.

According to the form of the contract it is an act of sale; the wife is acquired for her dowry, either acting as seller, or as property sold. Upon the dowry hinged her rights. She did not lose her power over it. Nor did she lose her power over her own property: she could buy and sell, and trade on her own account. She was, in short, free to deal with her own property as if she were a *femme sole*.

Husband and wife had joint rights over his property common to both. That this was not as mere a form as, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow," is proved by the provisions for repayment of the dowry in case of divorce. To prevent fraud in trade, the wife could alienate a third part of the joint property for the husband's separate use.

Necessarily the great point in the marriage contract was the settlement of the dowry, and of the mode of repayment in the event of divorce. The dowry being fixed, the payment was guaranteed by the whole of the husband's estate being charged to that amount, with interest (at a prodigious rate under the Ptolemies), from the time of the marriage. In case of divorce, capital and interest had to be paid to the wife. The husband might add to the wife's separate property by a post-nuptial settlement; and, similarly, she could settle property on him after marriage. The payment of the dowry was always a first charge



upon the estate. Such were the rights of the wife under the earlier Ptolemies, whom we cannot doubt to have preserved in this, as in all else, the ancient customs of Egypt. Ptolemy IV., Philopator, a bad prince, surrounded by worthless favourites, probably feeling the weight of the Egyptian usage, issued a decree by which the husband, instead of a notary, acted for the wife in administration of property. We shall see how the Egyptians met this blow by a counter-stroke.

Divorce under the Pharaohs, seems, from the contract of the time of Psammetichus II.—but the passage is not clear—to have been possible on both sides. In the next group of contracts, divorce is only spoken of on the side of the husband. If it were carried out, the eldest son administered the property; so that he had, at the ultimate division of the inheritance, to make good the shares of his co-heirs. Thus, the divorce was, at the same time, the abdication of the husband. This right was not touched by the decree of Philopator; at least, we find it in full force afterwards, whereas the new right of the husband over his wife's property in all other cases maintained itself.

Under Ptolemy Euergetes II., nicknamed Physcon, we find a contract limiting the right of divorce to the wife. Surely such an usage as this must have been directly aimed at the effects of the decree of Philopator.

A few words must be added on the post-nuptial settlements, already noticed, by which a husband conveyed away his goods successively to his wife. Often indeed as if by a deed of sale, the husband would give his wife all his goods present and to come. There is an ordinary specification, in the case of a different domicile of husband and wife, that the wife's estate should be charged with the care of her husband during life, and after with the cost of his mummification and of his tomb. It is interesting to know that a husband who, by three successive deeds, abandoned all his goods in favour of his wife, to the prejudice of his children by a former marriage, was not disappointed in her loyalty, for she sold to her husband's nephew the whole of the family property she had acquired. (See on the whole subject, Revillout, in "*Rev. Eg.*" 1880-1881.)

#### COMPARATIVE VIEW.

In the status of women the Hebrew nation presents the most remarkable contrast to the Egyptian. There is no point of contact between the Mosaic Law and Egyptian customs. Probably the legislation of Moses raised the condition of women, and certainly it allowed of the development which the preaching of the prophets promoted. Polygamy was permitted, not enforced. The difference between the Hebrew marriage law and the Mohammadan is precisely in the permissive character of the enactments of the one, and the finality of those of the other. Hence the progress of the Hebrew, and the stationary condition of the Arab. Had it not been for Islám the Arab race might have advanced. Their early poetry, and the other records of desert life, show



a far greater equality of the sexes than Mohammad allowed. True he changed a lax usage of marriage into a law; but his law was inflexible, and thus no advance in future time was possible.

Turning to Chaldæa and Assyria, we are startled by the conflict of two opposite conditions. This is remarkably shown in the old Akkadian documents, in which the goddess is placed before the god, the wife before the husband. In the Assyrian translations the order is reversed. The Akkadians, be it remembered, were Turanians, and the Assyrians, Shemites.

M. Oppert has contributed to M. Revillout's papers a most valuable note on the law of divorce in the Akkadian code. Divorce was possible, and in the gravest cases was accompanied with marks of degradation, but the guilty woman's life was respected. In cases of great wrong, the wife could divorce her husband. If she had the right to pronounce the formula, "Thou art not my husband," he could be thrown into the river; on the contrary, if he could say the equivalent, his wife weighed out to him a half mina of silver: this, of course, not being a case of divorce for criminality. ("Rev. Eg.," 1880, p. 98.)

It is worthy of remark, that if in any degree women have held their own in the East, in spite of Mohammadanism, it has been rather among the Turanian Muslims than the Arab and Syrian.

M. Revillout has instituted a most curious comparison of the Egyptian laws relating to marriage and divorce with those of the "Code Napoléon"; or, in other words, with the latest phase of Roman law. Perhaps some day comparative jurists may do what the learned French scholar has not suggested, trace the origin of much of the Code Napoléon upwards, through Byzantine and Roman stages, to an Egyptian source.

This suggestion opens another tempting inquiry: How far is the legal, and, it may be added, social position of women among the most civilized modern states, different from that of ancient Egypt? Be this as it may, it is certain that Egyptian civilization, in which women had equal rights with men, of property, of family life, and of free entrance into society, lasted some five thousand years, whereas Greek and Muslim systems, in which woman is entirely ignored as a factor in domestic and national life, passed swiftly to decay, or moved on to be irrevocably arrested and thrown back.

That family life is the centre on which the welfare of the state depends is a truth that is scarcely as yet adequately recognized; but the contrast between the Egyptian and Greek civilizations tends to prove that where the position of men and women was most evenly balanced, there the national life lasted the longest.

#### EDUCATION.

We have seen the relation of the Egyptian man and wife. What education, we now ask, led up to it, and was passed on by it? Unhappily our information is scanty, and much of it inferential. We

know of two great colleges; one at Hermopolis Magna, at the shrine of Thoth, the god of wisdom; and another at Heliopolis, the City of the Sun. Hermopolis may have been the centre of learning under the Empire; certainly Heliopolis held this place, rivalled for a time, perhaps, by Saïs, when the Greeks began to inquire as to the wisdom of Egypt. As the college where Eudoxus and Plato studied, that of Heliopolis has an intense interest. Ultimately its schools were transferred to Alexandria, and took a new direction under Hellenic influence, though Egyptian ideas always coloured the thought of that renowned centre of philosophy.

We have no record of the curriculum in the old universities of the Pharaohs, but we must infer that it was extensive. The students were taught the native language, with its different modes of writing; and this alone must have been a large subject, and, under the later Empire, they learnt a Semitic language also. No doubt those scribes who were trained for official duties in the provinces always studied the various languages there spoken. A good knowledge of Semitic is evident from the very careful orthography of names in that family of speech under the Ramessides. This may have been the acquirement of the few; but the adoption of Semitic words into Egyptian in the same age shows the temporary teaching of a foreign language to the whole learned class. The sciences of astronomy, geometry, and trigonometry were taught, but astronomy was debased by astrology. Medicine, in like manner, though held in high esteem, was degraded by the use of magic. Law must have been a leading subject, as affording a large career; for though the higher offices were court appointments, a multitude of scribes was needed for proceedings in which everything was taken down in writing. Religion of course occupied a large space in the teaching. It was necessary to train the priests of temples and tombs and all the religious functionaries concerned with the services of the living and the dead. The many Rituals had to be known, and scribes trained to copy and illustrate them. Whether art was taught at the universities may be doubted. Probably the student left them to work under a master. His collegiate training would prepare him for the work to be undertaken, while the mechanical part would be executed by craftsmen.

Thus there would seem to have been what we may call the faculties of language, science, law, and religion. To us moderns the range seems limited, and the limitation is greater still within each branch of study. Yet, on the whole, the range of studies was unusually wide, if we compare them with those of other nations of antiquity. But we are without knowledge of the manner of teaching. The college life seems to have been a cheerful one; rather according to the English, German, or Spanish fashion than the French and Italian. There is a curious evidence of this in a letter from a young man on duty in Syria to a friend in Egypt, respecting his happy life at Hermopolis, and particularly the



superlative college beer. The real charm of the college life lay, however, in its being open to all ranks, and the chance it offered to the clever scribe to rise to the highest posts.

Of the education of the women we know absolutely nothing but by inference. It is however clear that they could read and write, and hold high political and sacerdotal posts.

#### CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

So civilized a society as that of Egypt had its marked divisions. These were not castes, properly so called; but very frequently the son followed his father's profession, and this went on for many generations. The priest could hold a military command; but it may be doubted if any one not of the royal family could enter the priestly class, if not specially trained for it.

#### *The King.*

The king was the head of the state. He was Ra in bodily form, dwelling upon earth; his will was absolute; he was high priest, commander in chief, and head magistrate, uniting in himself the functions and dignities of a Roman Emperor. But compared with the Assyrian monarchs we find this immense difference; the Egyptian king could have a minister, who was his delegate in all his political functions, holding, as Dr. Brugsch has shown in the case of such an officer, the portfolios of religion, war, and foreign and home affairs. Everyone in the palace bowed down before him. Such a functionary, the king's *alter ego*, might be one of the hereditary nobles, or might owe his elevation to his talents.

The queen was next in importance to the king. Queens could reign, but their rule seems to have been unpopular. Yet, in a country where inheritance in the female line was most important, the queens frequently possessed great power, sometimes acting as regents. The princes often held high offices, but not to the exclusion of men of talent of inferior rank, for princes are not so prominent in Egyptian history as subjects not of royal blood.

#### *The Priests.*

Next in dignity to the king stood the great priestly class, of which indeed, he was head. Under the Empire they acquired greater consequence and power. The territorial aristocracy had lost or was forced to conceal its rights, and no body of men but the priesthood could hold their own against the sovereign. The result was the overthrow of the Ramessides by the high priests of Amen-Ra, who assumed the royal power, and though ultimately exiled to Napata in Ethiopia, reconquered Egypt, and founded the Ethiopian line. Though no later dynasty seems to have had a sacerdotal origin, the great influence of the priests remained, and the Decrees of Canopus and Memphis (or the

Rosetta Stone) show that under the Ptolemies they could have wielded political power by their organization and their large revenues.

We may divide the priesthood into the ritual priests and the scribes. The first class was concerned in the services of the temples and tombs, and the rites of sepulture. Considering the multitude of richly endowed temples, the far greater number of sepulchral chapels, and the costly embalming of all persons of the wealthy ranks, the ritual priests must have formed a large proportion of the population. The higher ranks must always have been learned, and we trace in their history a wise political influence. It was they who supported patriotic movements, or encouraged a politic submission to overwhelming force, and endeavoured to turn their conquerors into Egyptian Pharaohs. But the lower ranks were ignorant and degraded, descending step by step to the needy jackals who haunted the burial-grounds, and availed themselves of their opportunities to be robbers of the tombs they were paid to protect. The scribes cannot be distinguished from the ritual class when their duties were to write out the religious books, done by many in a perfunctory manner which has made their ill-performed work the despair of modern scholars. But the scribe of an official character had a very different career. His readiness, and the need for his services, made him grow in importance, until, under the Empire, all the machinery of government was in his hands. Thus arose a vast bureaucracy, by which everything was finessed and elaborated, until affairs became hopelessly entangled, as is everywhere the fatal result of bureaucratic management. It was not the tyranny of some kings, or the weakness of others, which exhausted and demoralized Egypt, and brought the Empire to its hopeless fall, so much as the subtlety and corruption of the official class.

#### *Law.*

Egyptian law was in the hands of the priesthood proper, and the scribes. The religious law was written, and cases had to be decided on its precepts. The civil law was seemingly an accumulation of statutes enacted by successive kings, and trials were conducted with reference to well-known principles. The only records we have deal with civil cases, and they contain no citation of authorities. The researches of M. Chabas have thrown much light on the mode of procedure, the constitution of a court, the taking of evidence, the sentence, and its ratification or reversal by the king. From them we gather that assizes were regularly held under the presidency of the priesthood, that the courts were mixed by the admission into the body of judges, of civil officials and court functionaries, that the evidence was all taken down in writing, and, it may be added, that the judges were not beyond criminality.

#### *The Army.*

The Egyptian army was, in the decline of the monarchy, a standing



militia quartered in its own territories, partly native, and partly foreign; and there was also a royal body-guard. The army, under the Empire, was divided into the chariot-force, heavy infantry, and light infantry, or archers and slingers. They had their regiments with distinguishing badges, and moved by trumpet calls. The degree of military knowledge may be compared to that of the Greeks before the close of the Peloponnesian War. The navy was armed by soldiers afloat; and however little the Egyptians liked the sea, they were able to hold its dominion for many centuries.

#### *The Common People.*

Of the common people, the husbandmen, or the craftsmen, we know but very little. They are portrayed in the scenes of the sepulchral chapels, hardy, active, and humorous, like their descendants of to-day; and we may suppose that, before the Empire, their state was not hard in that bountiful country, where life is pleasant and easy, if oppression is not pushed to its utmost limits. But under the Empire, when these pictures come to an end, the life they represent had ended too. The vast armies of the Pharaohs, wasted in perpetual conquest and reconquest, had drained the land of its best men; their mighty buildings had taxed the strength of the rest; and as the effect of military life there had grown up that state of disorder and oppression which is the tragic commentary on the triumphal story of success in war. Judicial records of the Empire repeat the pitiful complaints addressed to the Pharaohs by the peasants, recounting cruelties perpetrated by disbanded soldiers turned brigands, and the maladministration of the law. Such, in almost every age that has followed, has been the fate of the Egyptian peasant. The Felláhs of to-day, in spite of some admixture of Arab blood, are still in aspect and disposition the peasants of the days of the Pharaohs, generally industrious, bright, and contented, if their burdens are not intolerably heavy.

#### *Social Life.*

That which has departed from Egypt is the antique social life, the free meeting of men and women of all ranks; the ancient prototype of what our vanity claims as the special product of modern and western civilization. The subject is too large for present treatment, but it must be glanced at that its value may not be lost. Remember that the pictures of the enjoyment of life, full as they are of merriment and rejoicing, of the sound of music and singing, the foot-fall of the dancers, and the odour of the fragrant lotus, all come from the chapels of the tombs, all represent the funeral feast. This was not done by the ancient painter without a motive; but it is so true that the copy must be that of the ordinary feast, not of the masqued cheerfulness of a funeral repast.

If we compare these Egyptian wall-paintings with the scenes of social

life among other nations of antiquity, we shall find none which are as free, and, at the same time, as clearly portray the life of the family. To us they do not represent the highest civilization, but they contain its elements, which have never since been allowed to exist in the East, save in the idyllic age of later Hebrew history, when, indeed, the beauties of life did not touch the richer classes.

#### NATIONAL CHARACTER.

The character of the Egyptians explains their civilization. They were intensely religious; and the end of this life, the beginning of the life to come, was ever in their minds. How could it be otherwise, when his own tomb occupied a man from his middle age to his death, and the sepulchral festivals of the tomb of his father recurred many times in every year? Yet they were joyous. They loved life, and hated death, to use their own words, for they felt the full joy of living in the clear air and abundance of that land of the outpoured wealth of Nature. This was no mere phrase. The very funeral scenes do not lack a touch of playful humour, as we have already seen; and the serious work of the craftsmen and labourers, all working for the end of the master, is enlivened by their cheerful dialogue. Perhaps the saddest nations are those who shut their eyes to the inevitable, like children going into the dark. The lively side of the Egyptian nature is seen in their fondness for games and diversions; but they preferred to take their pleasures seriously—"sadly," if you will—as did our forefathers.

Though not deficient in patriotism, they lacked the sense of liberty; but they loved their country with the tender, helpless love of enslaved nations, usually more ready to mourn her woes than to fight for her weal, though in extremity they could do so well.

Family virtues are strongest with monogamous nations, and the Egyptians possessed these in a high degree. The love of husband and wife, of father and son, is constantly shewn in their records; and the undesigned proofs we see in the pictures of the children sharing their father's sports are yet more convincing than the ideal statements that might be thought to represent the exception rather than the rule. They were very fond of entertainments, and an Egyptian could not leave the world without giving his family and friends a magnificent funeral feast. It is the boast of the great men that they fed the widow and protected the helpless. Whether they extended as much kindness to foreigners may be doubted. On the whole, the Egyptians were courteous to them; to those settled among them they shewed brotherly kindness, the people of course did so, not their rulers; but few nations, even those called free, are responsible for the iniquities of their rulers. Humane they were in their punishments and in their wars. Except the stick we know of no instrument of torture; if the prisoners were hardly used, they were not maimed. There are phases of savagery in the treatment of barbarous enemies, but they are quite exceptional. It is precisely in a



time of savage warfare, that the sculpture of a sea-fight shews us the Egyptian soldiers rescuing their drowning enemies. Not one recorded instance is there of cruelty to woman or child; they are never portrayed as bound when taken in war.

All ranks were active, industrious and patient, though among the working people some preferred idleness and self-indulgence when they could escape the eye of the overseer, or had chanced on the means of easy life. The marvellous patience shown in the sculptures and paintings which still resist the patience of the destroyer, shows that the idlers must have been few, the workers with all their might, many. And as there were no castes, the inducements to diligence were powerful; a great career was always open to talent, a fair one to industry.

They were a very learned people. Books, and men of books, were held in high honour. Gods had written books, kings had compiled them. No one could attain greater favour than the man of learning, for all dignities were poured upon him. The result was a greater care for learning than for wisdom, an arrogance of knowledge and contempt of ignorance, pedantry, mysticism, a secret character in which to make the difficult yet harder, and commentary which darkened the obscurity of the text it proposed to explain.

Imagination freshened the dry air of mere book-knowledge. It is seen in the ideas of the Underworld; the poetry, lyrical, and almost epical; the conception of the Pyramids and the Temple; in many things wherein later and more clever races developed out of the germ the fuller and more perfect forms, though often they missed the clear simple truth of the original embodiment of thought.

#### COMPARATIVE VIEW.

The subject cannot be closed without a rapid survey of the manners of other nations of antiquity.

Next to the Egyptians we may fairly think of the Assyrians, mighty warriors, great rulers, first their rivals and then their conquerors. We find in their records a far different ideal. The annals of conquest are their most important literature, and they shock us in the story of the treatment of the vanquished, as telling of the worst cruelties of war, without one word of mercy or pity. The vanquished Assyrian fares no better than the vanquished alien. Domestic life, with polygamy and the seclusion of women in full vigour, is of course a mystery but Assur-ban-habal, the grandson of Sennacherib, has given us a solitary picture of his ideal of the joys of home. It is a beautiful sculpture. The king and his consort feast together. He, reclining on his couch of ivory and gold, pledges the queen, who sits in her no less splendid chair of state. Above them spreads the vine, full of rich clusters of fruit; in the branches the birds are singing; musicians enliven the feast; and to complete their happiness, there hangs from a vine-branch llee salted head of Nebu-bel-sumè, the last Babylonian patriot, over whose

late they are making merry. As in war, so in the chase, we are again sickened with the cruel details, unlike the Egyptian pictures of country life and amusement which present not one distressing incident.

The Greeks, no doubt, excelled the Egyptians in many ways. They had a finer genius, a greater power of elimination, the sense of measure and form in all things. But we fail to find with them the same respect for women, the same balance of the rights on both sides, the same social enjoyments. Patriotism and the sense of liberty could not keep alive states which lacked the moral centre of family life.

The manners of the Hebrews can scarcely be compared with those of their former masters. So many phases forbid our choosing any one, for we do not know where to arrest the moving phenomenon of development. Perhaps the Hebrews were at their best in the conditions of successive ages of simplicity, and these cannot be compared with the high civilization of Egypt. It would not be fair to look for the stern and tender traits of the open-air life of the days when the Israelites dwelt in their tents, in the elaborate existence of highly-peopled cities. In social life, as already said, they but rarely attained the Egyptian level; once indeed they surpassed it, not as a nation, but in a class.

When we consider the high ideal of the Egyptians, as proved by their portrayals of a just life, the principles they laid down as the basis of ethics, the elevation of women among them, their humanity in war, we must admit that their moral place ranks very high among the nations of antiquity. If these views are mere fancies, how else can we account for the unexampled duration of their civilization?

The true comparison of Egyptian life is with that of modern nations. This is far too difficult a task to be here undertaken. Enough has been said, however, to show that we need not think that in all respects they were far behind us, though we live at the end of the ages, and might gather up the harvest of the long generations that have passed away and left us their legacy of knowledge, hardly won for us, yet, alas! uncared for, because unknown.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.



## A RUSSIAN SOCIAL-PANSLAVIST PROGRAMME,

DRAWN UP IN LONDON.

ON the 17th of April, 1864, three men, well known both to landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen, nobles and plebeians throughout Europe, were assembled, with some few other friends, for a private dinner-party at Elmfield House, Teddington, London. Their names, alphabetically arranged, were: Garibaldi, Herzen, and Mazzini.

Here is a portion of the toast proposed by Mazzini:

"To the liberty of the peoples, to the association of the peoples, to the man who is, by his doings, the living incarnation of these grand ideas, to General Garibaldi.

"To New Russia, who, under the motto *Land and Liberty*, will soon stretch out a sisterly hand to Poland, for the defence of liberty and independence, and efface the memory of the Russia of the Tsars.

"To those Russians who, headed by our friend Herzen, have most worked for the formation of this new Russia."

General Garibaldi's toast in regard to Russia, was the following:—

"To Young Russia, who suffers and struggles like us. To the new people, which, once free and master of the Russia of the Tsars, is called upon to play a great part in the destinies of Europe."\*

Herzen's emotion was too great to allow him to reply. On the following day, he wrote to General Garibaldi, thanking him most warmly, "in the name of that Russia who awakes with her own idea *Land and Liberty*," and promised that his words of sympathy would be conveyed to their distant friends in Russia. In fact, Garibaldi's toast appeared twice in the *Kolokol* of May, 1864, with a slight alteration in the first quotation, used as the text of the article. Instead of being

\* Herzen, "Camicià Rossa: Garibaldi à Londres," pp. 52-53. Bruxelles, 1865.—This account appeared first in Russian in the London *Kolokol* of May 1, Aug. 15, Sept. 1, Nov. 15, 1864.

called upon to play a great part in the destinies of Europe, the new Russia is there said to be *evidently* destined to have an *enormous* importance in the destinies of the *world*.

Accordingly, association of the peoples, a "New Russia," with the motto *Land and Liberty*, and an (enormous) influence of this "New Russia" on the destinies of the world, or at least of Europe—these were points agreed to by the official representatives of revolution in 1864. They deserve consideration, and, since Mazzini pointed to Herzen as to the creator and leader of "New Russia," with the motto *Land and Liberty*, (*Zemlia i Volia*), we need only turn to Herzen's writings in order to get a clear and, I may add, official explanation of the whole programme concerning the Russia of the future. It is, indeed, a great advantage to be directed in our inquiry by such a competent authority on the matter as Mazzini himself.

Herzen's writings, the most of which were composed and published in London, are remarkably clear. I do not mean to say that their contents can be mastered by a cursory perusal, but that Herzen's ideas are, as a rule, strongly conceived and happily expressed. He perfectly knew what he wished to say, and, consequently, could not fail to benefit by Boileau's

"Ce que l'on conçoit bien s'énonce clairement."

*Venatio dat intellectum*, and the intense desire of making his readers share in his views, joined with a vast literary knowledge, served him most advantageously for his style. With him, the secret of success lay in the thorough comprehension of the object he had in view, coupled with an energetic will to attain it at any cost. "The revolutionists of the eighteenth century," he wrote, "were great and powerful, because they knew so well in what they ought to be revolutionists, and, because once they knew it, they went their way fearlessly and mercilessly."

I feel sure I pay Herzen a compliment by saying that he has been a man of one idea. This is, certainly, not enough to make a man great, but all great men have been so. Now, Herzen's one idea is, in his own words, the following: "There are only two real questions, the Social question and the Russian question, and these two are but one. . . . *Socialism will unite the two fractions, the European revolutionary with the Pan Slavonian.*"\*

All Herzen's writings are but a commentary on this comprehensive and almost inexhaustible idea. Possessing, like many other Russians, a knowledge of several European languages, he made the best use of this knowledge for his purpose. His correspondence was very extensive; he followed the Socialist movement throughout all Europe, taking care that Russian pamphlets should be translated into languages more generally

\* Herzen, "Russia and the Old World." Letters to Dr. Linton, Editor of the *English Republic*, February, March, and April, 1854, p. 100. A Russian translation, approved by Herzen, appeared in 1858. London: Trübner.



understood; and he, himself, contributed productions in English and French from his own pen. The following abstracts from various writings, and especially from his letters to Dr. Linton, printed in the *English Republic* of 1854, will present the programme of "New Russia" in the very words of Herzen himself. I shall confine myself to some few remarks:—

"The standard is no longer lifted up against the priest, no longer against the king, no longer against the nobleman, but against the heir of all these—against the *master*, against the patented monopolizer of the tools of toil. And the revolutionist is no longer either Huguenot, or Protestant, or Liberal; he is called the *workman*."<sup>\*</sup>

Next comes a graphic sketch of the adversaries the workmen have to encounter in bringing about the social revolution:—

"Europe is too rich to risk her all; she has too much to take care of; is too highly civilized in her upper regions, and too little in her lower, to throw herself forlornly into so complete a revolution. Republicans and Monarchists, Deists and Jesuits, shopkeepers and peasants, they are all Conservative in Europe. There are no revolutionists but the workmen."<sup>†</sup>

The same idea is expressed more laconically in another pamphlet:—

"The fear of conspirators, agitators, and plots, begins only with the shopkeepers and small proprietors."<sup>‡</sup>

According to this psychological statement, the whole European society may be fitly divided into two large classes—the one composed of the fearful, and the other of the fearless. To the first belong all proprietors, great and small; to the second, the propertyless. It follows that, in the mind of Herzen, property is the beginning of fear, whilst absolute poverty is the secret of internal peace. Neither St. Francis of Assisi, nor any other founder of a Catholic religious order, has more successfully described the blessings of detachment from all earthly things.

Nor is this all. Detachment is a source of strength, and therein must consequently be found also the strength of "New Russia." In a letter dated, Florence, November 21, 1863, to Garibaldi, whom he calls "Cher et vénérable ami, cher maître," Herzen thus confirms our proposition:

"We," he says, "a minority of independent men, without binding traditions; we, who are free from inheritances deserving of regard, and from all the *venerabilia* of civilization; we, *who have nothing to save*; we accept unsparingly, and without hesitation, whatever the revolution of the West gives us, and accept, as a precious legacy, its socialistical idea, together with its dreams of moral independence."<sup>§</sup>

In this letter to Garibaldi, Herzen would not, of course, establish

<sup>\*</sup> "Russia and the Old World," p. 99, *English Republic*, March, 1854.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibid.* p. 52, *English Republic*, February, 1854.

<sup>‡</sup> Herzen: "*Camicià Rossa: Garibaldi à Londres*," p. 52.

<sup>§</sup> "*Camicià Rossa*," Appendix, pp. 111, 112.

between Western Europe and Russia, any comparison to the disadvantage of the first; but we find elsewhere, in previous writings, many passages where his opinion of both is expressed without any disguise. The following speaks for all:—

"The deserts of the Wolga and the Oural have been, from all time, the bivouac of peoples in migration; their waiting-rooms and places of meeting; the *laboratory of nations*, where, in silence, destiny has prepared those swarms of savages to let them loose upon the dying peoples, upon civilization in consumption in order to make an end of them. . . . The Russian question is the Western side, the negative proofs, the new apparition of the barbarians scenting the death-agony, screaming their *memento mori* in the ears of the Old World, and ready to put it out of the way if it will not die of its own accord."\*

And, in the same letter to Dr. Linton, Herzen acknowledges that the idea of social revolution is European, but adds immediately: "That does not mean that the people most capable of realizing it are the peoples of the West. Christianity was only crucified at Jerusalem."†

The reader is now enabled to realize Herzen's enthusiasm, when, whilst perusing Baron von Haxthausen's *Studien* on Russia, his eyes fell on the following lines:—

"As every Russian belongs to a Commune, and all the members are entitled to equal shares in the land, there are no born *proletarians* in Russia. In all the other countries of Europe, the originators of social revolutions rise up in rebellion against wealth and property. Destruction of the right of inheritance, and an equal division of the land, are their *shibboleth*. In Russia such a revolution is impossible, as this Utopia of the European revolutionists already exists here, fully incorporated with the national life."‡

One may certainly doubt whether Napoleon's

"Procellosa e trepida  
Gioja d'un gran disegno,"§

"stormy and trembling joy," when feeling that he could become the master of Europe, has ever been so intense as that of Herzen when he represented to himself his own people taking into their hand the cause of the labouring classes throughout the whole world; proposing for the cessation of their evils a solution which, in Russia, possessed the suffrage of centuries; supporting it with the tremendous power of a race in the full strength of its vigorous youth, and becoming, by espousing the cause of the people throughout the world, the virtual master of the world. And, strange enough! if, some day, Herzen's programme be entirely fulfilled, the cause of such a gigantic transformation in the social economical condition of Russia will, perhaps, be rightly traced back to those few lines of Baron von Haxthausen.

The weighty statement of this writer, and the important facts by which it was supported, could not fail to arrest attention. Three years

\* "Russia and the Old World," in the *English Republic*, March, 1854, pp. 98 and 100.

† Ibid. April, p. 52.

‡ Haxthausen (von): "Studien über die innern zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländliche Einrichtungen Rußlands." Introduction, p. xii. Hanover, 1847-52. This work has been translated into English, with the title, "The Russian Empire: its People, Institutions, and Resources," Introduction, p. xvii. London, 1856.

§ Manzoni, "Il cinque Maggio" (Ode).



after the publication of the *Studien*, the well-known Jules Michelet mentioned them in his *Kosciusko*, first published in the Paris *Événement* of August and September, 1851; and, whilst vilifying Herzen's fellow-countrymen, he remarked that "Communism was to be found at the very basis of Russian life," and that the strength of Russia lay in the partition of the land.\*

"What a terrible *Mane Thecel* has escaped from your lips!" was Herzen's fierce reply. "Communism at the very basis of Russian life! The strength of Russia in the partition of the land! Have you not been frightened by your own words? Ought you not to stop, reflect, and go deeply into the question, and not leave it before you become convinced that this truth is not an illusion?"

"Is there, in the nineteenth century, any other serious question besides that of Communism and the partition of the land?"†

And farther on: "Those among us, Russians, who have gone through European civilization, are but the medium, the leaven, the mediators between the Russian people and revolutionary Europe. The man of the future in France is the workman, the man of the future in Russia is the *mujik*."

The same enthusiasm appears in Herzen's letter to the editor of the *English Republic*, with the additional circumstance of his appealing to Baron von Haxthausen, as to a pathological authority, to prove that he had not turned mad.

"With what astonishment," he says, "they listened to our recitals of the *Russian Commune* (*Mir*); the continual sharing of the land among the members of the Commune; the simple administration by an elective *Starosta*; the universal suffrage in communal affairs. Sometimes they treated us as visionaries, as men who had lost their wits in running after Socialism. Ah, well! here is a man who is a very middling *revolutionist*, who publishes three volumes concerning the rural Commune in Russia; Haxthausen, Catholic and Prussian, a writer on agriculture, and so radical a monarchist that he finds the King of Prussia too liberal, and the Emperor of Russia too philanthropic.

"The facts related by us are published *in extenso* by him. I will not again repeat all that I have said of this rudimentary organization of self-government in the Commune, where all is elective, where every one is a proprietor, although the law belongs to no one, where the *proletarian* is an abnormity, an exception.

"The State, and the individual authority and liberty, Communism and egotism (in the wider sense of the word), are the Herculean columns of the great struggle of the grand revolutionary epic.

"Europe offers a solution, mutilated and arbitrary. Russia, another mutilated and savage. *The revolution will complete the synthesis*. Social formulas never exist except vaguely before their realization. The Anglo-Saxon races have arrived at the emancipation of the individual in denying the Community and isolating the man. The Russian preserves the Community, and denies the

\* "La vie russe c'est le Communisme. La force de La Russie, c'est qu'elle a dans son sein une sorte de loi agraire; je veux dire une distribution perpétuelle de terre à tous les survenants."—*Michelet (Jules): Kosciusko*, VI., in the "*Légendes démocratiques du Nord*," pp. 37, 38, Paris: Garnier, 1854.

† I could not find the French original of Herzen's reply to Michelet, which appeared first at Nice in 1851, and then at Jersey in 1854, with the title "*Le Peuple Russe et le socialisme*." The Russian translation, approved by Herzen, was published in London by Trübner in 1858.



individual absorbing the man. Socialism unites the two fractions, the European revolutionary with the Panslavonian."<sup>\*</sup>

What Herzen now meant by Panslavism is said by himself:—

"The Slav world aspires towards unity; this aspiration manifested itself soon after the Napoleonic period. The idea of a Slav Confederation already germinated in the revolutionary plans of Pestel and Muravieff (1825). . . . Imperial Panslavism, exalted from time to time by men who have been bought, or are misguided, has nothing in common, of course, with a confederation based on the principles of liberty."<sup>†</sup>

And, in another work:—

"There are certainly at St. Petersburg imperial Panslavists and, at Moscow, Slavophile rallies, people not to be spoken of; men loving servitude, and for whom the only civilized form of government is absolute monarchy; they exalt the superiority of the wines of the Don over those of the Côte d'or, and preach russification to the occidental Slavs whose souls they fill with that noble hatred for the Germans and the Magyars which has been so useful to the Windischgraetz and Haynau. The Russian Government does not, indeed, officially acknowledge their services, but pays their travelling expenses, and sends to their Zcheck and Croatian friends the Holstein Cross of St. Anne, thus preparing for them, also, those brotherly embraces by which it suffocated Poland."<sup>‡</sup>

Finally, in the following quotation, Herzen discusses and, as it were, challenges criticism on the capacity of the Slavonian world to fulfil the programme which, in his mind, ought to secure to it the moral, if not the effectual, supremacy over the world. The passage is too remarkable to be left unnoticed; it completes Herzen's programme, and shows that we are in presence of a thinker, indeed possessed, but not prepossessed, by the one idea of his life, and able to control the vagaries of imagination and the untrusty guidance of mere patriotic feelings.

"The Slavonian world," he writes to Dr. Linton, "is much younger than the rest of Europe. The known number of the ages of existence stands for nothing. The infancy of peoples may last for thousands of years, even as their old age. The Slavonian peoples are an example of the one, the Asiatic of the other. But on what do we base the assertion, that the actual state of the Slavonians is youth and not decrepitude; the beginning and not the incapacity of development? Do we not see peoples that disappear without having had a history; peoples even which have given proof of certain faculties, like the Finns? It is enough to look at the existence of Russia to get rid of all doubts on this head. The terrible influence which is exercised upon Europe is no sign of decline or incapacity, but of the half savage force of an unregulated and vigorous youth. . . . Nothing in Russia bears that character of stagnation and death which we see in the invariably monotonous repetitions, generation after generation, of the old peoples of the East."

"A most natural question would be to ask if Russia must pass through all the phases of European development, or if it shall have a revolutionary development altogether different. As for me, I entirely deny the necessity of these repetitions."<sup>‡</sup>

Such is, in its main lines, the programme of Social Panslavism as

<sup>\*</sup> *English Republic*, April, 1854; "Russia and the Old World," pp. 133-136-143.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibid.*, April 1854, pp. 138, 139.

<sup>‡</sup> *Ibid.* p. 542.

<sup>§</sup> Herzen, "Du Développement des Idées Révolutionnaires en Russie," pp. 141 and foll. Paris: Frank. 1851.



sketched by the creator of "New Russia." It may be summed up as follows:—

The paramount question of the day is that of the labouring classes. It belongs to "New Socialist Russia" to take their cause into her hands, and put an end to their sufferings throughout the world.

To attain this lofty purpose force may be needed. Hence the necessity that all Slavs, delivered by Russia from the domination of other races, should form a strong confederation, so as to enable them to conquer the opposition of governments and proprietors, and enforce everywhere the cessation of landlordism, the division of the land, the abolition of inheritance. In this apostolate, Russia ought to be foremost.

To help, then, towards securing to Russia the moral, if not the effectual, predominance in the whole world, would be the same as to work on behalf of the labouring classes and the necessitous of one's own native country.

Never, perhaps, has self-interest been more skilfully combined with the appearance of generosity. Herzen's avowal is very striking:—

"While in Europe Socialism appears as a flag of discord, as a menace; among us it rises like a hope, or the rainbow of revolutions."<sup>\*</sup>

## II.

Did Prince von Bismarck ever pass the *Staats-examen* which, in Prussia, is regarded as the indispensable certificate of capacity for entering the diplomatic career? No satisfactory answer has ever been given to this question, so that were it not for the dismembering of the Danish monarchy, the humiliation of Austria and France, and the unity of German posterity would possess no warrant for Prince von Bismarck's practical capacity as a politician.

Herzen is in an analogous case. We have, it is true, Mazzini's toast, recorded above, but a commendation *inter pocula* can hardly have the importance of a successful *Staats-examen*. As for the testimony of Garibaldi, though Herzen, writing under the impression of a deep gratitude, seems to put him on a level with Mazzini, calling them both "les deux grands guides des peuples," yet Italians, who are somewhat competent to judge in the matter, know well how to discriminate between the minds of the two. If, then, we wish to know how far Herzen deserves to be considered as a practical man we have but one way left, that of appealing to facts.

Here, however, I must make a remark. The question with which we are concerned is too important to be turned into a personal one. I am well aware that the somewhat current opinion about Herzen represents him as rather fantastic. Castelar calls him: "*un poco Soñador*,"†

<sup>\*</sup> "Du Développement des Idées Revolutionnaires en Russie," p. 143.

† Castelar y Repoll (Emile), "Historia del Movimiento Republicano in Europa," p. 229, cxxxvii. Madrid, 1873.

and the author of "Russia Before and After the War" speaks of him as "having no positive programme of his own, and as having exhausted in negative criticism all he had to offer,"\* a statement which is opposed to the opinion I have expressed above. But I will not allow myself to be diverted from the subject for the sake of justifying a private view of mine. The point in question is not what Herzen may have said and done beyond, or against, the programme I have drawn from his own writings, but how far the programme itself has been, up to this time, carried into execution, and is likely to be, soon or late, entirely fulfilled. In the case of Herzen, as in that of Prince von Bismarck, the best proofs of foresight and practical mind are facts.

It has been said that, in the last years of his life, Herzen made a kind of retraction of many of his former ideas. In my opinion, this was not a retraction, but a mere application of what a great thinker calls "the first criterion of politics," which consists in disregarding, and, if necessary, sacrificing what is *accidental* in order to save and secure what is *essential*. That Herzen did so is by no means to the discredit of his mind, far less of his consistency.

The explanation of Herzen's so-called retraction, as given by his son, in a letter to Professor Arnaudo, of Turin, deserves to be quoted, both for the competence of the informant and the intrinsic value of the explanation itself. It will be seen, a little farther on, that, in calling attention to it, I do not wander from my subject.

"There has not been," says Herzen's son, "any breaking between the former Herzen and the subsequent one; but only development, evolution, and logical coherency. In consequence of the failure of the Revolution of 1848, my father lost all confidence in revolutions *merely political*, because he saw that the people, like the donkey of the fable, got always the blows, it being a matter of no importance whether the stick was held by Titus, Caius, or Sempronius. He came to understand that only such reforms as are *social-economical* are attended by serious and real advantages."†

Accordingly, what Herzen considered and aimed at as *essential*, were "social-economical reforms;" all the rest, including political reforms, he regarded as things the importance of which ought to be measured by their fitness to serve the final end. This said, let us return to his programme.

Herzen's most comprehensive programme bears on three different points: the internal condition of Russia; the relations of Russia with the other Slavs; and, finally, the relations of Socialist Russia with the rest of Socialist Europe. With regard to the first point, Russia ought to play, in the *social-economical* revolution of Europe, the same part hitherto played by France in the *political* one—that is, she ought to set such an example as to command, as it were, the imitation of the other peoples. The overthrowing of the existing institutions of the Empire ought to be employed only *as a means* for attaining that further aim.

\* "Russland vor und nach dem Kriege," p. 121, English edition. London: Longmans.

† Arnaudo, "Il Nihilismo," 2 ed. Appendix. Torino, 1879.



As for the second point, Russia ought to succeed in being looked upon, and officially acknowledged, as the natural protector of all Slavs. Finally, with regard to the third point, Socialist Russia ought, not only to conquer the sympathy of the Socialist element throughout all Europe, and, if possible, the world, but must become the chief laboratory and source of support of the Socialist International movement.

Such being the theory, let us now look for the corresponding facts.

### III.

The trials of the Russian Socialists, commonly, but for the most part undeservedly, called "Nihilists," are undoubtedly one of the best sources from which one can derive reliable information concerning the internal condition of Russia. Now, the officially printed trial of the murderers of Alexander III. contains many passages deserving the greatest consideration. Here is one taken at random from many:—

"As regards the motives of Perovskaia's criminal participation in the doings of the party of the *Narodnaia Volia*"—so runs the act of accusation—"she gave the following explanation:—*With the view of ameliorating the economical condition of the people*, and raising the level of its moral and intellectual development, the members of that Party began to establish themselves in various localities in the midst of the people, in order to excite their interest in public life, and make them acquainted with their civil rights. It was only when the Government met this course with repressive measures, and rendered this mode of action impossible, that the Party was compelled, after long hesitation, to turn to a political struggle against the existing institutions of the Empire, *because of these being the chief obstacle to the attainment of the end it had in view*. Though the majority of the Party blamed the struggle, and did not sympathize with it, this was, however, undertaken, and, moreover, carried on chiefly 'by terrific achievements.' The obstinacy in repeatedly attempting the life of the Emperor, resting in God, was called forth by the conviction that there was no hope of his changing either his behaviour towards the Party or his interior politics."\*

The same declaration was made, and in most emphatic terms, by the other culprits, especially by Jelaboff, and the whole trial bears witness to the fact that the real aim of Russian revolutionists is that of changing the *social-economical* condition of Russia. The remarkable Emancipation Act of February 19, 1861, has proved—owing to various reasons which may, perhaps, be summed up in Russian bureaucracy, not having been changed by it—as inefficacious to settle the condition of the Russian peasantry as the Irish Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870 to cure the evils of Ireland. Moreover, the people are still awaiting for an ukase which ought to divide among them the whole Russian soil. The forced expropriation of landlords, which the Government has applied to Poland in order to crush the clergy and aristocracy, and ingratiate itself with the people of that country, the Russian peasant does not see why it could not be justified also in regard to Russia. The *Tchernii Peredel*—the organ of the comparatively mild Socialist party, to which Ryssakoff professed to belong, whilst he

\* Official Report of the State Trial: St. Petersburg, Komaroff, 1881, p. 35.



disclaimed any connection with that of the revolutionary *Narodnaia Volia*—makes, in its first number, the following weighty declaration: "Not caring by whose 'sacred rights,' or on what 'social grounds,' the agrarian reform which they look for may be opposed, our people base the expectation of this reform on their reconciliation during the unhappy present, and on their hopes in a better future."

Now, to bring about this agrarian reform, that is, the partition of the whole Russian soil among the people,—not indeed as private property, but as the collective and inalienable property of the Commune (*Mir*) to be then allotted among its members,—is the avowed end of all Russian Socialists. And it is but fair to remark that only a few, as the latest State Trial made evident, advocate violent means. A very large number of them, if not the most, I would rather call "evolutionists" than "revolutionists." At any rate, political agitation has been, and is, employed by these *only as a means* to hasten that long-looked-for amelioration of the condition of the people.

Nor is this to be wondered at. Political reforms were already considered to be only *a means*, at least as far back as 1825. Herzen did not claim originality. His pamphlet, "*La Conspiration Russe de 1825*," ends with these words: "To take as a basis of this new development of Russia the life of the people, to cast down the wall which separates the two Russias [of the Government and the People], and all this by an economical revolution—this is the testament of Pestel which Young Russia is now fulfilling."\*

The trial, which ended in the executions of April 15, 1881, is but an echo of the trial of the conspirators of 1825—among whom one finds also a General Parowski. Since 1825 the number of Russian families in possession of similar traditions has been increased.

As for the strength of the Russian internal revolution, I can hardly suggest any better source of information—to those at least who wish to trace effects to their real causes—than C. Hippeau's work, "*De l'Instruction publique en Russie*,"† compiled from sources supplied by Prince Orloff, the Russian ambassador in Paris. One might believe in reading it that the author intended to show that Russia has already left behind her all other nations. At p. xix. of the Introduction, and *à propos* of public instruction, mention is made of the Russian rural Commune (*Mir*), in terms which would have made Herzen (1870) shed tears of joy.

Finally, as regards the continuation of the desperate struggle between the Government and the terroristic party of Russian Socialism, here are the last words with which Jelaboff concluded his defence: "As my

\* Iskander (A. Herzen): "*La Conspiration Russe de 1825*." Suivie d'une lettre sur l'émancipation des serfs en Russie. Londres, 1858.

† "Des ouvrages spéciaux font connaître la nature, l'organisation et l'esprit de la Commune libre, de ce *mir* qui, composé de paysans, a pu, par le seul fait de leur émancipation, et sous la toute puissance de la liberté déployer une sagesse et une maturité que leur pourraient envier les nations les plus avancées."—Hippeau (C.): *L'Instruction publique en Russie*. Paris: Didier. 1878.



last words, and to prevent all misunderstanding, I would say also this: a pacific way is possible, and I, for instance, would renounce terrorist action if the external conditions were changed. . . ."

Here, as the official report tells us, he was stopped by the president.

## IV.

Passing now to the relations of Russia with the other Slavs, I must begin by reminding the reader of the main motive alleged by Russia for prosecuting the last war: her claim to be the natural protector and defender of her fellow Slavs.

At the second sitting of the Congress of Berlin, held June 17, 1878, the representative of England formally proposed that Greece also should be represented at the Congress. "The two races," said the Marquis of Salisbury, "are not on an equal footing before the Congress. The Slavs have, *as their defender* in the room, a powerful military nation related to them *by blood and by faith*, strong in the prestige of her recent victories. The Greeks, on the contrary, have, as their representative here, no nation of the same race."

Prince Gortchakoff observed, in reply, that "he was anxious that the Congress should look upon the representative of Russia, not as *exclusively* concerned with the interests of the Slavs, but as taking an interest in all the Christian population of Turkey,"\* which observation was not, of course, a disavowal of the former declaration. The most cursory glance at the protocols of the Congress of Berlin will convince every one that Russia's claim to be the natural defender and protector of the Slavs, could not be more solemnly acknowledged by the official representatives of the Great Powers of Europe.†

Nor is Russia's protection confined to the Slavs of the Turkish Empire. To protect is a source of such intense satisfaction, that he who has once experienced it cannot help wishing to enlarge the field of his protectorship, and increase the number of the protected. And this happens especially when protection is bestowed without any

\* State Papers (C. 2014), Turkey, No. 33, 1878.

† Let us remark, by the way, that a glove is not taken off more easily and gently than France was stripped, at the Congress of Berlin, of her traditional "Protectorat des Chrétiens d'Orient." Without the least observation, far less protest, "Prince Gortchakoff was there allowed to declare that Russia has *always* had in view, in Turkey, the interests of the Christians, *without regard to race*."

The protocols of the Congress are highly instructive, sometimes also amusing; for instance, when (June 17) Prince Gortchakoff, probably misled by some similarity of sound between "liturgy" and "jurisdiction," observed that "there is no religious dissidence between the Greek Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Exarchate; it is solely a question of liturgy." Such, at any rate, was not the opinion of the Patriarch of Constantinople (given at Constantinople in August and September, 1872), who excommunicated the Bulgarians because of their having applied the principles of nationalities (*τὸν φυλετισμὸν*) to the external government of the Church "contrary to the teaching of the Gospel and the holy canon of the Church." It would also appear, if we take the canon of that Council as binding, that a large portion, at least, of the Russian Church, was equally comprised in the excommunication. The words of the Council are plain: *καὶ πάντας τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας καὶ συμφρονολοῦντας καὶ συμπράττοντας αὐτοῖς...πράττοντες σχισματικούς.* "Ὅρος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης Συνόδου, &c.—Constantinople 1872. Who has more supported the rebellious Bulgarians than the Russians?



view of self-interest; then, if ever, it becomes manifest that to forget oneself for the sake of others gives more happiness than any egotistical indulgence. Now the protection bestowed by Russia on her fellow Slavs is, as we are officially informed, the most disinterested one:—

"The Government which commenced the war now concluded," said Lord Salisbury at the Congress of Berlin (June 17), "declared that it had undertaken it with elevated views, and without ulterior object. It announced that it did not seek territorial acquisitions; its aim was to deliver the Christian populations from the evils of which the existence was generally recognized, whatever might be their cause. His Highness Prince Gortchakoff reiterated the same elevated views in this hall at the first sitting of the Congress."\*

No wonder, after this, if the Slavs of Austria are looked upon by Russia with the same sisterly solicitude and affection that she bestows on those of the Turkish empire.

"It is universally assumed," says a lady author, who, being the sister of a late Russian general, may be safely relied upon as an echo of the Russian official spheres, "that Russians regard Austria-Hungary with animosity. It is not so. There can be no national hatred between Russians and Austrians, because they are not Austrians. As Prince Gortchakoff once wittily observed, '*Austria is not a nation; she is not even a State; she is only a Government.*'† . . . With the Slavs of Austria and Hungary—that is, with the majority of the subjects of the Hapsburg—the Slavs of Russia can only have the liveliest feelings of sympathy and fraternity."‡

This information is supported by a well-known English statesman.

"The conception of constituting Austria the gaoler of the Slav nationalities," said Sir William Harcourt, "is a conception which is unworthy of practical statesmen, and altogether repugnant to liberal principles. Russia has pursued a policy far more astute. *She has won the hearts of those provinces* by making herself the patron of their independence. She leaves it to Austria to assume the position of the conqueror of alien races and of a dissatisfied people."§

There are, undoubtedly, many among the Slavs of Austria-Hungary who reciprocate the feelings shown by Russia in regard to them. Thus, to quote one instance only, Dr. Rieger, the leader of the Bohemian Pan Slavists, addressed, during the last war, a letter to the Moscow Slavonic Committee, where one reads the following enthusiastic expressions:—

"The glory of the Russians in that struggle is our glory, and it raises the pride of all Slavonians, and their self-consciousness, that the blood of our brethren will be shed for our brethren. We cannot but rejoice when the powerful Slav, by

\* State Papers (C. 2014), Turkey, No. 33, 1878. Correspondence respecting the Congress at Berlin (2nd sitting, June 17).

† Those words recall to mind Prince von Metternich's famous saying, "*l'Italie n'est qu'une expression géographique.*" History has many a cruel irony in reserve for political prophets.

‡ "Russia and England from 1876 to 1880." A Protest and an Appeal by O. K. [ireeff]. With a Preface by James Ant. Froude, M.A., p. 130. London: Longmans, 1880.

§ Speech delivered Jan. 13, 1880.—The same policy is pursued by Russia towards the Armenians; those of this unhappy but meritorious nation, who are still under the dominion of Turkey, are compelled, owing to the traditional non-execution of the treaties, and consequently also of the 61st Art. of that of Berlin, to envy the condition of their fellow Armenian subjects of Russia. On this important subject I beg to refer the reader to the remarkable article, signed, "An Eastern Statesman," which appeared in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for April, 1880, with the title, "The Armenian Question."



defending the weak Slavs, has earned a right to the gratitude and love of the whole Slavonic family."\*

Whether the feelings expressed in this letter, or rather manifesto, are equally shared by all Slavs of Austria, I abstain from inquiring; one exception at least is suggested by the political movement of the Southern Slavs, or *Yongo Slavs*, aiming at the formation of one kingdom, resulting from the union of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia (*Troiedina Kraljevna*). It is well known, moreover, that a great influence is exercised, among the Slavs of Austria, by that eminent prelate and patriot, Mgr. Strossmayer, who fully realizes his motto: *Sve za veru a za domovinu* (All for faith and country). Nor does this Bishop confine his aspirations to his own country, or to the race to which he belongs; his programme is no less vast than that of Herzen.

"Ah! Slavs, my brethren," he says, "you are evidently destined to operate great things in Asia and Europe; you are called upon, I believe, to regenerate that decayed society of the West, to communicate to her more heart and love, more faith and lawfulness, more feeling for justice and virtue, for peace and concord. But in this task you will succeed, to the general advantage and your own glory, and you will conquer all your internal and external differences only if you reconcile yourselves and come to an agreement with the Western Church."

These lines are taken from a pastoral letter dated Drakovar, February 4, 1881, and addressed to the clergy and faithful of the Diocese, as a commentary on the present Pope's Encyclical *Grande Munus* of September 30, 1880, concerning the Apostles of the Slavs, SS. Cyril and Methodius. Mgr. Strossmayer's pastoral letter is circulating in Russia, where, we are told, it creates a great sensation.

But to return. By a distinction between government and people one can easily explain any amount of sympathy which may ever be felt by the Slavs of Austria for their fellow Slavs of Russia. This distinction is not of a fresh date. It most frequently occurs in several writings of Herzen; it is a necessary condition for the fulfilment of his programme, and it has already proved powerful enough to make even Poles, like Lelewel and Mickiewicz, fully sympathize with Russians. One of the most famous odes of Mickiewicz is entitled, *To the Muscovite Friends*, and begins with these words:

"Where are you now? The noble neck of Ryleieff, which I embraced as that of a brother, is now, by order of the Tsar, hanging on an infamous tree. Woe to the people who kill their prophets!"

What all this means is self-evident. But there is also another way of explaining, at least to a certain extent, the sympathy which the Slavs of Austria and Turkey may feel even for the Russian government.

I have already alluded to the forced expropriation of the nobles and the clergy of Poland after the outbreak of the Polish Lithuanian revolt of 1863. Here I beg to quote a Russian authority:—

\* Quoted by the author of "Russia and England from 1876 to 1883," p. 130.



"A remodelling of *agrarian* regulations, and of Polish administration," says the author of "Russia Before and After the War," "was taken in hand, which aimed at removing the nobles and clergy, as political incorrigibles, from their historical position, and the enjoyment of their property, and making the Russian domination over the province of the Vistula, rest upon the sympathies of the Polish peasant class, now suddenly converted into proprietors. The system of emancipation and reorganization, so favourable to the peasants, and so injurious to the nobles, which had been rejected for Russia was applied to Poland in its harshest form, and Miliutine, its author, was entrusted with its execution. . . . When Miliutine left for St. Petersburg, he furnished Prince Zcherkassky with almost unlimited power to carry on his plan."\*

It results from this passage, that however abominable Socialism may theoretically appear to the Russian Government, still there are cases in which it may serve some of its purposes. This consideration avails also to explain its behaviour in Bulgaria.

"The same was the case," says the Russian author just quoted, "with the remodelling of the agrarian system and of the local communal administration (of Bulgaria). Guided by his Polish experience, Zcherkassky had drawn up a plan the object of which was to expropriate altogether the aristocracy of the so-called *Tchorbadji*, who had grown up under Greco-Turkish influence, and who, as possessors and farmers of the crown lands and *Yakuf* estates, were the lords of the rural communes, while as magistrates and tax-farmers they fleeced the people right and left. The will and energy required to carry out this object of *whole-sale expropriation* were not wanting, of course, in the man who had recklessly trampled on the clergy and nobility of Poland."†

By so behaving, the Russian Government has only done what Michelet, as long ago as 1851, said it would do.

"Such is Russian propagandism, varying constantly according to the different peoples and countries. Yesterday it said to us, 'I am Christianity;' to-morrow it may say, 'I am Socialism.'"‡

Yet, whatever ability or unscrupulousness the Russian Government may display in order to appear, not only as the political defender of all Slavs, but also as the protector of their labouring classes, it meets on this last point with a formidable rivalry. The Russian non-official Socialists take care to prevent their fellow Socialist Slavs from either listening to its tempting proposals, or believing in any of its promises. Nor is the task very difficult. They need only point to the prosecutions of which they are the object in Russia; to the prohibition by the Government of printing, with a few illusory exceptions, or introducing into the Empire any book in Little Russian, a language spoken by a people of fourteen millions; § to the persecution exercised against the Polish language; to the administrative measures which attended Prince Tcherkasky's agrarian reform and the like. || With regard to the experience made by Bulgaria, they need only remind their fellow Socialist Slavs that—

\* "Russia Before and After the War." By the author of "Society of St. Petersburg" (Jul. Eckhard), pp. 146-9. London: Longmans, 1880.

† Ibid. p. 170.

‡ Ukase 18-30 Mai, 1876.

§ Michelet (Jules): "Kosciusko," xv. p. 126.

|| Much information concerning Poland is to be found in the work of Father Lescœur, of the Paris Oratory, "L'Eglise catholique en Pologne," Paris: Plon, 1876. In 1878 appeared in Lemberg a work with the title, "Czasy Nerona, W. XIX. wieku, pod rządem Moskiew-



"Not one of the educated Bulgarians who tendered their services to the Russian Government received a post of any importance. The authorities had settled, once for all, that this people were fit for nothing; that the idea of granting a constitution was absurd; and that a strong Russian dictatorship was wanted to develop among their Bulgarian 'brethren' the capacity for genuine Slavonic freedom."\*

Passing away from this point, the following conclusion of a criticism of Prince Tcherkasky's administration in Bulgaria, from the Geneva Socialist paper, *Obschina* (The Commune), may be given as a comprehensive specimen of their line of argument—

"It is not the bloody hands of these perpetrators [the Russian liberators] that can build up the true liberty of the Slav nations. For such a work as this, another way of looking at the world (*miroszertsanie*) is required, other hands are needed. This new way of looking at the world is already begun in Russia in spite of the persecutions of the 'Liberators;' it is already born also among the other Slavs, and the first act of those who have adopted it will be that of freeing themselves, *their neighbours*, and their country from the system of the benefactors and liberators, just as, in the bloody year of its misfortunes, the first act of the popular movement in France was that of casting down the prevaricator, though, like our perpetrators, he also had fought for the independence of another country, Italy."†

Nor does the Russian non-official Socialist propagandism prove ineffectual to check the official one. The instance I am going to relate concerning Poland is the more deserving our attention, because, if Herzen's programme has found adherents there, it has conquered the greatest of all difficulties, at least as regards the relations of Russia with the other Slavs; and the reflection forces itself on the mind that such a victory cannot be explained but by the inherent power of the ideas lying at the bottom of the programme itself.

On Nov. 29, 1880, was celebrated in the Schiess Hall at Geneva the 50th anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830. From the account given by the *Rownosc*, I shall quote only two extracts:—

"I do not know," said Vera Zassoulitch: "whether the national question does interfere with the action of Polish Socialists; the special conditions under which they must work are unknown to me. But this I know, that Socialism has allowed Poles and Russians to forget that instinctive mutual hatred which they have, as it were, sucked with their mother's milk and turned into their own blood."‡

This reconciliation was thus explained, in the same journal, by Varynski:—

"Mutual relations between Polish and Russian revolutionists are not of a recent date. . . . But Tsarism, the common enemy, entered into alliance with Polish revolutionists dreaming of the past, and Russian revolutionists looking into the future.

*skim czyli ostatnie cheville unii W. dycezyi Chelmskiej.*"—"The Times of Nero in the Nineteenth Century under the Muscovite Government; or the Last Moments of the Union in the Diocese of Khelm," by J.P.B. It would result from the documents quoted in the work that the Russian Government did not intend to persecute, but to liberate.

\* "Russia Before and After the War," p. 170, and foll.

† Article by V. Chorkezooff in the *Obschina*, p. 26. Geneva, 1878.

‡ *Rownosc* (Egalité), November, 1880, p. 12.



"The rising of Socialism in Russia and Poland has thoroughly changed these relations. From the merely passive part which Poland has constantly played in the European movement, that of defending Europe against the Muscovite colossus, she passes now to play an active part in it; she enters into the ranks of that army which is fighting for the rights of the proletarians. Our companions, the Russians, have taken on themselves the active war against despotism. Poles and Russians, Polish and Russian Socialists are no more now the children of two countries hostile to each other, bound together by a tie of imperious necessity; they are children of one common country, far more unfortunate than Poland herself—proletariate."

There is no need of further quotations. I will only remark, by the way, that, according to the *Rownosc* itself, Polish Socialism, which in 1863 was merely a "foreign seed" (*eudze ziarno*), was, at the end of 1881, still "young and newly born" (*mlody i nowopowstajacy*). And I cannot but profit by the occasion to remind the reader of the noble protest made by the most distinguished representatives of the Polish emigration in Paris, against the participation of some of their fellow-countrymen in the Paris Commune of 1871.

In conclusion, and to return to our point, the non-Russian Slavs are the object of a double intense affection: that of the Russian Government, which takes the deepest interest in the condition of their labouring classes, and that of the Russian non-official Socialists, who cannot bear to be outrun in the loving race by their Government. This fact may, perhaps, plead for many a deportation to Siberia, and for other severities.

Jealousy may account for many strange things. It has long been understood that to be supplanted by a rival in love is enough to make a man turn mad.

V.

Michelet's "Kosciusko" appeared, as I have said, in the *Paris Événement*, from August 17, to September 17, 1851. At the end of the seventh chapter the Russian people are there thus defined: "What are, then, this people? Are they humanity? Are they Nature? Are they a rudimentary and unorganized element? Are they sand or dust, like that in which during three months the Russian soil is lifted up and made volatile? Are they water, like that which during the rest of the year—first as water, then as ice, and then as mud—changes that melancholy country into a boundless marsh?"

"No, compared with the Russian people, sand is solid and water is not deceitful."\*

And at the end of Chapter Eight we read: "A profound and admirable definition has been given of Russia: That dissolving force, that cold poison which, by degrees, is made to circulate through the whole body, slackening the sinews of life, disheartening its future victims, and delivering them up without defence. Russia, in a word, has been defined as the *Cholera Morbus*."†

\* "Légendes démocratiques du Nord:" Kosciusko, p. 50.

† Ibid. p. 55.



Michelet's words express the current opinion about Russia throughout Europe in 1851, a statement which might be easily supported by illustrations taken from writers of various countries. It will be enough to quote Herzen's first words, in his reply to the French writer:—"Dear Sir,—You stand too high in the opinion of all thinking men, and every word issued from your noble pen is received by the democracy of Europe with too complete and too well-deserved trust, for it to be possible for me to remain in silence about things connected with my most intimate convictions, and leave without any answer your characteristics of the Russian people."

The reader can now measure the gigantic task Herzen took on himself, that of reconciling and making acceptable to the democracy of Europe the *Cholera Morbus*. Prince von Bismarck, with all his power, an inexhaustible "reptile fund," and the first army in the world, would have shrunk from the attempt; Herzen, an exile with no social position of importance, with but his pen and the inherent power of his idea, dared to make the attempt, and he succeeded.

Whilst we are writing this essay, the papers are filled with reports of the efforts made by the Russian Government to bring about an agreement among the different Powers to the effect that Russian Socialists should not continue to find abroad, besides impunity, assistance and support in planning and directing fresh conspiracies at home. The way in which Hartmann, already in the hands of justice, could leave France, and find security in England, is not yet forgotten. The prosecution of the *Freiheit*, and the tone in which the Socialists of Europe announced and greeted the assassination of the Tsar, sufficiently show how far Russian Socialists have succeeded in conquering the sympathies of those in Western Europe. Herzen's prophecy: "Socialism will unite the two fractions, the European revolutionary with the Panslavonian;" has it, then, been already fulfilled?

But Herzen's programme implied more than this. In the mind of the deep-thinking, far-seeing agitator, Socialist Russia must not only become one of the main stays and chief supports of the Socialist movement of Europe, but ought also to succeed in gaining such influence among the democracy of Europe as to possess the virtual leadership of the movement itself.

We do not know how far the angel of petroleum, Miss Louise Michel, may be looked upon as a faithful mouthpiece of the most advanced Socialism; but, in December last, she publicly declared, at a meeting held in the theatre Oberkampf, in Paris, "*C'est de la Russie que me vient le souffle glacé qui me pousse en avant.*"

On the other hand, the Russian Socialist paper, *Rabotnik* (The Workman), of Geneva, published in its fourth issue of April, 1875, a letter in which the Geneva "Section for the Spreading of the *International Working Men's Association*" thus expressed their sympathy with the new organ of the Russian democracy: "We, a Society chiefly composed of men



who took part in the Paris Commune of 1871, have unanimously desired to express to you our sympathy. . . . We hope that Russia, which has always given us a large number of strong and brave warriors for the great cause of liberty, *will soon become one of the chief laboratories* of that mighty insurrection of all the peoples which alone can finally deliver the labouring classes."

But the field where the action and influence of Russian Socialism have been most prominent is the *International*. A Russian, Michael Bakunin, disputed the direction of it with its very founder, Karl Marx, and created, in its bosom, the "Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste," of which, of course, he constituted himself the head. It is well known that this "Alliance" was disavowed by the Congress of the *International* held at the Hague, 1872, which, besides, in the sitting of September 7, excluded from its bosom Bakunin himself. Whether, and how far, this expulsion has been a disgrace for the Russian agitator, is told us by a leader of the Socialist movement in Italy:—

"The result of the battle fought at the Congress of the Hague," says Gnocchi Viani, "has been that of dividing, without further regard and delay, the *International* into two great and quite separate branches; that of the Socialists who keep to the principle of authority on one side, and that of the Anarchical Socialists on the other. . . . Apparently the party less wounded in the struggle was the 'Authoritative Communistic' (*Comunistico autoritario*), inspired by Karl Marx, but the victory, if carefully looked into, has only been a victory of Pyrrhus. The party which, though legally and apparently succumbing, was in reality victorious, is that of the 'Anarchists,' called also 'Autonomist-federals,' . . . inspired by Michael Bakunin."

Only one year later, on the eve of the two Congresses held at Geneva (1st and 8th of September, 1873), the "anti-authoritative" branch of the *International*—that is, that of the "Autonomist-federals"—was still the more numerous and more diffused.\*

As every reader is not bound to be conversant with the special dictionary of Socialist publications, I beg to add a few words of explanation of the important statement I have just quoted.

Whilst all agree in aiming at a social-economical revolution, the result of which would be the disappearance of the distinction between proprietors and proletarians, and the transformation of society into an association of men, all having equal rights and duties, and possessing everything in common, Socialists are still at variance as to that organization through which the looked-for transformation has to be accomplished, and in which the future organization of society ought to be, as it were, embodied.

According to the German school, represented by Karl Marx, this organization, or "Being," ought to be the State. According to the Russian school, represented by Bakunin, it ought to be a "federation of the free unions of working men," after the model of the Russian *Mir* (Rural Commune), as regards the peasant labourers, and of the

\* Gnocchi Viani, "Le tre Internazionali," pp. 2, 3.



Russian *Artel* (Association of Artisans), as regards the working-men of the towns. According to the German system, future society ought to be constituted into a Socialist "Monarchy;" according to the Russian system it ought to result in "a Confederation of Autonomous Communes." These are the main lines of theoretical Socialism; we need not enter here into further divisions.

The following quotation from Bakunin will serve to elucidate the distinction:—

"Communism" (the system of Marx) "I abhor," says Bakunin, "because it concentrates all the strength of society in the State, and squanders that strength in its service; because it places all property in the hands of the State, whereas my principle is the abolition of the State itself. I want the organization of society, and the distribution of property, to proceed upwards *from below* by the free voice of society itself; not downwards *from above* by the dictates of authority."\*

But to return. One year after the death of Bakunin (July, 1876), the Geneva *Travailleur*—the organ of the Anarchist branch of the *International*—published a correspondence from Moscow. The reader will appreciate the bearing of the following passage:—

"Who made himself the apostle of the anti-State (*anti-étatistes*) ideas in Europe?—A Russian, Bakunin. I am very far from raising a question of national merit among the Socialists of the different peoples. I only intend to demonstrate that neither chance nor mere fancy has impelled a Russian to propagate anarchy, whilst other thinkers, putting aside these ideas, were busying themselves with mutualism, the Bank of the people, and the like."†

Accordingly, European Socialism is divided into two different schools,—the one German and the other Russian,—and I need hardly remark that the true rulers of nations are those who succeed in making them think as they wish them to do. Now one could easily fill many pages with abstracts from Socialist papers of various countries, implying avowals of the mastership already exercised by Russian Socialists over the tendencies and direction of Western Socialism. Thus, for instance, the *Rivista Internazionale del Socialismo* acknowledges Bakunin as the originator of the fighting Socialist literature of Italy, and remarks that, "from that time (about 1868) the Slav Socialist thought has 'internationalized' itself with the Italian Socialist thought."‡

This one quotation may stand for a thousand.

The *National Reformer*, in its issue of April 4, 1880, called the attention of its readers to an article signed, "Scrutator," which had just appeared in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of the same month, under the title, "The Outlook of Europe."

"Our anonymous essayist," said Mr. Bradlaugh's paper, "concludes

\* Peace and Liberty Congress, held at Berne, Sept. 1868.

† *Le Travailleur*, August, 1877.

‡ *Rivista Internazionale del Socialismo*, Milano, Agosto, 1880, p. 11.

I must be pardoned for having created an English word. I could not translate otherwise the original Italian; which, let it be remarked, is just as much Italian as my corresponding one is English. Socialism has certainly already enriched, if not the people, at least the dictionaries.



that the Socialism of Germany 'is more immediately menacing the peace of Europe than the Nihilism of Russia.' Whoever may be the writer, he is well informed, vigorous, and far-seeing. All would do well to master his statement." The *National Reformer* stands in too close a connection with the general Socialist movement of Europe not to be considered as possessing much authority when emphasizing some particular publication or some special statement. It follows that if German Socialism is, even alone, a danger for the peace of Europe, this danger is undoubtedly increased by an alliance between German and Russian Socialism. Now this alliance seems to be, if I am not mistaken, as complete as possible. In September, 1880, a Congress of the German Social Democracy was held at Wyden, in Switzerland. The editors of the *Tchernii Peredel*, the Geneva organ of the Russian "Social Federalists," addressed to the Congress a letter of adhesion, from which it will be enough to quote the following lines :—

"Russian Socialists have never forgotten that their aims are altogether (*im Grossen und Ganzen*) identical with those of the Socialists of all civilized countries, and, consequently, also with those of the Social Democrats of Germany. Hence Russian Socialists, *in spite of some differences of opinions as to the practical part of the programme*, have always followed, with the liveliest interest, the development of German Socialism. Moreover, the immediate proximity of the two countries, and the intimate reactionary alliance between their governments, creates the necessity of an alliance *no less intimate* between the Socialists of Germany and those of Russia. For this, also, the result of your struggle must necessarily excite our deepest interest. We know that your victory will be the sign for the outbreak of that universal social revolution to which we also devote our forces; we know that if you succumb, our hope is again put off to a distant period."\*

To this letter the Congress replied as follows :—

"As the German Social Democracy welcomes with an entire sympathy every movement tending to the social and political freedom of the peoples, this evidently applies also to those who, under the name of 'Nihilists,' work for the liberty of the Russian people, though their mode of action, suggested by the peculiar condition of Russia, is not appropriate for Germany."†

One might be led to believe, from this exchange of sympathies, that German and Russian Socialism, or rather schools of Socialism, are quite on an equal footing. I venture to believe that the Russian has far more chances of success, both for the way in which its leaders behave, and for some peculiar advantages of its programme. Let me add some words on each point.

Courage, boldness, contempt of torture and death, have always exercised, even independently of further considerations, a kind of fascination on the masses. The surest way of promoting the triumph of a cause, political or religious, is to make martyrs for it; just as the best means of discrediting it, is that of casting on its leaders the brand of cowardice. Now Russia is, *par excellence*, the country of martyrs for every possible cause; since it may even boast of the peculiarity of

\* "Protokoll des Kongresses der deutschen Sozialdemokratie Abgehalten auf Schloss Wyden en der Schweiz," vom. 20, bis 23 August, 1880, pp. 11-13. Zürich, Herten, 1880.

† Ibid. p. 46.



having produced a class of martyrs quite unheard-of in any other country, "Martyrs for the Beard."\* As was then to be expected, the striking contrast between the vigorous revolutionary proceedings of Russian Socialists, and the sedate revolutionary acts of the German, could not fail to excite, against the latter, feelings of impatience which very soon turned into discontent and open hostility. The publication of the London *Freiheit* was nothing else but a protest against what its editor, the now notorious Most, stigmatized as the "cowardice" of the German Social Democrats. We read in the Russian Socialist paper, *Tchernii Peredel* of September, 1880, an article from M. Most, where he advocates all means which may serve to speedily attain the purpose of social revolution, and quotes analogous declarations made in the *Freiheit* of February 28, 1880, ending with these words: "To sum up, we (of the *Freiheit*) are the 'revolutionary' Social Democracy, they (of the *Social Democrat*) are 'progressist' Socialists. Hence there is between ourselves and them very little in common."

These words betray the deep division existing in the camp of German democracy, and division is not an element of strength. Moreover, by disavowing the publication of the *Freiheit*, and excluding Most from their ranks, the Congress of the German democracy held at Wyden has, as it were, made of him a martyr in the eyes of his adherents. Finally, the way in which Most greeted the assassination of the Tsar, the consequent prosecution of his paper, and his imprisonment, whilst bringing him and his partisans still nearer to the Russian Socialists, and procuring for him the sympathies of all those who, in France and elsewhere, extolled the murderers, have certainly not contributed to enhance, before the impatient Socialists of Europe, either the party of the German Socialist school, nor the course adopted by its leaders.

And a confirmation, if need there be, of our opinion, is to be found in a recent pamphlet of M. Dragomanov, "*Le Tyrannicide en Russie et l'Action de l'Europe occidentale*," where the famous Ukranian agitator, calmly discussing the situation, warns Europe against the *epidemic contagion* of political assassination, and points to the important fact that, whilst mere Socialist European schemes cannot have as yet any influence on the great mass of the Russian peasantry, the means adopted by the Russian revolutionists now engaged in the political struggle, in order to free themselves from autocracy, may well communicate to Europe "their sanguinary character, and excite those instincts, proceeding more from passion than from reason, which are always to be found among disinherited classes even in the most civilized countries."†

This is, for the present at least, the strongest point of Russian

\* For information concerning the relations of the Russian Government with the beards of the people, see the Alphabetical Register of the first series of the complete collection of the laws (1649-12 Dec. 1825) at the rubric "Tsopoga u Sopogaru" (Beard and bearded).

† Dragomanov, "*Le Tyrannicide en Russie*," p. 13. Geneva Printing Office of the *Rabotnik and Blomada*. A most interesting summary of this pamphlet appeared in the *Times* of April 22, 1881.



Socialism, and the one which is likely gradually, but steadily, to increase its prevalence over that of Germany. We are told, it is true, that German Socialism has spread its roots far and wide among the masses, whilst this is not the case with the Russian. But we are living at an epoch when a few years, sometimes a few months, are enough to create new feelings, or to give a new direction to the feelings of a nation. Moreover, if the *immediate* aim of the Russian revolutionary movement is, *as yet*, rather political than social, one must not forget that its final aim is the social economical transformation of Russia. Very soon Russia will have to face the solution of the great and momentous problems created by the way in which the emancipation of the Serfs has been carried on, and let it be remarked that there is not a single peasant who has not some interest in the solution of these problems. This is the same as to say that, once the political revolution is accomplished, the whole Russian nation will have to be engaged in the Social revolution.

Yet, this very expression, "Social revolution," exact as it may be to designate the economical transformation of society in Western Europe, can hardly be applied to the case of Russia. Let us listen to a competent authority:—

"The Slavs," says again the Italian Socialist quoted above, "whilst defending the collective property of the soil, and the inalienability of the land allotted to the peasants, are but *Conservatives*, whilst the other peoples, for instance the Italian, for doing the same are radically *Socialist revolutionary*."\*

The reason is obvious; one is "conservative" when one keeps what one possesses; one is "revolutionary" when one changes what one possesses into what one possesses not. Now the collective property of the soil, and the inalienability of the land allotted among the peasants, are already to be found in that Russian Commune (*Mir*), already mentioned above, of which Count de Cavour is said to have predicted that it will create more dangers to Western Europe than any army. The official definition of the enjoyment in common (*obschinnoe polzovanie*) of this Commune is worth quoting, as entirely agreeing with what is the avowed end of all Socialists.

"Enjoyment in common," thus runs the definition, "is the mode of enjoyment regulated by custom, by virtue of which the soil is divided, or allotted, from time to time among the peasants; either by head, by *tiaglo*, or otherwise, joint responsibility being imposed upon all for the fulfilment of the obligations attached to the occupancy."

But in Russia this "enjoyment in common" already applies to all the land not belonging to the Crown and the landlords. It follows that for Russia what is commonly called "social economical revolution" would only be the application to the whole country of a system of land tenure there in existence for centuries, and in which, moreover, is already

\* Gnocchi Viani, "Le tre Internazionali," p. 129.



engaged the vast majority, not to say nearly all, of the Russian population. Accordingly, whilst German Socialism is still in the period of theories, the Russian is fully entered into that of facts, which again—when one remembers that patience is not the commonest of virtues—is a great advantage over the German Socialism.

"Be on your guard, make sacrifices, you proprietors of Germany," says a German to his fellow-countrymen; "conciliate the workmen by such reforms as will render their native country dear to them, else they will welcome the Russians as 'liberators.' . . . Do you believe the German proletarian is likely to prefer remaining proletarian under a German lord, or a German, if not a Jew, land proprietor, rather than become 'collective' co-proprietor with the Tsars? I do not believe so."\*

So much has been published even in England about the Russian *Mir*, that I beg to refer the reader, for further information, to the various books where this important subject has been diligently and extensively discussed.† It is enough for the scope of this essay to remark that, whatever the theoretical objections to the introduction into Western Europe of the Russian system may be, it is still making its way more, perhaps, than is generally believed. The French, Spanish, and Italian Socialists are, as we gather from several publications, in favour of the Russian system. Even in Germany this system is gaining adherents, and, whilst Russian Socialists sneer at any attempt to reconcile by a German *Volks-Staat* what, in their eyes, is irreconcilable—that is, State and people—the Munich Socialist paper, *Zeitgeist*, takes for its programme, "The Free Confederation of the Groups of the Communes." The reader, moreover, will not have forgotten that on the ninth anniversary of the Paris Commune (18th March, 1880), Hartmann publicly expressed, at a Socialistic meeting held in London, the hope that the Paris Commune would be the starting-point of the general confederation of the Communes throughout all Europe. Finally, nowhere does history prove that the triumph of a political or social scheme is in proportion to its reasonableness or its practical applicability; when society is in a state of feverish uneasiness it accepts the first change offered to it as a relief. Like a sick man,

"Col volger fianco al suo dolor fa schermo" (*Dante*).

#### VI.

"Ah! we have you now!" said Raoul Rigault, the well-known member of the Paris Commune, to Mgr. Darboy, when the Archbishop arrived at the prison, "You have been the masters these 1800 years. Our turn is come, but *we* shall treat you better than you treated *us*. Instead of burning you, we shall content ourselves with shooting you."‡

\* O'Meara (Grace Ramsay): "The Bells of the Sanctuary," p. 288. Mgr. Darboy. London: Burns and Oates, 1879.

† Meyer (Rudolph): "Der Emancipationskampf" &c., tom. ii. pp. 399-401. Berlin, 1874-75.

‡ See, among others, Laveleys (Emile de), "Primitive Property." London, 1878; and the article of M. Faucher, on the "Systems of Land Tenure," published by the Cobden Club, London, 1876.

It would result, from this comprehensive epitome of the whole Christian history, that the Church, embodied in Mgr. Darboy, had done nothing else, during eighteen centuries, but burn the people; and the people, even at periods like those of the Reformation and the great French Revolution, had done nothing else but meekly, gently, and sweetly allow themselves to be burnt by the Church. And Raoul Rigault takes, moreover, to himself the credit of generosity for only shooting instead of burning a man guilty of a people-burning career, begun as early as some seventeen hundred years before the offender was born!

The Archbishop did not betray any personal resentment, and we are, moreover, informed by Mr. Washburne, the American ambassador in Paris at the time, that, in a conversation he had with the illustrious prisoner, though—

“Appreciating his critical situation, and being prepared for the worst, he had no word of bitterness or reproach for his persecutors; but, on the other hand, remarked that the world judged them to be worse than they really were. He was patiently awaiting the logic of events, and praying that Providence might find a solution to those terrible troubles without the further shedding of human blood.”\*

The contrast could not be more striking. Which of the two loved mankind more sincerely!

Would to God that all who take a sincere interest in the condition of the labouring classes disdained not the powerful support they could derive from the Church! The intrinsic efficacy of her dogmas cannot be denied. She does not admit of any difference of nature among men, and, as for the differences of condition, she warns, most severely, the great and the happy of the world, that power and riches are not given to them that they might rest and find their peace therein, but only on behalf of the poor, the little, and the defenceless ones. Furthermore, a tendency towards constantly bringing all men into a closer connection, lies in the very nature of a religion, the first tenet of which is that God is our common Father, and we are all brethren. The whole Catholic worship is but an acknowledgment and a confirmation of this doctrine. Moreover, remarkably enough, the Holy Scripture sums up, as it were, all conditions which may secure the stability of thrones in this one, that the poor be judged according to justice. *Qui judicat in veritate pauperes, thronus ejus firmabitur in æternum* (Prov. xxix. 14)

But, passing from this point, let me quote from Manzoni’s “*Nome di Maria*,” that beautiful strophe where one of the most heart-winning characteristics of the mother of our Saviour is made to consist in her not allowing any “cruel” difference between the sorrow of the great and that of the little ones:—

\* “The Executive Documents,” printed by order of the House of Representatives during the Second Session of the 42nd Congress, 1871-72, p. 333. Washington, 1872; France, 133 (423).



"A Te che i preghi ascolti e le querele  
Non come suole il mondo, né degl'imi  
E dei grandi il dolor, col suo crudele,  
Discernimento estimi."

Then, as to the scientific side of the social question, if Socialists, sincerely anxious for the welfare of the people, were to read attentively what standard Catholic thinkers—like, for instance, Rosmini\*—have written on the subject, they would spare themselves much time and trouble. Rudolph Meyer, the learned editor of the *Berliner Revue*, to whose contributions I beg to call the attention of the reader, fairly acknowledges that one cannot refuse to the so-called *Ultramontanen Social Politiker* substantial merits on the right appreciation of the social question.†

There is more. Many a time Socialists would also be compensated for their self-abnegation in listening to the refutation of what, in their theories, cannot be justified by many an unexpected confirmation of what may be legitimate in their aspirations. The following passage from an author of the past century, connected with England because of his criticism of Locke, will show, moreover, that the name of "social question" is not of a fresh date:—

"It is then natural, just, convenient, and advantageous to society," says Card. Gerdil, "that there be an equality of riches and fortune in the State, but this equality must have limits; every excess is vicious. . . . If a comparatively small number of citizens were to possess, they alone, the greatest part of the domains, the people in general would be poor. There would be an excess of riches on one side, and an excess of misery on the other. The luxury of the rich, and the indigence of the people, would create a contrast—humiliating for mankind."‡

As regards, finally, the practical side of the social question, one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that *silent* immolations of one's whole life in nursing, assisting, and consoling the poor, are made every day in the Church by the mere love of our Redeemer, and the force of His example. If they do not attract attention it is only because they are so common.

Then, whilst every one knows that Peter the Great has not left any testimony of his love for the poor, how few know that a scion of the very family which gave to Russia the mother of Peter the Great, Natalie Narischkin, lived and died a humble Sister of Charity? On the day of her funeral, a guardian of the cemetery of Mount Parnasse, in Paris, on witnessing the tears of the innumerable poor, who accompanied her to the tomb, could not help exclaiming, "Oh! how good must she have been, being so much loved!"§ And, in

\* Rosmini (Ant.): "Filosofia del Diritto;" "Socialismo e Comunismo," &c.

† Meyer (Rud.): "Die neueste Literatur zur Socialen Frage," pp. 4, 5. Berlin, 1873.

‡ Gerdil (Sigismund), "Précis d'un cours d'instructions sur l'origine, les droits, et les devoirs de l'autorité souveraine," &c.; § xvi., Partage et distribution des biens fonds: "Œuvres," éd. Rome, 1807, t. vii. p. 261. Of this author, I beg to mention, also, the "Discours philosophiques sur l'homme considéré relativement à l'état de nature et à l'état de société," which are a reply to Rousseau's "Contrat Social."

§ Craven (Aug. Mme., née de la Feronnays): "La Sœur Nathalie Narischkin, fille de la Charité, sœur de S. Vincent de Paul," p. 437. Ninth edition. Paris: Didier, 1878.

recollecting the visit she paid to Alexander II. in Paris, to advocate the permission of doing for the poor of Russia what she was doing for those of Paris, one thinks involuntarily of Sophia Perovskaia. All those who have personally known Sister Narischkin, and I am one of them, can bear testimony that she would have exulted at the mere thought of giving her life for the happiness of the Russian people. Let us hope the day is not far off when, unlike the unhappy misguided Socialist, all those in whose heart burn the noble passion of self-sacrifice for the suffering and the poor, will no longer mistake for self-sacrifice the dangers attending the cruel and bloody immolations of others.

In conclusion, I may give a reply to an objection only too common. Catholicism, it is said, has always supported tyranny, or at least autocracy; how then can it be of any use in a cause which may involve some struggle of the people against their rulers? No one, I suppose, will refuse, in this contention, the authority of the autocrats themselves. Now, how is it that in Germany and in Russia Catholics are looked upon and treated as sheer revolutionists? How can this contradiction be made clear?

I beg to submit an explanation. The Catholic Church claims to possess the fulness of religious truth. Moreover, by defining, in the last Council, that the light of reason and that of faith are both of God, she has implicitly defined that every truth, even merely natural, though not an object of definition, is Catholic, whilst no error whatever, whether in the natural or supernatural order, can ever claim citizenship in the Catholic Church. As for morals, she constantly proposes to the faithful, God himself, our Lord on the cross.

All this is tantamount to saying that Catholicism—which no thinking man will confound with individual Catholics, nor with any, even the best, Catholic institution—is truth in theory and justice in practice. It would follow that Catholicism, like truth and justice, must needs be essentially conservative of what is worth conserving, and essentially subversive of what would destroy that which should be preserved for the good of all.

This is the explanation which, in the interest of the people, I beg to submit to the reader.

C. TONDINI DE QUARENGHI.



## LAWN TENNIS AND ITS PLAYERS.

"THERE is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." An evidence of this, as strong as anything to be found in the theological writings of Dr. Paley, is discernible in the singular circumstance of the mania for rinking preceding the quite rational enthusiasm for Lawn Tennis. Now that the nation is restored to its sound mind, it can perceive without difficulty that nothing could have come out of rinking. A person revolved round and round on a pair of wheeled skates, which gave him or her the appearance of having club-feet, to the discordant sounds of a bad band. This was rinking. And the monotony was only diversified when the person fell with violence on the end of his nose, and broke that feature of his face, or sprained his wrist, or had to be conveyed home in a cab, suffering from severe concussion of the brain. Such as it was, however, all classes were for a time quite demented on the subject of rinking. They imagined that they could rink without weariness or satiety for three hundred and sixty-five days of every year. Age would not wither, nor custom stale its infinite variety. Rinks were constructed in all parts of London, and in most of our country towns; and then, all at once, rinking vanished from the number of popular amusements, like an unsubstantial pageant, faded. It left, however, some truly valuable "racks" behind. Rinking was the herald and forerunner of a new and better dispensation. Its function was to prepare the earth for a worthier pastime. It devoted itself to straightening the crooked, and making the rough places smooth, until, in the fulness of time, Lawn Tennis appeared in a world fitted, by the multiplicity of its skating rinks, to give it a worthy reception.

Under any circumstances, such a game as Lawn Tennis would not have failed to achieve popularity and success. For, first of all it is played with a ball and a bat; and human nature is so constituted that, given a ball

and bat, it can obtain from these constituent elements a larger amount and a greater diversity of pleasure than from any other combination. Then, it is not so difficult but that every one can play a little. It is not like cricket, where a bad player has but a single chance, so to speak, and after hours of weary fielding, is pretty sure to be dismissed with the first ball to obscurity and humiliation. It is not like real tennis, at which the beginner finds it altogether beyond his capacity to get within five feet of the ball. Lawn Tennis cheats the "duffer" with the fond illusions of hope—

"Still it whispers promised pleasure,  
And bids the lovely scenes at distance hail."

Until the very last stroke of a game has been played, there remains the possibility—the hope—that past failures may be redeemed by sudden and continuous success. The "duffer" aims at the ball, and strikes only the vacant air; he puts the ball into the net; he sends it out of court—anywhere except where it ought to go—but there is no occasion for him to be reduced to absolute despair. If he has missed fifty chances, fifty others equally good are still awaiting him. And then the greatest "duffer" does occasionally succeed in accomplishing a "return." That constitutes a delirious moment. He summons his friends and his neighbours to rejoice with him, and no more remembers the anguish of repeated failures. For it is to be noted that, when a "duffer" makes a return, he generally scores an ace—a duffer's return being as little looked for by the opposing side as the proverbial bolt out of a blue sky. And Mr. W. Renshaw himself could do no more. Then, again, all the adjuncts of Lawn Tennis are such as to invest it with an exceeding delight and fascination. An English lawn, with the grass like velvet beneath one's feet, the summer sunlight glancing amid the foliage of the trees, the bright colours of the flower-beds around, the strawberries, the iced claret-cup. Those who have not played Lawn Tennis under these conditions are persons to be profoundly commiserated. But though, as I have said, Lawn Tennis under any conditions, must have become a highly popular game, the play could never have been carried to its present perfection—the latent possibilities of the game would never have been so thoroughly discovered—but for the existence of disused skating rinks. These not merely furnished a number of ready-made courts, but they supplied a pattern from which others might be constructed. They showed how the game might be made independent of summer weather, and a carefully tended lawn, and so placed it within the reach of thousands, summer and winter, who otherwise could not have played at all.

The object of the present paper is to trace the successive modifications in the style of play which the game has undergone since its first introduction. It is so universal an amusement at present, that such a narrative, however imperfectly executed, cannot fail to be of interest to many. I shall assume that all readers of this paper are acquainted with



the rules of the game. Originally, then, the chief object of the Lawn Tennis player was to acquire the art of striking the ball as it is struck at real Tennis; "Putting cut on the ball," this stroke was commonly called. And there can be no question that, in the early and innocent days of Lawn Tennis, the "putting of cut on the ball" was a highly effective device. It caused the ball, upon touching the ground, to rise at an unexpected angle, which to the Lawn Tennis "duffer" is a most disconcerting occurrence. He either misses the ball altogether, or strikes it with a violence which causes the spectator to suppose that he imagines the court to be about a quarter of a mile long. In the early days of "cut" the majority of Lawn Tennis players were "duffers," without being aware of it, and the subtleties of "cut" for awhile completely overcame them. But gradually it became apparent that the men who "put cut" on a ball were able to do so only in one particular way. Their returns bounded off at an angle, it was true, but always at the same angle; and when the angle had once been ascertained, a "cut" ball became as easy to take as one that was not "cut." Nay, in most cases it was easier. For in those early days, the pace at which a ball was returned diminished in proportion to the amount of "cut" that there was on it; and it is the swift ball which the inexperienced player finds it most difficult to keep within court. The consequence was that the accomplished "cutter" of balls was not unfrequently hoist with his own petard. His antagonist, calculating beforehand the angle at which the ball would rise, took his stand there, and sent it back straight and swift into the "cutter's" court. A ball thus swiftly returned cannot, except rarely, be "cut" back; there is not time to get into the attitude proper for "cutting;" and so, as players learned to send in swift returns, "cutting" was deposed from its place of pre-eminence, and was regarded as of little value. There are, however, still to be seen players who fondly cling to the old "cutting" stroke; like ghosts they "haunt the places where their power has died;" but they are as men fighting with bows and arrows against modern arms of precision. The "cut" has lost all the awe-inspiring qualities which originally invested it. It has been found out; and although there are moments in a rally when the "cut" can be employed with great effect, it no longer forms a prominent feature in the style of the best players. Those who cling to "cut" have to content themselves with their excellence therein. They are not "in" the game, as it is played at present.

The second great change in the method of play was brought about by Mr. W. Renshaw. He came up from Cheltenham to London, and brought with him a tremendously swift and difficult overhand service, and the practice of volleying at the net. Volleying at the net had, to a certain extent, been practised before his time. Mr. Spencer Gore, who won the gold cup at Wimbledon on the first occasion that it was competed for, had achieved his success mainly by volleying. But Mr. W. Renshaw was the first player who showed what could be done by means



of "volleying at the net." Exceedingly active, and gifted with an accurate eye and a quick hand, he "placed" his volleys with a skill and certainty which, until then, had never been witnessed in a Lawn Tennis court. For a while he carried all before him. The returns from the base line were not then nearly so swift as they have since become, and this circumstance rendered "volleying at the net" doubly fatal. All players began, in imitation of W. Renshaw, to study the art of volleying at the net. At this time the "volleyer" stood as near to the net as the rules of the game would allow him, and it was not supposed to be possible to volley efficiently from the back of the court. There are, however, great accompanying weaknesses in a position close to the net. A player in such a situation defends but a small portion of the court. A "return" can be tossed over his head; there is space on his right hand and on his left for a ball to pass him; and it is difficult, if standing close to the net, so to volley a hard hit return that it shall not go beyond the base line. The mere force of the rebound, unless the racquet is very carefully handled, will carry the ball out of court. The effects, therefore, of Mr. Renshaw's new game of "volleying at the net," were to compel players to cultivate "placing" as an accomplishment of first necessity to him who would excel at Lawn Tennis, and also to get more and more pace into the returns, so as to drive the volleyer to the back of the court, when he became merely as other men—a Samson shorn of his locks.

The two players who, in those days—*i.e.*, about two years ago—were most successful in encountering Mr. W. Renshaw by these means, were Mr. Erskine and Mr. Lawford. An unfortunate accident has compelled Mr. Erskine to retire from the contests of Lawn Tennis, and the game has thereby lost one of its finest exponents. But Mr. Lawford's fine play is still to be seen; and it is remarkable, amid much else that is excellent in it, for the tremendous swiftness and severity of his "returns" from the base line. There is no other player who can drive a ball transversely across the court at such a rapid rate as Mr. Lawford. This particular return is, I imagine, due to a long series of contests with Mr. Renshaw, when the fortunes of a set depended upon the measure of success with which Renshaw could be driven away from the net. Comparing the play of these two eminent masters of the craft, I think that of Renshaw might be defined as the play of a man who has a natural genius for the game; that of Lawford, as the result of persistent practice. Renshaw's style is as graceful as the performance is excellent; his hardest strokes are made without apparent effort, and he has a really wonderful aptitude for meeting new and sudden difficulties with equally new and unexpected displays of dexterity. Lawford, on the other hand, is an ungraceful player, and it is sheer industry and perseverance which have enabled him to reach his present high standard of excellence. The matches of last year seemed to show that play from the base line had a slight superiority



over volleying from the net. Mr. Renshaw won the Irish Championship, it is true, but he was defeated both at Prince's, and again at Wimbledon; and, in both these tournaments, the final ties were played almost entirely from the base line. On Prince's Ground, the final match was between Mr. Lawford and Mr. E. Lubbock; at Wimbledon, between the former gentleman and Mr. Hartley. Better Lawn Tennis, as played from the base line, has, I suppose, never been seen than in these two matches. In the contest between Mr. Lubbock and Mr. Lawford there was one rally where the ball was returned over the net no less than eighty-three times; and Mr. Hartley, who beat Mr. Lawford by three sets to one, is the best player from the base line which the game has yet produced. But this year there was an entire change of method in the play; and Mr. E. Lubbock and Mr. Hartley, not having marched with the times, were defeated with surprising ease and quickness. The victor this year of all the great matches has been Mr. W. Renshaw. He has retained the Irish Championship, he has won the Silver Cup at Prince's, and he has wrested the Wimbledon Gold Cup from Mr. Hartley, after that gentleman had retained it for two years. But, over and above this, his victory at Wimbledon has been far more than an ordinary victory. There are for this tournament some forty or fifty entries, and these are paired off by lots. Now, it might easily happen that an inferior player should live almost to the close of such a competition, because, in the drawing, he had the good fortune to be paired with antagonists weaker than himself. The players competent to cope with Mr. Renshaw on anything like equal terms, can be counted on the fingers of a man's hand. Exclusive of Mr. Hartley, they are—Mr. E. Lubbock, Mr. Woodhouse, Mr. Lawford, and Mr. Richardson; and either by accident or arrangement, all these players, instead of contending against each other, were successively met and vanquished by Mr. Renshaw. Thus, he has not only won the Gold Cup, but in the process of doing so has actually met and defeated every possible competitor for that prize. This result is due mainly to his masterly volleying from the centre of the court. This is the latest modification which the game has undergone. I have already explained the weaknesses inseparable from volleying close to the net. A player who, standing on the service line, can volley effectively from that position, gets the better of most of these. He is sufficiently distant from the rest, to give him time to get to a ball to his right or his left; it is, of course, very much more difficult to toss a ball over his head than when he took his stand close to the net; and a hard return from the base line striking his racquet, has a far greater space for its rebound—the chance, therefore, of its being carried out of court, is greatly diminished. This change in tactics has rendered the playing of the game a far more delicate and difficult matter than it has ever been before. The "placing" of every return has to be judged with the nicest accuracy, the object being so to return the ball that it shall be impossible for your adversary to



return it without abandoning his central station on the service line. A hard, straight return from the back of the court, rarely succeeds in accomplishing this if one's adversary is at all skilled in volleying. Such a ball can be volleyed back with a swiftness which is nearly certain to score an ace. The most effective stroke for routing a man standing on the service line is a ball tossed in the air, so as to descend almost perpendicularly a few paces behind the spot on which he stands. Not only must he run back to return such a stroke, but it is all but impossible to volley it, except gently. Any attempt to put severity into such a volley, will in nine cases out of ten carry the ball far beyond the base line. Consequently, the rallies in the great games of this year have had none of that monotonous character which belonged to the long drawn out contests of last year from the base lines. If not so protracted as those, they have been much more exciting and diversified, consisting now of a rapid interchange of volleys from the service line; or, when one of the players had been dislodged from that vantage ground, of a series of endeavours on his part so to "place" the ball that, driving his opponent back, he might recover the lost point of strength. The player that is firmly planted in the centre of the court, on the service line, is tolerably certain to win the rally.

Such is the new method of play which Mr. W. Renshaw has carried to so great perfection. Not only do his volleys surpass those of other players in accuracy of placing and certainty of return, but he has two strokes which are, in a special sense, his own private property. They are his "half volleys," and the returns, which have come to be known as "Renshaw smashes." A half volley, if properly managed, is a most effective return; a ball taken on the half volley flies back into an adversary's court, with a most swift and perplexing spin upon it; but to "place" a half volley is, I think, the achievement most difficult to accomplish in Lawn Tennis. In fact, with the exception of W. Renshaw, I have never seen a player who could be trusted to return a half volley so as to place it on some pre-determined spot. The "Renshaw smash" is a stroke of a very different kind. It consists in taking on the volley a tossed ball, and beating it down on the ground with immense force. Most players who attempt this stroke, merely send the ball flying miles out of court; W. Renshaw can do it three times out of four. I question if the "Renshaw smash" be intrinsically so difficult a stroke to return as it looks. The force with which the ball is struck to the ground gives it also a long and high rebound, thus allowing a cool and imperturbable player ample time in which to get at and return it. Such a player is Mr. Richardson; and I have seen him return one "smash" after another, until Renshaw, rendered frenzied and desperate, has "smashed" the ball out of court. Mr. Woodhouse, too, in his contest at Wimbledon against Mr. Renshaw, returned three of those "smashes" in quick succession, ultimately scoring the ace. But if not intrinsically difficult, there can be no question that the



"Renshaw smash" is eminently demoralizing to the firmest and most composed players. It startles the mind, and dazzles the eye, so that the hand cannot execute what is required of it to do. How completely the game had been changed by this volleying from the service line was shown when Mr. E. Lubbock and Mr. Hartley had to contend against Mr. Renshaw. At the close of last year, no names stood higher in the roll of Lawn Tennis players than those of these two gentleman, and they are, beyond question, very admirable players, but they have neglected volleying. And the consequence was that Mr. Renshaw slaughtered them with ease and affluence by three sets to love. What an unlooked for falling-off was there! Many a Lawn Tennis player, whose reputation had been built up in the safe security of a country district by elaborate "cuttings" and similar obsolete devices, as he beheld this instructive spectacle must have felt constrained to whisper to his own mind, "I, too, am no better than a duffer; I cannot volley from the service line." As a player from the base line, it is probable that Mr. Hartley is a more accomplished performer than Mr. E. Lubbock; but the latter can volley to a certain extent; so that, while he made at times a good fight of his battle, the Champion of two years, who cannot volley at all, contrived to score only two games out of the entire three sets—a warning to all players vainly puffed up with the knowledge which edifieth not, to wit,—Lawn Tennis played only found the base line.

Mr. W. Renshaw I have already described as a player of genius. It is hard to conceive of any one being a greater adept at the game than he is; but one gentleman there is in London, who, if he chose to cultivate his powers, might wrest his ascendancy from the Wimbledon Champion. This is Mr. Swainson Akroyd, of the Maida-Vale Lawn Tennis Club. His natural gifts for playing the game are more striking, perhaps, than even those of Mr. Renshaw. Tall, active, and long in the arm, he has a reach which seems to extend to every corner of the court. He can volley, half volley, has a difficult service, and his back-handed play is incomparably the most severe I have ever seen. The ball is sent *whishing* across the net with a downward cut upon it, which keeps it from rising above an inch or two after it has touched the ground. But Mr. Swainson Akroyd is not sufficiently impressed with the moral obligation incumbent upon all Lawn Tennis Players to develop their powers to the utmost. He will plead, if exhorted to do so, that he has "business in the City," or some such frivolous excuse; as if Lawn Tennis were not the chief end and object of a man's existence. This painfully mistaken view of life hinders him from attaining the certainty of play which is essential to success, and which is attainable only by constant practice. Leaving him, therefore, out of the reckoning, after Mr. Renshaw, the most accomplished players are Mr. Lawford and Mr. Richardson. At the present moment these two gentlemen are as nearly equal as it is possible for two players to be. After the match at Wimbledon between Mr. Renshaw and Mr. Hartley,



Messrs. Richardson and Lawford played a match for a cup presented by Mr. Locker. In every game some one must win; and on this occasion victory remained with Mr. Richardson, after a most exciting struggle, and some of the finest Lawn Tennis I have ever seen. But the players were so equal that there was not a *bisque* to choose between them. Nevertheless, supposing that they do not change their respective methods of play, I believe that Mr. Richardson will be the superior of Mr. Lawford by this time next year. Mr. Lawford's returns are the more severe, but Mr. Richardson excels in placing and volleying: and it is by placing and volleying that, for the future, Lawn Tennis players must achieve success. The fourth place in the hierarchy of first-rate players belongs, in my opinion, to Mr. Woodhouse, of the West Middlesex Lawn Tennis Club; the fifth, to Mr. E. Renshaw. Then comes a miscellaneous horde of what may be called "good players;" men who would be victorious on most grounds, except when pitted against the five or six first-rate players. Chief among these is Mr. Jenkins, of the Maida Vale Lawn Tennis Club, a very accomplished player, of whom it is difficult to say why he does not stand in the first rank; Mr. Cole, of the West Middlesex Lawn Tennis Club, who, if he would but acquire the art of volleying, would find few men capable of beating him; Mr. Braddell, the Oxford University Champion; and Mr. G. Law, who in the quite inferior diversions of the cricket-field, allows his powers as a Lawn Tennis player, to fust in him unused. Beyond the "good players," again, there is a vast multitude whom no man can number. This is the great army of "duffers," male and female, and who are the cause of much anguish and bitterness of spirit to the earnest and conscientious Lawn Tennis player. A writer in a weekly contemporary has described the "duffer" with some vivacity, and in considerable detail; and as the description has an unmistakable flavour of personal experience, I transcribe it here:—

"The enjoyments of the Lawn Tennis party are of a chequered character. At such gatherings there is certain to be, in the shape of the duffer—

'The little pitted speck in garnered fruit  
Which, rotting inwards, slowly moulders all.'

The duffer is of various kinds. The most objectionable, perhaps, is he who, with no proper sense of the high duties to which he is being called, professes his willingness to 'make up a set.' This duffer is generally under an impression that the game is one which can be played at once by the light of Nature. The success which attends the strokes of one player rather than those of another, he attributes to an inscrutable good luck. He rarely gets within a foot of the ball, and his functions as a player are almost exclusively limited to beating the air with an unprofitable racquet. The duffer can nearly always be recognized at a garden party by the elaborateness of his 'get up.' It has been sometimes conjectured that he regards a suit of 'flannels' as invested with magical properties, like Mr. Tennyson's 'white samite, mystic, wonderful,' and that they impart skill and dexterity to him who wears them. Ladies play a great deal at Lawn Tennis, and are nearly always duffers, though rarely of so objectionable a type as the masculine duffer. They are, for the most part, conscious of their deficiencies—playing, indeed, more for the sake of



the costume than for the game—and exhibit a laudable desire to keep as much as possible out of the way of their partners. The masculine duffer will rarely accept this self-sacrificing rôle. He will rush in where angels would fear to tread, regardless of the havoc he causes. Few ladies become good players at Lawn Tennis, or indeed, at any game, because so few ladies play for the sake of the game. They play for spectacular purposes. They are troubled with fears lest they should be growing too red in the face. They won't run, lest the action should be ungraceful. A gentleman will shut himself up in a lonely and desolate court, and there, for hours, in the society of an unsympathetic marker, devote himself to 'practise,' until he has acquired the thing he is aiming at—*Sic itur ad astra*. But there are few ladies touched by so conscientious a sense of the solemn responsibilities of Lawn Tennis. To the enthusiastic player who pursues Lawn Tennis in an earnest and reverent spirit, the presence of the duffer, whether male or female, is a grievous affliction. It is the *aliquid amari* welling up in a fountain of sweets—the abomination of desolation standing in the place where it ought not. His feelings are much injured by the reiterated incapacities of the duffer. But there are also moments of consolation. The duffer is awkward with his racquet. Not unfrequently, in striking at a ball he will smite the knuckles of his left hand, causing himself to evince thereby lively manifestations of pain. At such moments the Lawn Tennis player feels that he is witnessing a solemn act of retributive justice, and is cheered by the sight. Again, the duffer labours under an irremediable inability to judge of distance and direction. A ball coming at him at the rate of fifty miles an hour, he generally concludes will never reach him, unless he rushes precipitately forward and receives it, bullet-wise, in the chest. After accomplishing this feat, the duffer has, sometimes, been seen to gasp as if momentarily breathless. A duffer gasping from the consequences of his own misconduct, is a spectacle solacing and full of refreshment to the earnest and reverent Lawn Tennis player."

This description, it must be admitted, is somewhat acrid and unfair. Every player must be a duffer to begin with. And there are duffers and duffers. The foregoing is a description of the aggressive duffer who conceives himself to be a player before he has mastered the rudiments of the game. But there is a duffer of another kind—the duffer who, by patient continuance in well-doing, hopes to get glory and honour at Wimbledon and elsewhere. This is a man to be encouraged; and, for his benefit, I will set down a few random hints on how to become a player, which, I trust, he will turn to better account than the transcriber has succeeded in doing. The altogether indispensable requisite for success as a Lawn Tennis player is imperturbability of temperament. And this it is which the neophyte finds most difficult to acquire. He thinks he will never reach a ball in time unless he rushes towards it with such devouring speed, that the ball is ten feet behind him before he has pulled up sufficiently to make the blow he intended. A player must, of course, move towards a fast-flying and distant ball with rapidity, but he ought to retain full control over his movements; and, above all things, he must be careful not to throw into his stroke any portion of the impetus derived from the preceding run. The balls which are hit out of court are mostly those which have been struck after a long preceding run, and they are sent out of court because the player has not been able to pull up, and come to a stand before making his stroke. In this



matter of imperturbability Mr. W. Renshaw is a model which all Lawn Tennis players should set up as their ideal. If his antagonist in the opposite court suddenly vanished from sight in a blue flame, I am confident that this accomplished player would exhibit no outward sign of emotion. It is, of course, given to few players to attain to this elevated standard of insensibility, but it should be their earnest endeavour to approximate thereto.

Another rule which the inexperienced Lawn Tennis player should sedulously observe, is not to try for too much. The young Lawn Tennis player is, as a rule, a great deal too anxious to (as he calls it) "kill the ball." He wants to make every return a difficult stroke. No lobs for him; every return shall be made a couple of inches above the net, and, in point of celerity, resemble an express train. The consequence is that he does "kill the ball" but almost invariably on the wrong side of the net. And here again he may learn a lesson from any of the eminent players I have mentioned in the foregoing pages. There is nothing more admirable in their play than the patience and self-restraint with which they are content *not* to make difficult returns, until they can do so with an almost complete assurance of decisive success.

A third rule is never, if it can be avoided, to strike a ball on the rebound while it is still on the rise. The proper time to strike is when the ball has turned, and is on its way towards the ground. Then, whatever "screw" or "cut" may originally have been put upon the ball, has gone out of it, and its return is comparatively easy. There are times, of course, when a ball must be struck on the rise. In those cases, the ball should be tossed in the air, or the chances are that the mere force of the rebound, if it be sent straight back, will carry it out of court.

When the Lawn Tennis neophyte finds himself in a difficulty, his tendency is to strike at the ball wildly, and as hard as he can. This is a fatal mistake. Generally, he misses the ball altogether, or, if he hits it, he does it with so much violence that it is carried far out of court. In most cases, a hard and swift stroke should be returned quietly and gently. The net is not far off, and a very gentle stroke suffices to carry a ball over it; while a ball thus lobbed over gives an almost irresistible temptation to the player in the opposite court to try if he cannot "kill" it; and he generally does so, but on *his* side of the net. Rules, however, are by themselves powerless to lead men to excellence in Lawn Tennis, as in other things. A player must bring some things with him—the original gifts of Nature—before he can hope to play. If he has not an easy and flexible wrist; if he cannot, almost as if by intuition, acquire the indescribable art of handling a racquet; if he has not a correct eye for the judgment of distance, he will never become a player. Even with all these advantages, he cannot hope greatly to excel, unless he has the opportunity of constantly playing with a better man than himself. There is nothing more fatal to progress in this game than to be the best player of the "set" to which you chance to belong. To this, in a great mea-



sure, I attribute Mr. Hartley's defeat at Wimbledon this year. Away up in Yorkshire, how was it possible for him to find a foeman worthy of his steel? The splendid play exhibited by Mr. W. Renshaw is the outcome of hundreds of hard battles with men of equal excellence with himself. But Mr. Hartley, instead of crossing swords week after week with players like Lawford, Richardson, Woodhouse, Akroyd, and others, has probably had nothing more formidable to contend with than a cohort of "duffers." How, in such a case, was it possible for him to learn to volley from the service line? The best player in a set almost unavoidably conceits himself to be a stronger player than he is. He has acquired a thorough mastery of so much of the game as he has ever seen, and how is he to guess that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in his philosophy? It is a terrible awakening to such an one when he is brought for the first time into conflict with a first-rate player. Those terribly severe returns which were wont to strike terror and confusion to the minds of the duffers with whom he has been wont to play, he finds to be neither severe nor terrible as matters now stand. In place of that easy and majestic supremacy which he had no difficulty in maintaining in his own set, he finds himself sent flying from one end of the court to the other in a most hot, breathless, and undignified fashion. How changed, alas! from the man he had fondly imagined himself to be.

"From spur to plume, a very star of tournament!" If a duffer—one of his habitual victims—should chance to be present while he is thus driven and tossed about under the domination of a superior will, the anguish of the experience may be said to reach its culminating point. The airy dreams of his ambition tumble in ruins around him, and he feels inclined to cry aloud in bitterness of spirit, "I am a miserable duffer, and deeper than did plummet ever sound I'll drown my racquet." For a time he sinks into a state like the melancholy of Prince Hamlet; the earth becomes a pestilential congregation of vapours; man delights not him, nor woman either. But he recovers gradually, and recommences Lawn Tennis, a sadder but a wiser man.

ROBERT D. OSBORN.

## THE MILITANT TYPE OF SOCIETY.\*

PRECEDING chapters have prepared the way for framing conceptions of the two fundamentally-unlike kinds of political organization, proper to the militant life and the industrial life, respectively. It will be instructive here to arrange in coherent order those traits of the militant type already incidentally marked, and to join with them various dependent traits; and in the next chapter to deal in like manner with the traits of the industrial type.

During social evolution there has habitually been a mingling of the two. But we shall find that, alike in theory and in fact, it is possible to trace out with due clearness those opposite characters which distinguish them in their respective complete developments. Especially is the essential nature of the organization which accompanies chronic militancy, capable of being inferred *à priori*, and proved *à posteriori* to exist in numerous cases. While the essential nature of the organization accompanying pure industrialism, of which at present we have little experience, will be made clear by opposition; and such illustrations as exist of progress towards it will become recognizable.

In drawing conclusions two liabilities to error must be guarded against. We have to deal with societies compounded and re-compounded in various degrees; and we have to deal with societies which, differing in their stages of culture, have their organizations elaborated to different extents. We shall be misled, therefore, unless our comparisons are such as take account of unlikenesses in size and in civilization. Clearly, characteristics of the militant type which admit of being

\* The references to authorities quoted in this article and a succeeding one, will be given in the volume of which they are to form parts. Allusions made in these articles to matters not before the reader, must be understood as consequent on their continuity with writings already published.



displayed by a vast nation, may not admit of being displayed by a horde of savages, though this is equally militant. Moreover, as institutions take a long time to acquire their finished forms, it is not to be expected that all militant societies will display the structure appropriate to them in its completeness. Rather may we expect that in most cases it will be incompletely displayed.

In face of these difficulties the best course will be to consider, first, what are the several traits which of necessity militancy tends to produce; and then to observe how far these traits are conjointly shown in past and present nations distinguished by militancy. Having contemplated the society ideally organized for war, we shall be prepared to recognize in real societies the characters which war has brought about.

For preserving its corporate life, a society is impelled to corporate action; and the preservation of its corporate life is the more probable in proportion as its corporate action is the more complete. For purposes of offence and defence, the forces of individuals have to be combined; and where every individual contributes his force, the probability of success is greatest. Numbers, natures, and circumstances being equal, it is clear that of two tribes or two larger societies, one of which unites the actions of all its capable members while the other does not, the first will ordinarily be the victor. There must be an habitual survival of communities in which militant co-operation is universal.

This proposition approaches very nearly to a truism. But it is needful here, as a preliminary, clearly to recognize the truth that the social structure evolved by chronic militancy, is one in which all men fit for fighting act in concert against other societies. Such further actions as they carry on they can carry on separately; but this action they must carry on jointly.

A society's power of self-preservation will be great in proportion as, besides the direct aid of all who can fight, there is given the indirect aid of all who cannot fight. Supposing them otherwise similar, those communities will survive in which the efforts of combatants are in the greatest degree seconded by those of non-combatants. In a purely militant society, therefore, individuals who do not bear arms have to spend their lives in furthering the maintenance of those who do. Whether, as happens at first, the non-combatants are exclusively the women; or whether, as happens later, the class includes enslaved captives; or whether, as happens later still, it includes serfs; the implication is the same. For if, of two societies equal in other respects, the first wholly subordinates its workers in this way, while the workers in the second are allowed to retain for themselves the produce of their labour, or more of it than is needful for maintaining them; then in the second, the warriors, not otherwise supported, or supported less fully than they might else be, will have partially to support themselves, and will be so much the less available for war purposes. Hence in the struggle for existence between such societies, it must usually happen that the first



will vanquish the second. The type of society produced by survival of the fittest, will be one in which the fighting part includes all who can bear arms and be trusted with arms, while the remaining part serves simply as a permanent commissariat.

An obvious implication, of a significance to be hereafter pointed out, is that the non-combatant part, occupied in supporting the combatant part, cannot with advantage to the self-preserving power of the society, increase beyond the limit at which it efficiently fulfils its purpose. For, otherwise, some who might be fighters are superfluous workers; and the fighting power of the society is made less than it might be. Hence, in the militant type, the tendency is for the body of warriors to bear the largest practicable ratio to the body of workers.

Given two societies of which the members are all either warriors or those who supply the needs of warriors, and, other things equal, supremacy in war will be gained by that in which the efforts of all are most effectually combined. In open warfare joint action triumphs over individual action. Military history is a history of the successes of men trained to move and fight in concert.

Not only must there be in the fighting part a combination such that the powers of its units may be concentrated, but there must be a combination of the subservient part with it. If the two are so separated that they can act independently, the needs of the fighting part will not be adequately met. If to be cut off from a temporary base of operations is dangerous, still more dangerous is it to be cut off from the permanent base of operations—namely, that constituted by the body of non-combatants. This has to be so connected with the body of combatants that its services may be fully available. Evidently, therefore, development of the militant type involves a close binding of the society. As the loose group of savages yields to the solid phalanx, so, other things equal, must the society of which the parts are but feebly held together, yield to one in which they are held together by strong bonds.

But in proportion as men are compelled to co-operate, their self-prompted actions are restrained. By as much as the unit becomes merged in the mass, by so much does he lose his individuality as a unit. And this leads us to note the several ways in which evolution of the militant type entails subordination of the citizen.

His life is not his own, but is at the disposal of his society. So long as he remains capable of bearing arms he has no alternative but to fight when called upon; and, where militancy is extreme, he cannot return as a vanquished man under penalty of death.

Of course, with this there goes possession of such liberty only as military obligations allow. He is free to pursue his private ends only when the society has no need of him; and when it has need of him, his actions from hour to hour must conform, not to his own will, but to the public will.

So, too, with his property. Whether, as in many cases, what he



holds as private he so holds by permission only, or whether private ownership is recognized, it remains true that in the last resort he is obliged to surrender whatever is demanded for public use.

Briefly, then, under the militant type the individual is owned by the State. While preservation of the society is the primary end, preservation of each member is a secondary end—an end cared for chiefly as subserving the primary end.

Fulfilment of these requirements, that there shall be complete corporate action, that to this end the non-combatant part shall be occupied in providing for the combatant part, that the entire aggregate shall be strongly bound together, and that the units composing it must have their individualities in life, liberty, and property thereby subordinated, presupposes a coercive instrumentality. No such union for corporate action can be achieved without a powerful controlling agency. On remembering the fatal results caused by division of counsels in war, or by separation into factions in face of an enemy, we see that chronic militancy tends to develop a despotism; since, other things equal, those societies will habitually survive in which, by its aid, the corporate action is made most complete.

And this involves a system of centralization. The trait made familiar to us by an army, in which under a commander-in-chief there are secondary commanders over large masses, and under these tertiary ones over smaller masses, and so on down to the ultimate divisions, must characterize the social organization at large. A militant society must have a regulative structure of this kind, since, otherwise, its corporate action cannot be made most effectual. Without such grades of governing centres diffused throughout the non-combatant part as well as the combatant part, the entire forces of the aggregate cannot be promptly put forth. Unless the workers are under a control akin to that which the fighters are under, their indirect aid cannot be insured in full amount and with due quickness.

And this is the form of a society characterized by *status*—a society, the members of which stand one towards another in successive grades of subordination. From the despot down to the slave, all are masters of those below and subjects of those above. The relation of the child to the father, of the father to some superior, and so on up to the absolute head, is one in which the individual of lower status is at the mercy of one of higher status.

Otherwise described, the process of militant organization is a process of regimentation, which, primarily taking place in the army, secondarily affects the whole community.

The first indication of this we trace in the fact everywhere visible, that the military head grows into a civil head—mostly at once, and, in exceptional cases, at last, if militancy continues. Beginning as leader in war he becomes ruler in peace; and such regulative policy as he pursues in one sphere, he pursues, so far as conditions permit, in the other. Being, as the non-combatant part is, a permanent commissariat,



the principle of graduated subordination is extended to it. Its members come to be directed in a way like that in which the warriors are directed—not literally, since the dispersion of the one and the concentration of the other prevents exact parallelism; but, nevertheless, similarly in principle. Labour is carried on under coercive control; and supervision spreads everywhere.

To suppose that a despotic military head, carrying out daily the inherited traditions of regimental control as the sole form of government known to him, will not impose on the producing classes a kindred control, is to suppose in him sentiments and ideas entirely foreign to his circumstances.

The nature of the militant form of government will be further elucidated on observing that it is both positively regulative and negatively regulative. It does not simply restrain; it also enforces. Besides telling the individual what he shall not do, it tells him what he shall do.

That the government of a fighting body is thus characterized needs no showing. Indeed, commands of the positive kind given to the soldier are more important than those of the negative kind: fighting is done under the one, while order is maintained under the other. But here it chiefly concerns us to note that not only the control of military life, but also the control of civil life, is, under the militant type of government, thus characterized. There are two ways in which the ruling power may deal with the private individual. It may simply limit his actions to those which he can carry on without aggression, direct or indirect, upon others; in which case its action is negatively regulative. Or, besides doing this, it may prescribe the how, and the where, and the when, of his daily actions; may force him to do various things which he would not spontaneously do; may direct in greater or less detail his mode of living; in which case its action is positively regulative. Under the militant type this positively regulative action is widespread and peremptory. The civilian is in a condition as much like that of the soldier as difference of occupation permits.

And this is another way of expressing the truth that the fundamental principle of the militant type is compulsory co-operation. While this is obviously the principle under which the members of the combatant body act, it no less certainly must be the principle acted upon throughout the non-combatant body, if military efficiency is to be great; since, otherwise, the aid which the non-combatant body has to furnish cannot be insured.

That binding together by which the units of a militant society are made into an efficient fighting structure, tends to fix the position of each in rank, in occupation, in locality.

In a graduated regulative organization there is resistance to change from a lower to a higher grade. Such change is made difficult by lack of the possessions needed for filling superior positions; and it is made difficult by the opposition of those who already fill them, and can



hold inferiors down. Preventing intrusion from below, these transmit their respective places and ranks to their descendants; and as the principle of inheritance becomes settled, the rigidity of the social structure becomes decided. Only where an "egalitarian despotism" reduces all subjects to the same political status—a condition of decay rather than of development—does the converse state arise.

The principle of inheritance, becoming established in respect of the classes which militancy originates, and fixing the general functions of their members from generation to generation, tends eventually to fix also their special functions. Not only do men of the slave-classes and the artisan classes succeed to their respective positions, but they succeed to the particular occupations carried on in them. This, which is a working out of the tendency towards regimentation, is ascribable primarily to the fact that superiors, requiring from each kind of worker his particular product, have an interest in replacing him at death by a capable successor; while he, prompted to get aid in fulfilling of his tasks, has an interest in bringing up a son to his own occupation: the will of the son being powerless against these conspiring interests. Under the system of compulsory co-operation, therefore, the principle of inheritance, spreading through the producing organization, causes a relative rigidity in this also.

And then a kindred effect is shown in the entailed restraints on movement from place to place. In proportion as the individual is subordinated in life, liberty, and property, to his society, it is needful that his whereabouts shall be constantly known. Obviously the relation of the soldier to his officer, and of this officer to his superior, is such that each must be ever at hand; and where the militant type is fully developed the like holds throughout the society. The slave cannot leave his appointed abode; the serf is tied to his allotment; the master is not allowed to absent himself from his locality without leave.

So that the corporate action, the combination, the cohesion, the regimentation, which efficient militancy necessitates, imply a structure which strongly resists change.

A further trait of the militant type, naturally accompanying the last, is that organizations other than those forming parts of the State-organization, are wholly or partially repressed. The public combination occupying all fields, excludes private combinations.

For the achievement of complete corporate action, there must, as we have seen, be a centralized administration, not only throughout the combatant part, but throughout the non-combatant part; and if there exist unions of citizens which act independently, they in so far diminish the range of this centralized administration. Any structures which are not parts of the State-structure, serve more or less as limitations to it, and stand in the way of the required unlimited subordination. If private combinations are allowed to exist, it will be on condition of submitting to an official regulation such as greatly restrains inde-



pendent action; and since private combinations thus officially regulated are inevitably hindered from doing things not conforming to established routine, and are so debarred from improvement, they cannot habitually thrive and grow. Obviously, indeed, such combinations formed on the principle of voluntary co-operation, are incongruous with the social type formed on the principle of compulsory co-operation. Hence the militant type is characterized by the absence, or comparative rarity, of bodies of citizens associated for commercial purposes, for propagating special religious views, for achieving philanthropic ends, &c.

Private combinations of one kind, however, are congruous with the militant type—the combinations, namely, which are formed for minor defensive or offensive purposes. We have, as examples, those which constitute factions, very general in militant societies; those which assume forms like the primitive guilds, serving for mutual protection; and those which take the shape of secret societies. Of such bodies it may be noted that they fulfil on a small scale ends like those which the whole society fulfils on a large scale—the ends of self-preservation, or aggression, or both. And it may be further noted that these small included societies are organized on the same principle as the large including society—the principle of compulsory co-operation. Their governments are coercive: in some cases even to the extent of killing those of their members who are disobedient.

A remaining fact to be noted is that a society of the militant type tends to evolve a self-sufficient sustaining organization. With its political autonomy there goes what we may call an economic autonomy. Evidently in proportion as it carries on frequent hostilities with surrounding societies, its commercial intercourse with them must be hindered or prevented: exchange of commodities can go on to but a slight extent between those who are continually fighting. A militant society must, therefore, to the greatest degree practicable, provide internally the supplies of all articles needful for carrying on the lives of its members. Such an economic State as that which existed during early feudal times, when, as in France, “the castles made almost all the articles used in them,” is a state evidently entailed on groups, small or large, which are in constant antagonism with surrounding groups. If there does not already exist within any group so circumstanced, an agency for producing some necessary article, inability to obtain it from without will lead to the establishment of an agency for obtaining it within.

Whence it follows that the desire “not to be dependent on foreigners” is one appropriate to the militant type of society. So long as there is danger that the supplies of needful things derived from other countries will be cut off by the breaking out of hostilities, it is imperative that there shall be maintained a power of producing these supplies at home, and that to this end the required structures shall be maintained. Hence there is a manifest direct relation between militant activities and a protectionist policy.



And now having noted the traits which may be expected to establish themselves by survivals of the fittest during the struggle for existence among societies, let us observe how these traits are displayed in actual societies, similar in respect of their militancy, but otherwise dissimilar.

Of course, in small primitive groups, however warlike they may be, we must not look for more than rude outlines of the structure proper to the militant type. Being loosely aggregated, definite arrangement of their parts can be carried but to a small extent. Still, so far as it goes, the evidence is to the point. The fact that habitually the fighting body is co-extensive with the adult male population, is so familiar that no illustrations are needed. An equally familiar fact is that the women, occupying a servile position, do all the unskilled labour, and bear the burdens; with which may be joined the fact that not unfrequently during war they carry the supplies, as in Asia among the Bhils and Khonds, as in Polynesia among the New Caledonians and Sandwich Islanders, as in America among the Comanches, Mundrucus, Patagonians: their office as forming the permanent commissariat being thus clearly shown. We see, too, that where the enslaving of captives has arisen, these also serve to support and aid the combatant class; acting during peace as producers, and during war joining the women in attendance on the army, as among the New Zealanders, or, as among the Malagasy, being then exclusively the carriers of provisions, &c. Again, in these first stages, as in later stages, we are shown that private claims are, in the militant type, over-ridden by public claims. The life of each man is held subject to the needs of the group; and, by implication, his freedom of action is similarly held. So, too, with his goods; as instance the remark made of the Brazilian Indians, that personal property, recognized but to a limited extent during peace, is scarcely at all recognized during war; and as instance Hearne's statement concerning certain hyperborean tribes of North America when about to make war, "that property of every kind that could be of general use now ceased to be private." To which add the cardinal truth, once more to be repeated, that where no political subordination exists, war initiates it. Tacitly or overtly a chief is temporarily acknowledged; and he gains permanent power if war continues. From these beginnings of the militant type which small groups show us, let us pass to its developed forms as shown in larger groups.

"The army, or, what is nearly synonymous, the nation of Dahome," to quote Burton's words, furnishes us with a good example: the excessive militancy being indicated by the fact that the royal bedroom is paved with skulls of enemies. Here the king is absolute, and is regarded as supernatural in character—he is "the spirit;" and of course he is the religious head—he ordains the priests. He absorbs in himself all powers and all rights: "by the State-law of Dahome . . . all men are slaves to the king." He "is heir to all his



subjects ;" and he takes from living subjects whatever he likes. When we add that there is a frequent killing of victims to carry messages to the other world, as well as occasions on which numbers are sacrificed to supply deceased kings with attendants, we are shown that life, liberty, and property, are at the entire disposal of the State as represented by its head. In both the civil and military organizations the centres and sub-centres of control are numerous. Names, very generally given by the king and replacing surnames, change "with every rank of the holder;" and so detailed is the regimentation that "the dignities seem interminable." There are numerous sumptuary laws; and, according to Waitz, no one wears any other clothing or weapons than what the king gives him or allows him. Under penalty of slavery or death "no man must alter the construction of his house, sit upon a chair, or be carried on a hammock, or drink out of a glass," without permission of the king.

The ancient Peruvian empire, gradually established by the conquering Yncas, may next be instanced. Here the ruler, divinely descended, sacred, absolute, was the centre of a system which minutely controlled all life. His headship was at once military, political, ecclesiastical, judicial; and the entire nation was composed of those who, in the capacity of soldiers, labourers, and officials, were slaves to him and his deified ancestors. Military service was obligatory on all taxable Indians who were capable; and those of them who had served their prescribed terms, formed into reserves, had then to work under State superintendence. The army having heads of ten, fifty, a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, had, besides these, its superior commanders of Ynca blood. The community at large was subject to a parallel regimentation: the inhabitants, registered in groups, being under the control of officers over tens, fifties, hundreds, and so on. And through these successive grades of centres, reports ascended to the Ynca governors of great divisions, passing on from them to the Ynca; while his orders descended "from rank to rank till they reached the lowest." There was an ecclesiastical organization similarly elaborate, having, for example, five classes of diviners; and there was an organization of spies to examine and report upon the doings of the other officers. Everything was under public inspection. There were village officers who overlooked the ploughing, sowing, and harvesting. When there was a deficiency of rain, measured quantities of water were supplied by the State. Any who travelled without authority were punished as vagabonds; but for those who were authorized to travel for public purposes, there were establishments supplying lodging and necessaries. "It was the duty of the decurions to see that the people were clothed;" and the kinds of cloth, decorations, badges, &c., to be worn by the different ranks were all prescribed. Besides this regulation of external life there was regulation of domestic life. The people were required to



"dine and sup with open doors, that the judges might be able to enter freely;" and these judges had to see that the house, clothes, furniture, &c., were kept clean and in order, and the children properly disciplined: those who mismanaged their houses being flogged. Subject to this regulation, the people laboured to support this elaborate State-organization. The political, religious, and military classes, throughout all their grades, were exempt from tribute; while the labouring classes, when not serving in the army, had to yield up all produce beyond that required for their bare sustenance. Of the whole empire, one-third was allotted for supporting the State, one-third for supporting the priesthood who ministered to the manes of ancestors, and the remaining third had to support the workers. Besides giving tribute by tilling the lands of the Sun and the King, the workers had to till the lands of the soldiers on duty, as well as those of the incapables. And they had also to pay tribute of clothes, shoes, and arms. Of the lands on which the people maintained themselves, the parts were apportioned to each man according to the size of his family. Similarly with the produce of the flocks. Such moiety of this in each district as was not required for supplying public needs, was periodically shorn, and the wool divided by officials. These arrangements were in pursuance of the principle that "the private property of each man was held by favour of the Ynca, and according to their laws he had no other title to it." Thus the people, completely possessed by the State in person, property, and labour, transplanted to this or that locality, as the Ynca directed, and, when not serving in the army, living under a discipline like that within the army, were units in a centralized regimented machine, moved throughout life to the greatest practicable extent by the Ynca's will, and to the least practicable extent by their own wills. And, naturally, along with militant organization thus carried to its ideal limit, there went an almost entire absence of any other organization. They had no money; "they neither sold clothes, nor houses, nor estates;" and trade was represented among them by scarcely anything more than some bartering of articles of food.

So far as accounts of it go, ancient Egypt presents us with phenomena allied in their general, if not in their special, characters. Its predominant militancy during its remotest unrecorded times, is sufficiently implied by the vast population of slaves who toiled to build the pyramids; and its subsequent continued militancy we are shown alike by the boasting records of its kings, and the delineations of their triumphs on its temple-walls. Along with this form of activity we have, as before, the god-descended ruler, limited in his powers only by the usages transmitted from his divine ancestors, who was at once political head, high-priest, commander-in-chief, and supreme judge. Under him was a centralized organization, of which the civil part was arranged in classes and sub-classes as definite as were those of the militant part. Of the four great social divisions—priests, soldiers, townsmen or traders and common



people, beneath whom came the slaves—the first contained more than a score different orders; the second, some half-dozen beyond those constituted by military grades; the third, nearly a dozen; and the fourth, a still greater number. Though within the ruling classes the castes were not so rigorously defined as to prevent change of function in successive generations, yet Herodotus and Diodorus state that industrial occupations descended from father to son: “every particular trade and manufacture was carried on by its own craftsmen, and none changed from one trade to another.” How elaborate was the regimentation may be judged from the detailed account of the staff of officers and workers engaged in one of their vast quarries: the numbers and kinds of functionaries paralleling those of an army. To support this highly-developed regulative organization, civil, military, and sacerdotal—an organization which held exclusive possession of the land—the lower classes laboured. “Overseers were set over the wretched people, who were urged to hard work more by the punishment of the stick than words of warning.” And whether or not official oversight included domiciliary visits, it at any rate went to the extent of taking note of each family. “Every man was required under pain of death to give an account to the magistrate of how he earned his livelihood.”

Take, now, another ancient society, which contrasted in sundry respects, shows us, along with habitual militancy, the assumption of structural traits allied in their fundamental characters to those thus far observed. I refer to Sparta. That warfare did not among the Spartans evolve a single despotic head, while in part due to causes which, as before shown, favour the developement of compound political heads, was largely due to the accident of their double kingship: the presence of two divinely-descended chiefs prevented the concentration of power. But though from this cause there continued an imperfectly centralized government, the relation of this government to members of the community was substantially like that of militant governments in general. Notwithstanding the serfdom, and in towns the slavery, of the Helots, and notwithstanding the political subordination of the Periœki, they all, in common with the Spartans proper, were under obligation to military service: the working function of the first, and the trading function so far as it existed, which was carried on by the second, were subordinate to the militant function with which the third was exclusively occupied. And the civil divisions thus marked re-appeared in the military divisions: “at the battle of Plataea, every Spartan hoplite had seven Helots, and every Periœki hoplite one Helot to attend him.” The extent to which, by the daily military discipline, prescribed military mess, and fixed contributions of food, the individual life of the Spartan was subordinated to the public demands, from seven years upwards, needs mention only to show the rigidity of the restraints which here, as elsewhere, the militant type imposes—restraints which were further shown in the prescribed age for marriage, the prevention of domestic life, the forbidding of industry



or any money-seeking occupation, the interdict on going abroad without leave, and the authorized censorship under which his days and nights were passed. There was fully carried out in Sparta the Greek theory of society, that "the citizen belongs neither to himself nor to his family, but to his city." So that though in this exceptional case chronic militancy was prevented from developing a supreme head, owning the individual citizen in body and estate, yet it developed an essentially identical relation between the community as a whole and its units. The community exercising its power through a compound head instead of through a simple head, completely enslaved the individual. While the lives and labours of the Helots were devoted exclusively to the support of those who formed the militant organization, the lives and labours of those who formed the militant organization were exclusively devoted to the service of the State: they were slaves with a difference.

Of modern illustrations that furnished by Russia will suffice. Here, again, with the wars which effected conquests and consolidations, came the development of the victorious commander into the absolute ruler, who, if not divine by alleged origin, yet acquired something like divine *prestige*. "All men are equal before God, and the Russians' God is the Emperor," says De Custine: "the supreme governor is so raised above earth, that he sees no difference between the serf and the lord." Under the stress of Peter the Great's wars, which, as the nobles complained, took them away from their homes, "not, as formerly, for a single campaign, but for long years," they became "servants of the State, without privileges, without dignity, subjected to corporal punishment, and burdened with onerous duties from which there was no escape." "Any noble who refused to serve [ 'the State in the Army, the Fleet, or the Civil Administration, from boyhood to old age' ] was not only deprived of his estate, as in the old times, but was declared to be a traitor, and might be condemned to capital punishment." "Under Peter," says Wallace, "all offices, civil and military," were "arranged in fourteen classes or ranks;" and he "defined the obligations of each with microscopic minuteness. After his death the work was carried on in the same spirit, and the tendency reached its climax in the reign of Nicholas." In the words of De Custine, "the *tchinn* [the name for this organization] is a nation formed into a regiment; it is the military system applied to all classes of society, even to those who never go to war." With this universal regimentation in structure went a regimental discipline. The conduct of life was dictated to the citizens at large in the same way as to soldiers. In the reign of Peter and his successors, domestic entertainments were appointed and regulated; the people were compelled to change their costumes; the clergy to cut off their beards; and even the harnessing of horses was according to pattern. Occupations were controlled to the extent that "no boyard could enter any profession, or forsake it when embraced, or retire from public to private life, or dispose



of his property, or travel into any foreign country, without the permission of the Czar." This omnipresent rule is well expressed in the close of certain rhymes, for which a military officer was sent to Siberia:—

"Tout se fait par ukase ici ;  
C'est par ukase que l'on voyage,  
C'est par ukase que l'on rit."

Taking thus the existing barbarous society of Dahomey, formed of negroes, the extinct semi-civilized empire of the Yncas, whose subjects were remote in blood from these, the ancient Egyptian empire peopled by yet other races, the community of the Spartans, again unlike in the type of its men, and the existing Russian nation made up of Slavs and Tartars, we have before us cases in which such similarities of social structure as exist, cannot be ascribed to inheritance of a common character by the social units. The immense contrasts between the populations of these several societies, too, varying from millions at the one extreme to thousands at the other, negative the supposition that their common structural traits are consequent on size. Nor can it be supposed that likenesses of conditions in respect of climate, surface, soil, flora, fauna, or likenesses of habits caused by such conditions, can have had anything to do with the likenesses of organization in these societies; for their respective habitats present numerous marked unlikenesses. Such traits as they one and all exhibit, not ascribable to any other cause, must thus be ascribed to the habitual militancy characteristic of them all. The results of induction alone would go far to warrant this ascription; and it is fully warranted by their correspondence with the results of deduction, as set forth above.

Any remaining doubts must disappear on observing how continued militancy is followed by further development of the militant organization. Three illustrations will suffice.

When, during Roman conquests, the tendency for the successful general to become despot, repeatedly displayed, finally took effect—when the title *imperator*, military in its primary meaning, became the title for the civil ruler, showing us on a higher platform that genesis of political headship out of military headship visible from the beginning—when, as usually happens, an increasingly-divine character was acquired by the civil ruler, as shown in the assumption of the sacred name Augustus, as well as in the growth of an actual worship of him; there simultaneously became more pronounced those further traits which characterize the militant type in its developed form. Practically, if not nominally, the other powers of the State were absorbed by him. In the words of Duruy, he had—

"The right of proposing, that is, of making, laws; of receiving and trying appeals, *i.e.*, the supreme jurisdiction; of arresting by the tribunitian veto every measure and every sentence, *i.e.*, of putting his will in opposition to the laws and magistrates; of summoning the senate or the people and presiding over it, *i.e.*, of directing the electoral assemblies as he thought fit. And these prerogatives he will have not for a single year but for life; not in Rome only . . .



but throughout the empire; not shared with ten colleagues, but exercised by himself alone; lastly, without any account to render, since he never resigned his office."

Along with these changes went an increase in the number and definiteness of social divisions. The Emperor—

"Placed between himself and the masses a multitude of people regularly classed by categories, and piled one above the other in such a way that this hierarchy, pressing with all its weight upon the masses underneath, held the people and factious individuals powerless. What remained of the old patrician nobility had the foremost rank in the city; . . . below it came the senatorial nobility half hereditary; below that the monied nobility or equestrian order—three aristocracies superposed. . . . The sons of senators formed a class intermediate between the senatorial and the equestrian order. . . . In the second century the senatorial families formed an hereditary nobility with privileges."

At the same time the administrative organization was greatly extended and complicated.

"Augustus created a large number of new offices, as the superintendence of public works, roads, aqueducts, the Tiber-bed, distribution of corn to the people. . . . He also created numerous offices of procurators for the financial administration of the empire, and in Rome there were 1,060 municipal officers."

The structural character proper to an army spread in a double way: military officers acquired civil functions and functionaries of a civil kind became partially military. The magistrates appointed by the Emperor, tending to replace those appointed by the people, had, along with their civil authority, military authority; and while "under Augustus the prefects of the pretorium were only military chiefs, . . . they gradually possessed themselves of the whole civil authority, and finally became, after the Emperor, the first personages in the empire." Moreover, the governmental structures grew by incorporating bodies of functionaries who were before independent. "In his ardour to organize everything, he aimed at regimenting the law itself, and made an official magistracy of that which had always been a free profession." To enforce the rule of this extended administration, the army was made permanent, and subjected to severe discipline. With the continued growth of the regulating and coercing organization, the drafts on producers increased; and, as was shown by extracts in a previous chapter concerning the Roman *régime* in Egypt and in Gaul, the working part of the community was reduced more and more to the form of a permanent commissariat. In Italy the condition eventually arrived at was one in which vast tracts were "intrusted to freedmen, whose only consideration was how to cultivate the land with the least possible expense, and how to extract from their labourers the greatest amount of work with the smallest quantity of food."

An example under our immediate observation may next be taken—



that of the German Empire. Such traits of the militant type in Germany as were before manifest, have, since the late war, become still more manifest. The army, active and passive, including officers and attached functionaries, has been increased by about 100,000 men; and changes in 1875 and 1880, making certain reserves more available, have practically caused a further increase of like amount. Moreover, the smaller German States, having in great part surrendered the administration of their several contingents, the German army has become more consolidated; and even the armies of Saxony, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, being subject to Imperial supervision, have in so far ceased to be independent. Instead of each year granting military supplies, as had been the practice in Prussia before the formation of the North German Confederation, the Parliament of the Empire was, in 1871, induced to vote the required annual sum for three years thereafter; in 1874 it did the like for the succeeding seven years; and again in 1880 the greatly increased amount for the augmented army was authorized for the seven years following: steps obviously surrendering popular checks on Imperial power. Simultaneously, military officialism has been in two ways replacing civil officialism. Subaltern officers are rewarded for long services by appointments to civil posts—local communes being forced to give them the preference to civilians; and not a few members of the higher civil service, and of the universities, as well as teachers in the public schools, having served as "volunteers of one year," become commissioned officers of the Landwehr. During the struggles of the so-called Kulturkampf, the ecclesiastical organization became more subordinated by the political. Priests suspended by bishops were maintained in their offices; it was made penal for a clergyman publicly to take part against the Government; a recalcitrant bishop had his salary stopped; the curriculum for ecclesiastics was prescribed by the State, and examination by State-officials required; church discipline was subjected to State-approval; and a power of expelling rebellious clergy from the country was established. Passing to the industrial activities we may note, first, that through sundry steps, from 1873 onwards, there has been a progressive transfer of railways into the hands of the State; so that, partly by original construction (mainly of lines for military purposes), and partly by purchase, three-fourths of all Prussian railways have been made Government property; and the same percentage holds in the other German States: the aim being eventually to make them all Imperial. Trade interferences have been extended in various ways—by protectionist tariffs, by revival of the usury laws, by restrictions on Sunday labour. Through its postal service the State has assumed industrial functions—presents acceptances, receives money on bills of exchange that are due, as also on ordinary bills, which it gets receipted; and, until stopped by shopkeepers' protests, undertook to procure books from publishers. Lastly there come the measures for extending, directly and indirectly, the control



over popular life. On the one hand there are the laws under which, up to the middle of last year, 224 socialist societies have been closed, 180 periodicals suppressed, 317 books, &c., forbidden, and under which sundry places have been reduced to a partial state of siege. On the other hand may be named Prince Bismarck's scheme for re-establishing guilds (bodies which by their regulations coerce their members), and his scheme of State-insurance, by the help of which the artisan would in a considerable degree have his hands tied. Though these measures have not been carried in the forms proposed, yet the proposal of them sufficiently shows the general tendency. In all which changes we see progress towards a more integrated structure, towards increase of the militant part as compared with the industrial part, towards the replacing of civil organization by military organization, towards the strengthening of restraints over the individual and regulation of his life in greater detail.

The remaining example to be named is that furnished by our own society since the revival of military activity—a revival which has of late been so marked that our illustrated papers are, week after week, occupied with little else than scenes of warfare. Already in the first volume of "*The Principles of Sociology*," I have pointed out many ways in which the system of compulsory co-operation characterizing the militant type, has been trenching on the system of voluntary co-operation characterizing the industrial type; and since those passages appeared (July, 1876), other changes in the same direction have taken place. Within the military organization itself, we may note the increasing assimilation of the volunteer forces to the regular army, now going to the extent of a movement for making them available abroad, so that instead of defensive action for which they were created, they can be used for offensive action; and we may also note that the tendency shown in the army during a past generation to sink the military character whenever possible, by putting on civilian dresses, is now checked by an order to officers in garrison towns to wear their uniforms when off duty, as they do in more militant countries. Whether, since the date named, usurpations of civil functions by military men (which had in 1873-4 gone to the extent that there were 97 colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants employed from time to time as inspectors of science and art classes) have gone further I cannot say; but there has been a manifest extension of the military spirit and discipline among the police, with the effect that, wearing helmet-shaped hats, beginning to carry revolvers, and looking on themselves as half soldiers, they have come to speak of the people as "civilians," and in some cases exercise over "civilians" an inspection of a military kind; as instance, the chief of the Birmingham police, Major Bond, whose subalterns track home men who are unsteady from drink but quiet, and prosecute them next morning; or as instance the regulation by policemen's commands of the conflicting streams of vehicles in the London streets. To an increasing extent the executive



has been over-riding the other governmental agencies; as in the Cyprus business, and as in the doings of the Indian Viceroy under secret instructions from home. In various minor ways are shown endeavours to free officialism from popular checks; as in the desire expressed in the House of Lords that the hanging of convicts in prisons, entrusted entirely to the authorities, should have no other witnesses; and as in the advice given by the late Home Secretary (on May 11, 1878) to the Derby Town Council, that it should not interfere with the chief constable (a military man) in his government of the force under him—a step towards centralizing local police control in the Home Office. Simultaneously we see various actual or prospective extensions of public agency, replacing or restraining private agency. There is the “endowment of research,” which, already partially carried out by a Government fund, many wish to carry further; there is the proposed Act for establishing a registration of authorized teachers; there is the Bill which provides central inspection for local public libraries; there is the scheme for compulsory insurance—a scheme showing us in an instructive manner the way in which the regulating policy extends itself: compulsory charity having generated improvidence, there comes compulsory insurance as a remedy for the improvidence. Other proclivities towards institutions belonging to the militant type are seen in the increasing demand for some form of protection, and in the lamentations uttered by the “society papers” that duelling has gone out. Nay, even through the party which by position and function is antagonistic to militancy, we see that militant discipline is spreading; for the caucus-system, established for the better organization of liberalism, is one which necessarily, in a greater or less degree, centralizes authority and controls individual action.

Besides seeing, then, that the traits to be inferred *à priori* as characterizing the militant type, constantly exist in societies which are permanently militant in high degrees, we also see that in other societies increase of militant activity is followed by development of such traits.

In some places I have stated, and in other places implied, that a necessary relation exists between the structure of a society and the natures of its citizens. Here it will be well to observe in detail the characters proper to, and habitually exemplified by, the members of a typically militant society.

Other things equal, a society will be successful in war in proportion as its members are endowed with bodily vigour and courage. And, on the average, among conflicting societies there will be a survival and spread of those in which the physical and mental powers called for in battle, are not only most marked but also most honoured. Egyptian and Assyrian sculptures and inscriptions, show us that prowess was the thing above all others thought most worthy of record. Of the words good, just, &c., as used by the ancient Greeks, Grote remarks that they “signify the man of birth, wealth, influence and daring, whose arm is



strong to destroy or to protect, whatever may be the turn of his moral sentiments; while the opposite epithet, bad, designates the poor, lowly, and weak, from whose dispositions, be they ever so virtuous, society has little to hope or to fear." In the identification of virtue with bravery among the Romans, we have a like implication. During early turbulent times throughout Europe, the knightly character, which was the honourable character, primarily included fearlessness: lacking this, good qualities were of no account; but with this, sins of many kinds were condoned.

If, among antagonist groups of primitive men, some tolerated more than others the killing of their members—if, while some always retaliated others did not, those which did not retaliate, continually aggressed on with impunity, would either gradually disappear or have to take refuge in undesirable habitats. Hence there is a survival of the unforgiving. Further, the *lex talionis*, primarily arising between antagonist groups, becomes the law within the group; and chronic feuds between component families and clans, everywhere proceed upon the general principle of life for life. Under the militant *régime* revenge becomes a virtue, and failure to revenge a disgrace. Among the Fijians, who foster anger in their children, it is not infrequent for a man to commit suicide rather than live under an insult—rather than submit to an unavenged injury; and in other cases the dying Fijian bequeaths the duty of inflicting vengeance to his children. This sentiment and resulting practices we trace among peoples otherwise wholly alien, who are, or have been, actively militant. In the remote East may be instanced the Japanese. They are taught that "with the slayer of his father a man may not live under the same heaven; against the slayer of his brother a man must never have to go home to fetch a weapon; with the slayer of his friend a man may not live in the same State." And in the West may be instanced France during feudal days, when the relations of one killed or injured were required by custom to retaliate on any relations of the offender—even those living at a distance and knowing nothing of the matter. Down even to the time of the Abbé Brantôme the spirit was such that that ecclesiastic, bequeathing to his nephews the duty of avenging any unredressed wrongs done to him in his old age, says of himself—"I may boast, and I thank God for it, that I never received an injury without being revenged on the author of it." That, where militancy is active, revenge, private as well as public, becomes a duty, is well shown at the present time among the Montenegrins—a people who have been at war with the Turks for centuries. "Dans le Montenegro," says Boué, "on dira d'un homme d'une natrie [clan] ayant tué un individu d'une autre: Cette natrie nous doit une tête, et il faut que cette dette soit acquittée, car qui ne se venge pas ne se sancitie pas."

Where activity in destroying enemies is chronic, destruction will become a source of pleasure; where success in subduing fellow-men is above all things honoured, there will arise delight in the forcible exercise



of mastery; and with pride in spoiling the vanquished, will go disregard for the rights of property at large. As it is incredible that men should be courageous in face of foes and cowardly in face of friends, so it is incredible that the other feelings fostered by perpetual conflicts abroad should not come into play at home. We have just seen that with the pursuit of vengeance outside the society, there goes the pursuit of vengeance inside the society; and whatever other habits of thought and action constant war necessitates, must show their effects in the social life at large. Facts from various places and times prove that in militant societies the claims to life, liberty, and property are little regarded. The Dahomans, warlike to the extent that both sexes are warriors, and by whom slave-hunting invasions are, or were, annually undertaken "to furnish funds for the royal exchequer," show their bloodthirstiness by their annual "customs," at which multitudinous victims are publicly slaughtered for the popular gratification. The Fijians, again, highly militant in their activities and type of organization, who display their recklessness of life not only by killing their own people for cannibal feasts, but by destroying immense numbers of their infants and by sacrificing victims on trivial occasions, such as launching a new canoe, so much applaud ferocity that to commit a murder is a glory. Early records of Asiatics and Europeans show us the like relation. What accounts there are of the primitive Mongols, who, when united, massacred western peoples wholesale, show us a chronic reign of violence, both within and without their tribes; while domestic assassinations, which from the beginning have characterized the militant Turks, continue to characterize them down to our own day. In proof that it was so with the Greek and Latin races, it suffices to instance the slaughter of the two thousand helots by the Spartans, whose brutality was habitual, and the murder of large numbers of suspected citizens by jealous Roman emperors, who also, like their subjects, manifested their love of bloodshed in their arenas. That where life is little regarded there can be but little regard for liberty, follows necessarily: those who do not hesitate to end another's activities by killing him will still less hesitate to restrain his activities by holding him in bondage. Militant savages, whose captives, when not eaten, are enslaved, habitually show us this absence of regard for fellow-men's freedom, which characterizes the members of militant societies in general. How little, under the militant régime, more or less markedly displayed in all early historic societies, there was any sentiment against depriving men of their liberties, is sufficiently shown by the fact that even in the teachings of primitive Christianity there was no express condemnation of slavery. Naturally the like holds with the right of property. Where mastery established by force is honourable, claims to possession by the weaker are likely to be little respected by the stronger. In Fiji it is considered chief-like to seize a subject's goods; and theft is virtuous if undiscovered. In Dahomey the king "squeezes" any one as soon as he acquires property. Among the



Spartans "the ingenious and successful pilferer gained applause with his booty." In mediæval Europe with perpetual robberies of one society by another there went perpetual robberies within each society. Under the Merovingians "the murders and crimes it [*"The Ecclesiastical History of the Franks"*] relates have almost all for their object the possession of the treasure of the murdered persons;" and under Charlemagne plunder by officials was chronic: the moment his back was turned "the provosts of the king appropriated the funds intended to furnish food and clothing for the artisans."

Where warfare is habitual, and the required qualities most needful and therefore most honoured, those whose lives do not display them are treated with contempt, and their occupations regarded as dishonourable. In early stages labour is the business of women and of slaves—conquered men and the descendants of conquered men; and trade of every kind, carried on by subject classes, long continues to be identified with lowness of origin and nature. In Dahomey, "agriculture is despised because slaves are employed in it." "The Japanese nobles and placemen, even of secondary rank, entertain a sovereign contempt for traffic." Of the ancient Egyptians Wilkinson says, "their prejudices against mechanical employments, as far as regarded the soldier, were equally strong as in the rigid Sparta." "For trade and commerce the (ancient) Persians were wont to express extreme contempt," writes Rawlinson. The progress of class differentiation which accompanied the conquering wars of the Romans, was furthered by establishment of the rule that it was disgraceful to take money for work, and also by the law forbidding senators and senators' sons from engaging in speculation. And how great has been the scorn expressed by the militant classes for the trading classes throughout Europe down to quite recent times, needs no showing.

That there may be willingness to risk life for the benefit of the society, there must be much of the feeling called patriotism. Though the belief that it is glorious to die for one's country cannot be regarded as essential, since mercenaries fight without it; yet it is obvious that such a belief must conduce greatly to success in war; and that entire absence of it must be so unfavourable to offensive and defensive action that failure and subjugation will, other things equal, be likely to result. Hence the sentiment of patriotism will be established by the survival of societies the members of which are most characterized by it.

With this there needs to be united the instinct of obedience. The possibility of that united action by which, other things equal, war is made successful, depends on the readiness of individuals to subordinate their wills to the will of a commander or ruler. Loyalty is essential. In early stages the manifestation of it is but temporary, as among the Araucanians who, ordinarily showing themselves "repugnant to all subordination, are then (when war is impending) prompt to obey, and submissive to the will of their military sovereign" appointed for the



occasion. And with development of the militant type this sentiment becomes permanent. Thus, Erskine tells us that the Fijians are intensely loyal: men buried alive in the foundations of a king's house, considered themselves honoured by being so sacrificed; and the people of a slave district "said it was their duty to become food and sacrifice for the chiefs." So in Dahomey there is felt for the king "a mixture of love and fear, little short of adoration." In ancient Egypt again, where "blind obedience was the oil which caused the harmonious working of the machinery" of social life, the monuments on every side show with wearisome iteration the daily acts of subordination—of slaves and others to the dead man, of captives to the king, of the king to the gods. Though for reasons already pointed out, chronic war did not generate in Sparta a supreme political head, to whom there could be shown implicit obedience, yet the obedience shown to the political agency which grew up was profound: individual wills were in all things subordinate to the public will expressed by the established authorities. In primitive Rome, too, in the absence of a divinely-descended King to whom submission could be shown, there was submission to an appointed king, qualified only by expressions of opinion on special occasions; and the principle of absolute obedience, slightly mitigated in the relations of the community as a whole to its ruling agency, was unmitigated within its component groups. And that throughout European history, alike on small and on large scales, we see the sentiment of loyalty dominant where the militant type of structure is pronounced, is a truth that will be admitted without detailed proof.

From these conspicuous traits of Nature let us turn to certain consequent traits which are less conspicuous, and which have results of less manifest kinds. Along with loyalty naturally goes faith—the two being, indeed, scarcely separable. Readiness to obey the commander in war, implies belief in his military abilities; and readiness to obey him during peace, implies belief that his abilities extend to civil affairs also. Imposing on men's imaginations, each new conquest augments his authority. There come more frequent and more decided evidences of his regulative action over men's lives; and these generate the idea that his power is boundless. Unlimited faith in governmental agency is fostered. Generations brought up under a system which controls all affairs, private and public, tacitly assume that affairs can only thus be controlled. Those who have experience of no other *régime* become unable to imagine any other *régime*. In such societies as that of ancient Peru, for example, where, as we have seen, regimental rule was universal, there were no materials for framing the thought of an industrial life spontaneously carried on and spontaneously regulated.

By implication there results repression of individual initiative, and a consequent lack of private enterprise. In proportion as an army becomes organized, it is reduced to a state in which the independent action of its members is forbidden. And in proportion as regimen-



tation pervades the society at large, each member of it, directed or restrained at every turn, has little or no power of conducting his business otherwise than by established routine. Slaves can do only what they are told by their masters; their masters cannot do anything that is unusual without official permission; and no permission is to be obtained from the local authority until superior authorities through their ascending grades have been consulted. Hence the mental state generated is that of passive acceptance and expectancy. Where the militant type is fully developed, everything must be done by public agencies; not only for the reason that these occupy all spheres, but for the further reason that did they not occupy them, there would arise no other agencies: the prompting ideas and sentiments having been obliterated.

There must be added a concomitant influence on the intellectual nature, which co-operates with the moral influences just named. Personal causation is alone recognized, and the conception of impersonal causation is prevented from developing. The primitive man has no idea of cause in the modern sense. The only agents included in his theory of things are living persons and the ghosts of dead persons. All unusual occurrences, together with those usual ones liable to variation, he ascribes to supernatural beings. And this system of interpretation survives through early stages of civilization; as we see, for example, among the Homeric Greeks, by whom wounds, deaths, and escapes in battle, were ascribed to the enmity or the aid of the gods, and by whom good and bad acts were held to be divinely prompted. Continuance and development of militant forms and activities maintains this way of thinking. In the first place it indirectly hinders the discovery of causal relations. The sciences grow out of the arts—begin as generalizations of truths which practice of the arts makes manifest. In proportion as processes of production multiply in their kinds and increase in their complexities, more numerous uniformities come to be recognized; and the ideas of necessary relation and physical cause arise and develop. Consequently, by discouraging industrial progress, militancy checks the replacing of ideas of personal agency by ideas of impersonal agency. In the second place, it does the like by direct repression of intellectual culture. Naturally, a life occupied in acquiring knowledge, like a life occupied in industry, is regarded with contempt by a people devoted to war. The Spartans clearly exemplified this relation in ancient times; and it was again exemplified during feudal ages in Europe, when learning was scorned as proper only for clerks and the children of mean people. And obviously, in proportion as warlike activities are antagonistic to the advance of science, they further retard that emancipation from primitive ideas which ends in recognition of natural uniformities. In the third place, and chiefly, the effect in question is produced by the conspicuous and perpetual experience of personal agency which the



militant *régime* yields. In the army, from the commander-in-chief down to the private undergoing drill, every movement is directed by a superior; and throughout the society, in proportion as its regimentation is elaborate, things are hourly seen to go thus or thus according to the regulating wills of the ruler and his subordinates. In the interpretation of social affairs, personal causation is consequently alone recognized. History comes to be made up of the doings of remarkable men; and it is tacitly assumed that societies have been formed by them. Wholly foreign to the habit of mind as is the thought of impersonal causation, the course of social evolution is unperceived. The natural genesis of social structures and functions is an utterly alien conception, and appears absurd when alleged. The notion of a self-regulating social process is unintelligible. So that militancy moulds the citizen into a form not only morally adapted, but intellectually adapted—a form which cannot think away from the entailed system.

In three ways, then, we are shown the character of the militant type of social organization. Observe the congruities which comparison of results discloses.

Certain conditions, manifest *à priori*, have to be fulfilled by a society fitted for preserving itself in presence of antagonist societies. To be in the highest degree efficient, the corporate action needed for preserving the corporate life must be joined in by every one. Other things equal, the fighting power will be greatest where those who cannot fight, labour exclusively to support and help those who can: an evident implication being that the working part shall be no larger than is required for these ends. The efforts of all being utilized directly or indirectly for war, will be most effectual when they are most combined; and, besides union among the combatants, there must be such union of the non-combatants with them as renders the aid of these fully and promptly available. To satisfy these requirements, the life, the actions, and the possessions of each individual must be held at the service of the society. This universal service, this combination, and this merging of individual claims, pre-suppose a despotic controlling agency. That the will of the soldier chief may be operative when the aggregate is large, there must be sub-centres and sub-sub-centres in descending grades, through whom orders may be conveyed and enforced, both throughout the combatant part and the non-combatant part. As the commander tells the soldier both what he shall not do and what he shall do; so, throughout the militant community at large, the rule is both negatively regulative and positively regulative: it not only restrains, but it directs; the citizen as well as the soldier lives under a system of compulsory co-operation. Development of the militant type involves increasing rigidity, since the cohesion, the combination, the subordination, and the regulation, to which the units of a society are subjected by it, inevitably decrease their ability to change their social positions, their occupations, their localities.



On inspecting sundry societies, past and present, large and small, which are, or have been, characterized in high degrees by militancy, we are shown *à posteriori*, that amid the differences due to race, to circumstances, and to degrees of development, there are fundamental similarities of the kinds above inferred *à priori*. Modern Dahomey and Russia, as well as ancient Peru, Egypt, and Sparta, exemplify that owning of the individual by the State in life, liberty, and goods, which is proper to a social system adapted for war. And that with changes further fitting a society for warlike activities, there spread throughout it an officialism, a dictation, and a superintendence, akin to those under which the soldiery lives, we are shown by imperial Rome, by imperial Germany, and by England since its late aggressive activities.

Lastly comes the evidence furnished by the adapted characters of the men who compose militant societies. Making success in war the highest glory, they are led to identify goodness with bravery and strength. Revenge becomes a sacred duty with them; and acting at home on the law of retaliation which they act on abroad, they similarly at home as abroad are ready to sacrifice others to self: their sympathies continually deadened in war cannot be active during peace. They must have a patriotism which regards the triumph of their society as the supreme end of the action; they must possess the loyalty whence flows obedience to authority; and that they may be obedient they must have abundant faith. With faith in authority and consequent readiness to be directed, naturally goes relatively little power of initiation. The habit of seeing everything officially controlled fosters the belief that official control is everywhere needful; and a course of life which makes personal causation familiar and negatives experience of impersonal causation, produces an inability to conceive of any social processes as carried on under self-regulating arrangements. And these traits of individual nature, needful concomitants as we see of the militant type, are those which we observe in the members of actual militant societies.

HERBERT SPENCER.

## ANCIENT EGYPT IN ITS COMPARATIVE RELATIONS.

LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION IN  
FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1881.

### IV.

#### SCIENCE AND ART.

THE subjects of this concluding paper, Egyptian Science and Art, may seem less attractive than those already discussed. Yet when we consider the scanty resources of the Egyptians in mechanical appliances, and the astounding results which they achieved; and when we observe the imaginative quality of their noble art, our interest is aroused. Still more, when we find that the pedigree of modern science and art takes us up to Egypt as a principal source of science, and perhaps the only source of art, the desire to discover for ourselves is added to our first sentiment. The earliest science, and the first great school of art, have never been properly studied, because the materials have not been set in order, nor the comparative bearing discussed. This can here be done but very slightly. Still it will be well if more competent students are stimulated to explore a curious and fruitful field of research. The materials on the side of science are mostly accessible to all; those on the side of art are absolutely so.

#### SCIENCE.

Less can now be said of Egyptian science than would have been ten years ago. As our acquaintance with the native evidence becomes clearer, our speculative views become less satisfactory to us. Our information is derived from three sources (1) the Egyptian documents; (2) the inferential evidence of works requiring knowledge of science; and (3) the statements of ancient authors, which we must receive with great caution.

#### MATHEMATICS.

In science we should of course begin with mathematics. The documents are distressingly scanty. We possess one papyrus in the



British Museum which has thrown new light upon the subject. It is a kind of handbook of practical arithmetic and geometry, including addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, the measure of surfaces, and the calculation of the contents of solids; such a book as we might suppose would be used by a scribe acting as clerk of the works, or by an architect to show the working out of the problems he had to solve in his operations. Dr. Eisenlohr has published the treatise, with a translation, and all explanations necessary for good mathematicians.\* It would be a boon to general students if his results were put in a more popular form. The clumsiness of the Egyptian method is very remarkable. The knowledge of common fractions is limited; and strangely the only fraction of 1 is  $\frac{2}{3}$ . In such a treatise higher mathematics are not to be expected; but had the Egyptians been acquainted with them they would have handled the problems here stated in a simpler manner. At the same time there is no doubt that they made admirable use of the rude and cumbrous methods they possessed. We are lost in admiration at the exactness of the construction of the Great Pyramid, where of course we must look beyond mechanical skill to mathematical design; and it is a marvel how after the annual inundation, each property could have been accurately defined by the aid of geometry.

#### ASTRONOMY.

Egyptian astronomy labours under even more disadvantages than mathematics. There is not a single list of observations, not a solitary dated record of an eclipse. This invaluable aid for chronology is wanting; and we have not one certain date before the Ptolemaic age, except where the practical Assyrian annals afford a synchronism. The truth is that astronomy and religion were closely connected. Thus those lists of the positions of stars which Egyptologists used to consider scientific, as recording the real dates of heliacal risings, are merely conventional lists of an astrological character. All attempts to treat these and cognate documents as astronomical have hitherto failed, and we must wait for a practical list of observations. That the Egyptians made such observations cannot be doubted: that they wrote them down is almost certain. Let us hope that time has spared some, which may be of a kind unmistakably free from any mythological connection. The true orientation of the Pyramids in general is an evidence of advance in scientific knowledge, and of the use of observations. That the advance was gradual during the historical period is clearly shown. The Pyramid of Steps at Sakkarah, an antiquity among its rivals, and reasonably assigned to the First Dynasty, is not exact in its orientation; but the other Pyramids, dating from the Third to the Sixth Dynasty, are accurately placed with their four sides facing the cardinal points. In their direction the Mexican Pyramids resemble the Egyptian; while

\* Dr. Aug. Eisenlohr: "Ein Mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter."



those of Chaldæa present to the cardinal points their angles, not their sides.

With respect to the theoretical part of astronomy, Professor Lieblein, following M. Chabas, has argued that the Egyptian astronomers held the true or heliocentric doctrine of the solar system. He bases his opinion on two passages, in which the earth is spoken of as moving like a boat through the celestial space. In one of these passages the earth is said to move like the sun and the stars (*"Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes, St. Etienne," Bulletin 1, vol. ii. p. 127 seq.*). The weak point of the evidence is the comparison of the movement of the earth to that of the sun and the stars, though it is just possible that by long observations the Egyptians might have discovered the movement of the whole solar system through space. But it is not necessary to seek this explanation. The idea which produced the Egyptian phrase is mythological not astronomical. In the Litany of Ra we find the notion of movement constantly associated with the pantheistic divinity, who was called Ra because the sun was thought to be his chief or greatest manifestation. This power of movement is given by Ra to the heavenly bodies, and thus the earth must partake of it (Naville, *"Litanie du Soleil,"* p. 127). It does not follow that it was held to do so actually.

The practical application of astronomy is seen in its use to regulate the calendar. The ancients speak of several Egyptian cycles; and as they had at least three years of different lengths, as early as the date of the Twelfth Dynasty, we can scarcely avoid believing that there were cycles formed on the coincidence of these years; but not a single Egyptian document can be said with probability to refer to these periods of time. It is however quite certain that they had a cycle of 1460 Julian years, and 1461 of their common or wandering years of 365 days. But practically they do not seem ever to have reckoned by it: all their known dates, with one solitary exception, which may or may not be cyclical, are reckoned from the year in which the reigning king came to the throne.

We have more accurate information as to the common year. It was divided into three seasons, each of four months; and at the close five intercalary days were added. Every day and night was divided into twelve hours, each hour into sixty minutes, each minute into sixty seconds, each second into sixty thirds. This minuteness of division seems surprising, unless we reflect that the Egyptians may have used the thirds for the computation of large periods, in which a slight error at first would have produced a very great one in the result.

#### COMPARATIVE VIEW.

The ancient inhabitants of the lands watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris appear to have attained in very early times the same degree of mathematical knowledge as the Egyptians, but to have been far more practical. It is this quality that gives them a hold on our modern



sympathies, and puts their rivals at a great disadvantage. Where in the record of astronomical phenomena, and in the reckoning of time, the Egyptian documents fail us, the Assyrian give us precisely what we want. They followed the Cushites; and there can be little doubt that in earlier times these, as well as their mixed descendants, the Babylonians, were equally practical. It is only the lack of records that leaves us without proof. In consequence, while Egyptian chronology is always more or less vague, the uncertainty gradually increasing as we go upwards from the time at which parallel reckonings fail to aid us, on the other hand, Assyrian chronology is fixed. This is extremely curious, for the Assyrian religion was mainly reverence for the sun, moon, and planets; the Egyptian, in its higher form, sun-worship. We should therefore have expected that astronomy would have been even more deeply imbued with religion in Assyria than in Egypt, and that it would be more difficult to trace the practical amid the mythical. The modern character of the Assyrian astronomy is in accordance with the organizing and practical genius of the race, in which we trace such a departure from the Semitic type as indicates, like their morals, the presence of another race in their nationality.

The early Hebrews, on the other hand, were so thoroughly Semitic that the science of Egypt made no impression upon them. In their documents, if we except such traces of science as the chemical knowledge shown by Moses in the destruction of the golden calf, and the keen and travelled observation of the writer of the Book of Job, we find a consistent picture of that primitive watching of the heavens which distinguishes the pastoral races who live in warm climates beneath a cloudless sky. The heavenly bodies marked the seasons of the year, and especially the welcome time of the rains. The course of the moon was watched through the zodiac of her mansions. This was, it seems, the national astronomy of the Hebrews, as of the Arabs. Scientific astronomy we cannot trace. The reckoning of time was very simple. The year was lunar. To keep it true to the seasons on which the great festivals must be held, it is probable that an intercalary month was added when it was necessary. This system, like all that related to time, was not Egyptian, but oriental, brought from the primæval home of the family of Abraham. The year with its additional month, the week, the seventh day of rest, are common to the Assyrians, not to the Egyptians. Here we have no link with Egypt; and it is to be noticed that the primitive observance of the Sabbath in Assyria points to the pre-Mosaic observance of the institution among the Hebrews. In this, as in other matters, the link is not with Egypt, but with the patriarchs, and the antiquity of the Mosaic Law is thus shown, for if its origin is ascribed to late times, the continuity with patriarchal use could not be reasonably explained.

The relation of Greek and Egyptian mathematics is a difficult question. Without straining the statements of classical writers too much, it is



impossible to forget that the Greeks acknowledged a great debt to Egypt, and always referred to that country, rather than to Chaldaea, as the source of their mathematics and astronomy. The voyages of Pythagoras may be merely part of the legends which cling to the story of that mysterious philosopher. Plato may only have studied the moral doctrines of Egypt, but the science acquired at Heliopolis by his contemporary Eudoxus, undoubtedly gave a great impulse to astronomy in Greece. The consent of authority is too strong for doubt to be admitted, but the evidence does not allow us to state precisely how far Eudoxus improved on his Greek predecessors. Did we know this accurately, it would probably give us the measure of Egyptian science before the Greeks of Alexandria, bringing with them the advanced knowledge they had gained by their keener faculty, reacted upon the Egyptians.

#### MECHANICS.

We know much of Egyptian mechanics, not in the theoretical but in the practical branch of the science. Unhappily no treatise has yet been discovered. The evidence of the sculptures, though valuable, is scanty. Our knowledge is due to the structures themselves, and the inferences they suggest. The whole process of building, from the cutting of the stone in the quarry to its final placing in the edifice, often involving transport across the desert or by the river, and elevation to great heights, shews a great mastery of practical mechanics; and besides this the constructive contrivances are ingenious.

The Pyramids are the most characteristic Egyptian buildings, and, at the same time, those which shew the highest mechanical skill. Each pyramid, was, as a rule, the tomb of a king, usually begun at his accession, and continued so long as he reigned. It needed therefore to be built on a plan which should admit of constant enlargement and rapid completion when it was needed for a sepulchre. First of all, a suitable site had to be chosen on the low table-land of desert rising behind Memphis. Next a peg of rock was found to serve as a pivot for the structure. Within the rock, a sloping passage was cut from the north, large enough to admit of the lowering of the sarcophagus, to be placed in the sepulchral chamber at the end of the passage. The angle of the passage was, as Sir Henry James has shown, that known to mechanicians as the angle of rest, an inclination at which the weighty sarcophagus could be moved or stayed with the least application of force. Around the rock, a cubical mass of masonry with sloping sides was built, through which the sepulchral passage was continued. If the king died, all that his successor had to do was to fill in the sides and surmount the cube with a cap: the pyramid was then complete. But if the reign was prolonged, the king built around and above the original mass of masonry, so as to construct a pyramid of two, three, or more steps, of which the angles were filled in at last, and to which the cap was added.



The height of the Great Pyramid, the tomb of Khufu, or Cheops, of the Fourth Dynasty, was originally 480 feet 9 inches, and the base 764 feet. It is virtually a mass of solid masonry, for the rock must take up but a small proportion of the interior, and the chambers and passages have no appreciable relation to the whole bulk. The material chiefly employed is the limestone on which the structure stands, which was in part cleared away to make a level platform; but the finer quality, used for the casing-stones and lining of passages, was quarried on the other side of the river, nearly ten miles away; and the red granite, also used for inner casing, and for the sarcophagus, was quarried at Syene, at the extreme south of Egypt, nearly 550 miles away by the course of the river. We must remember that the Third Pyramid, now 203 feet high, was cased in part, or wholly, with granite of Syene. How did the Egyptians contrive to transport and raise these vast blocks of stone? Let us look at the whole process.

First the labour of quarrying,<sup>1</sup> without any of the modern aid of blasting, must have been enormous, especially when the hard red granite, which turns the edges of our modern steel tools, and yet was cut by bronze ones, had to be hewn out and shaped into accurate blocks. The transport to the river was not difficult, and the descent on rafts, during the high Nile, would have met no risk but from sand-banks. At this period of the year the rafts would have been brought by a canal very near the site of the Pyramid. A causeway, of which there are remains, would have made the land-transport less difficult. But it must be remembered that the only mode of moving great masses on land was by means of sledges drawn by men or oxen. So far we see only a vast expenditure of almost unaided labour; how vast we do not appreciate, for it is beyond imagination to master the tremendous work: we are constantly confused by our being unable to cast away the modern notions of facility to which we are accustomed.

All this preliminary labour was followed by the actual work of building. The Great Pyramid is not a mass of piled-up stones; it is a model of constructive skill. A sheet of paper cannot be placed between the casing-stones; and we can scarcely imagine that any mortar was spread on their sides. The passages present no roughness that could arrest the sarcophagus. Everything was exquisitely finished. Allowance was made for the pressure of the vast mass. The great chamber of the sarcophagus has no less than five small chambers above it to lighten the superincumbent weight; over the entrance of the first passage two great stones are placed in a vaulted position for the same purpose; in consequence nothing has given way.

Our real difficulty begins when we endeavour to explain any mode by which the great blocks of which the Pyramid is built were placed in position at their various heights, until the top-stone was put upon the summit, and the work of casing completed the wonder. It would be easy to find a method if it did not entail as much labour as the



building of the Pyramid itself. Rejecting any such view, the most reasonable conjecture that can be offered is that inclined planes ran along the sides of the giant steps in which the Pyramid was built, and that the stones were dragged up them by the workmen.

It is necessary here to note that when the mummy of the king had been placed in the sepulchral chamber, the entrance passage was permanently closed, and heavy portcullises lowered at intervals; this needing great mechanical skill. The chapel attached to each pyramid for the sepulchral rites was built at a suitable distance in front of it, contrary to the practice in the tombs of subjects around, in which the chapel was constructed in the mass of the masonry, or hewn in the rock.

The final closing of every pyramid, which was the universal custom, is an important fact, which is in itself enough to disprove a scientific heresy, according to which deep secrets were concealed in the heart of the Great Pyramid for the enlightenment of remote generations. Professor Piazzi Smyth does not consider the red granite sarcophagus a royal coffin, like every other sarcophagus in Egypt, but a divinely-appointed sacred standard, connecting the ancient measures with, for instance, the English inch. Yet more here, and in other parts of the Pyramid, he fancies that he sees the indications of profound astronomical truths, which were unknown to the old Egyptians. This phantasy has been pushed to the length of making the Pyramid, not alone a record of an ancient faith, but a stone prophecy of the ages to come. An Egyptologist may ridicule a theory which destroys the whole value of his labours; a logician may protest against the selection of one pyramid on which to found a hypothesis and the rejection of all others, and the choice of measurements which best suit the evolution of the fancies of the speculator; but the true answer can only be given by good mathematicians. They can explain the reasons of the proportions which have been interpreted away from their original purpose, and show how easy it is to prove anything to the uninitiated by those "dangerous playthings," numbers, which at last deceive the theorist himself. Sir Henry James, R.E., and Professor Wackerbarth of Upsala, have thus abundantly refuted the extraordinary fancies of Professor Piazzi Smyth.

It must not be forgotten that the splendid skill which has produced the mathematical exactness of the Great Pyramid, and, in a lower degree, of its fellows, is far less shown in the later monuments. The mechanical power they imply is that needed for the cutting out, transporting, finely sculpturing, and setting up the tall obelisks and massive colossi. The temples, thus adorned, were placed on the firm dry rocky surface of the desert, and the builders did not make any provision against the encroachments of the Nile, and the consequent danger to the stability of these edifices. Thus the Great Hall of Columns of El-Karnak is now in danger of destruction. The action of damp has undermined the huge pillars, and eaten into their bases; and it is to be feared that before long the splendid ruin will fall and become a shapeless heap.



## NAVIGATION.

We know that at the time when the Great Pyramid was built, bronze implements were in general use. To manufacture bronze, tin was needed. It would probably have been obtained from Britain, Bohemia, or Malacca. This fact lifts for a moment, and a moment only, the veil that covers the mysterious early history of navigation. The scanty inscriptions of the age give us no aid. Only in a very ancient medical papyrus, partly of the age of Mencheres of the Fourth Dynasty, we find prescriptions of foreign physicians. Here is another indication of relations with civilized countries.

The great document of Egyptian navigation is the story of the expedition of Queen Hatasu, daughter of Thothmes I., in the sixteenth century *b.c.*, to the spice-land (Punt), Arabia Felix and the opposite coast, when an Egyptian fleet traversed the whole length of the Red Sea, and probably passed through the Straits of Báb-el-Mandeb. Let us consider what this means. The Red Sea is notoriously difficult to navigate for sailing ships, owing to the prevalence of the north winds and the dangerous character of all courses but the narrow central channel. In the time of Queen Hatasu there were very few ports, and the shores were in the possession of savage if not hostile tribes. Yet the enterprise was safely carried through; the fleet received the submission of the people of Punt, and brought back a great store of costly tribute, including small spice trees, which were planted at Thebes in the royal garden.

Eastern traffic was known in earlier times. The oldest record is of the date of the Eleventh Dynasty. One of the sovereigns of this line founded a colony on the shore of the Red Sea, probably at the most convenient point for trade with Thebes by the desert route. This carries us several centuries farther back than the date of Hatasu; and there is no reason why the kings who built the Pyramids may not have had trading stations on the same sea. This clue would at once connect Egyptian with Chaldaean commerce. About the age of the Eleventh Dynasty the cities near the old head of the Persian Gulf, which was far northward of its present limits, had a busy trade with India. It does not matter whether the tin was transferred from Chaldaean to Egyptian ships; it is enough to have established the continuity of the trade. The remoteness of the time makes these distant voyages seem incredible; but there is no reason why the primitive navies should not have achieved as much as those of the Phœnicians. All that is needed to make the cases equal is a chain of posts for shelter and provisioning along the great route. The want of this aid forbids the idea of a trade for tin with Britain in the age of the Pyramids.

The Egyptian ships, whether of war or commerce, had a single mast with one great square sail, and a bank of oars. The rudder was double, consisting of two great oars, one on each side. They are the prototypes of the Greek and Roman galleys.

## COMPARATIVE NOTE.

Comparing the mechanical skill of the Egyptians with that of their contemporaries, there can be no doubt as to where the superiority lies. Pyramids and temples have survived the successive wars of invasion, and yet stand, where the later edifices of Greeks and Romans have disappeared, and the yet more recent works of Arab art are fast perishing. Far less severe vicissitudes have annihilated the monuments amid which the Egyptian wonders are comparatively uninjured. Chaldæa and Assyria show only shapeless ruins, or mounds which conceal, and thus preserve, the remains of ancient magnificence. The Chaldæan temples, built for joint purposes of worship and astronomical observation, were certainly intended to be enduring. For this reason, and because they probably represent the oldest type of pyramidal construction, they may well be compared to the Pyramids of Egypt. Making allowance for the poverty of their usual material, crude brick, we are still struck by the inferior mechanical skill of their builders. The edifices of Assyria, more than a thousand years later, show little, if any, advance. Though stone was used in them, it was merely for decorative purposes. Their architects could not even roof over a large hall without placing a row of columns along its centre. The Greeks again were far behind the Egyptians in constructive skill. This is sufficiently shown by their failure in the attempt to raise enduring monuments; for, while unwilling to adopt a massive style, they did not avail themselves of the constructive contrivances which the Egyptians knew, but, building massively, rarely had need to use. In their greatest works, the very principle of construction was permanence. When we remember that for many centuries the Pyramids have served as quarries to the successive Muslim rulers of Egypt, who have had their capitals on the opposite bank of the Nile, as we observe their clear, crystalline outlines\* still sharply cutting the deep blue sky, we are lost in wonder at the durability of these prodigious works which neither man nor time have been able to destroy.

It is a more difficult problem where to rank the Egyptians amid the navigators of antiquity. We must first know who manned their ships, whether natives or foreigners; next, how far they voyaged. At present it seems that the Phœnicians deserve a higher place, perhaps the highest, among the old seafaring races, the brave pioneers of trade, art, and civilization along the barbarous shores of unknown seas. The Phœnicians were bold sailors, great discoverers, politic colonizers, the most commercial, the most selfish, and the most useful of all the peoples of the ancient world.

\* This comparison is due to Miss Edwards' charming book, "A Thousand Miles up the Nile."



## MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

The statement of Manetho, the Egyptian historian, that one of the earliest native kings was a physician, and wrote anatomical books, and that another was famous for his knowledge of medicine, has received indirect confirmation from three medical papyri, which are assigned in their titles to the reigns of kings of this remote age, though our copies date from the time of the Empire. We are thus admitted to witness the theory and practice of medicine in the time of the Pyramid-building kings; and we are astonished to find that their physicians were, on the practical side, not much behind ours of three hundred years ago. How far they had advanced in theory is very difficult to conjecture. Manetho's mention of anatomical books implies a knowledge of anatomy. Though the practice of embalming would have taught something of the science, it may be doubted whether any farther dissection than what was needful for this purpose was allowed. It seems that even the necessary work of the embalmer, so far as it was anatomical, was hateful to the people. The only theory we know of is that of the vital principle, which seems to have implied a notion of the circulation of the blood. On the other hand the diagnosis of disease admitted the influence of evil spirits.

The physicians were, in the Saïte period, divided into specialists, aurists, oculists, dentists, and others for diseases of different parts of the body. The teeth of the mummies show the excellence of the dental practice, which had discovered the art of stopping with gold. Food was considered to be the cause of all diseases, and consequently medicine was periodically administered. The diagnosis appears to have been careful. The medicines were internal and external. The pharmacopœia must have been large. More than fifty vegetable medicines are cited, besides other kindred materia, minerals, and animal substances, including hartshorn. The mediums were various. In maladies attributed to evil agencies, magical incantations accompanied ordinary remedies, and in nervous affections we cannot doubt that the one method may have been more effective than the other.\*

## COMPARATIVE NOTE.

In medicine certainly the Egyptians deserve a high place. It is noteworthy that their medical books belong to the earliest age, showing that the art of healing had, from the very beginning of their historic existence, claimed special attention. At the same time it is a startling proof of the stationary tendency of their science, that in fifteen hundred or two thousand years these ancient manuals had not become obsolete. The same phenomenon, however, is seen in the Arab reverence for Galen.

\* See on this subject Maspero, "*Hist. Anc.*" p. 81 *seq.*

## ART.

## MUSIC.

The greatest and most characteristic Egyptian art was architecture, to which sculpture and painting were subservient; but music also flourished, and if we know less of it, this is because dumb records have alone survived. This cultivation of music is quite in keeping with high skill in architecture, for these two arts are the most closely allied, expressing, as they do, the rhythm of sound and that of form. This is why the home of music is in splendid edifices; why the two arts suggest one another to the mind, as in the Greek fables, which tell how cities arose to the melody of the lyre.

We can however but speculate as to the music which made the services of the temples solemn, and cheered the feasts, in ancient Egypt. There are representations of many ancient instruments, and some have been discovered in the tombs, for the sacred harper wished that his silent harp should be laid beside his mummy, and the cymbals and the flute were placed with those who had once been skilled in their use. Something may be conjectured from the forms of these instruments, but as no notation was then invented, there is no clue to the nature of the music. We cannot doubt that it consisted of melody without harmony; generally used in accompaniment to the voice, singer and player being often one, except when the player also danced. If we may suppose that the centuries that have passed have not radically changed the tradition, modern Egyptian music may be nearest to that of antiquity. It too is without harmony, and it is in the minor key, which would suit the old melodies, of which the chief was the dirge of the harper. Farther we cannot go. The volumes that have been written on ancient music are for the most part useless speculation as to that which can never be known; for, from the nature of the case, the early history of the art must always be hidden from us.

## ARCHITECTURE.

Architecture, as already said, was the great art of Egypt; sculpture and painting were but its handmaids. The Egyptian statues were usually parts of an architectural design; painting was used as wall-decoration. In Greece, temples were built to contain statues; and the sculptures which were parts of the general design of an edifice had a higher interest than its architectural forms. Even painting advanced from serving as purely mural decoration to be an independent art. But the architecture of Egypt was complete in itself; its imaginative quality made it express in the fittest form the ideas which suggested it, and tell their story to the succeeding ages. In all else the Egyptian genius, having once attained its highest point of achievement in remote antiquity, remained stationary, or had but fitful movements. In architecture we see a sure advance; and what is still more noteworthy, a power of



receiving and expressing foreign ideas in a fresh development that was yet truly native. It is worth while to trace the history and sum up the characteristics of this most ancient school of art.

Darkness overshadows the beginnings of Egyptian art. It has been thought that the earliest tombs of the age of the Third Dynasty show a primitive rudeness, yet the statues found in them are unexcelled by any later works of their kind: they are, indeed, rarely equalled. The signs of infancy are in the architecture and reliefs, while the separate sculptures shew maturity. Such a contradiction needs explanation; but that which has been suggested cannot be the true one. Under the Fourth Dynasty we find a fully-developed art never afterwards excelled in its peculiar direction. Like the first mature school of every art, it is the best manifestation of the national sentiment which, in later growth, loses its original directness of purpose and fulness of expression.

In the art of the Pyramid age we see the desire for enduring monuments which should typify the belief in immortality which awoke that desire. It is, before all things, an art to last while the world lasts, and to outlive all around it. The disappearance of the Great Pyramid would as much surprise us as the disappearance of a well-known mountain. It seems part of the landscape, free from the human heritage of decay which has crumbled all monuments of later ages within the vast scene we scan from its summit. The forms have no variations in line, or decorations of surface, which could perish with the wear of time. More than this their stern simplicity of geometrical shape suggests the idea of eternity, as if they were the embodiments of ideas such as the Platonists conceived. All around the great monuments is in severe harmony with them. The tombs have the same typical lines, the same typical forms. If they are decorated, the colours are primitive, green alone being added. These colours represent red and green jasper, lapis lazuli, gold, ivory, and ebony; and it is interesting to note that the Phœnician craftsman who decorated the gateway of Khorsabad, in coloured tiles, actually represented on a larger scale work in these materials, precious stones set in borders of gold. The subjects are arranged in harmony with the main design, the only rich adornment being the imitation of wood-work, which again maintains a strict simplicity. If the so-called temple of the Sphinx be of this age, and not still earlier, it is even more in character with the Pyramids than are the lesser tombs. Its stern forms admit nothing of the facility with which those of the temples of the Empire suggested new adaptations. Its grand plainness is a marvellous contrast to their rich adornment.

The abandonment under the Theban Kings of vast royal tombs is coincident with the appearance of new architectural forms. The monuments are scanty, but they are all marked by a less massive form, and a greater tendency to variety. The square columns of the porticoes of the earlier age are cut into the many faces that suggested the Doric shaft: a hall is supported by pillars which have both shaft and capital



formed of a bundle of papyrus reeds, the capital taking the shape of the bud. In the same age obelisks appear. Had we more monuments we might be able to define better the art of this time. As we know it, it appears to mark a transition between the simple style of the Memphite Kings and the developed art of the Empire.

The new style, of which there are abundant monuments, may truly be called a development, for it proceeds strictly upon the old lines; but like all growth there is in it a departure from the clear expression of its predecessor. It was indeed due to a national movement, but that movement took its direction from the idea of imperial power. Therefore the expression of durability gave way, in some degree, to that of splendour. The varied forms necessary to the new direction not only failed to convey the old sentiment as simply as before, but in their very nature they could not enforce it by their indestructible quality. Yet had we never seen the Pyramids, the massive strength of the great temples of the Empire would make the same first impression. It is only by comparison that they lose, and we become sensible of the new idea.

Hence it is that we cannot judge of the monuments of the Empire without some analysis of their plan. A temple of this age is not always the same, as is a pyramid. New principles of art produce varied forms.

The main outlines of the temples, as seen in the entrance gateway of the outer court, the front of the building, and the face, or doorway of each successive court or chamber, preserve the sloping lines characterizing the modified pyramidal structures of the private tombs which surround the Pyramids. The sides and back, like the wall of enclosure, are perpendicular. The roofs are horizontal. Thus the ancient principle of the private tombs was maintained, and the mass of the exterior presented the same solid aspect. These severe outlines were only broken by a simple cornice. A pair of obelisks near the main entrance varied the monotony of the horizontal lines, and close to the front were attached towering flag-staffs: other obelisks were raised in the inner courts, especially when their portals were winged.

The details of the interior show a wide deviation from the simplicity of the oldest forms, in the direction suggested by the works of the Twelfth Dynasty. The courts are surrounded by single or double colonnades. The great Hall of Assembly is supported by a forest of massive columns, the higher central avenue with capitals in the shape of the papyrus flower, the lower lateral avenues with capitals of the bud of the same plant. The so-called Osiridean columns, in which a figure of the king as Osiris is sculptured on the outer of the four faces, now appear in the courts. These are the ordinary types. The old severity is obeyed in this limitation. The old desire to produce the sense of durability, and the immeasurable, is seen in three laws. Symmetrophobia, shown in the placing columns of different orders opposite



one another, and a colonnade on one side only of a court, increases the sense of magnitude. Still more so does the gradual diminution in the area of the courts and halls, while the height is maintained. But the greatest effect is produced by the size and massive proportions of the columns, and in the Hall of Assembly by their nearness to one another, which, in most positions, forbids the spectator to see any end of the number of the mighty shafts which rise around him. He feels this now that the Hall is roofless, and the glare of day reveals every corner. He can only guess what the impression would have been when but a faint light was admitted through the barred windows of the clerestory.

The decorations, sculptured and coloured, filled every space of walls, columns, and ceiling. The severe antique scale was maintained, but a greater richness was produced by the more complete colouring, the blank ground being lessened, and the aim being to produce rather brilliancy than a subdued beauty.

Thus while the outer view recalls the old severity of form, with its noble associations, the splendour of the sight within displays the imperial magnificence that produced this new direction of Egyptian art. Yet there is no luxuriance of decay. The taste is uncorrupted. The beauty of line and curve shows that if this were an age of national decay, it was an age of the full beauty of national art in its most splendid phase.

Thus far there is indeed change but not decay. The sense of proportion is not lost in the largest masses or in the smallest details. Fashion has changed more than twice in the art of the scenes which adorn the walls, yet it has not become corrupt.

The fall of the Ramessides was marked by the decline of art. We watch in the royal tombs the work of uncertain hands showing the gradual loss of skill. Dynasty after dynasty witnessed the slow decay that seemed to presage a hopeless end. The sense of proportion and of form was in everything more and more lost, until we wonder in the temples at the tasteless work which never, save in some fragment of beauty, attained the excellence of the earlier originals which stood by its side.

The national revival which seated the Saïte kings of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty upon the throne of Egypt produced a renaissance of national art. The architects and sculptors of this age discarded at once the traditions of the Empire, and returned to the severe elegance of the Twelfth Dynasty. Their buildings were small and simple, but most delicately sculptured. They delighted in little monolithic sanctuaries and sarcophagi of the finest and hardest materials, covered with the most delicate sculptures. It is a labour of copyists; but they are intelligent, and work with love. It is the return of the Egyptians with longing to the old types of the most truly national life. Hence its success. But the Saïte revival lacked the vital force which could maintain it through the troublous age of the Persian conquest and dominion; and though the last



native kings strove again to revive the revival, their effort was but partly successful.

At the coming of the Greek rulers, who almost at once followed these Egyptian kings, native art seemed to have fallen to its lowest depth. All the strength and grace of form had disappeared. The hieratic rules were still obeyed; but the clear eye and firm hand of the ancient artist was gone, and the very sense of beauty seemed to have vanished.

Suddenly there came a new impulse. The earlier Ptolemies were national kings. They became Pharaohs among their Egyptian subjects, supporting the religion and the manners of their adopted country. The third of these politic sovereigns, Euergetes the Benefactor, won the affection of the people by restoring in his Syrian war the images which the Persians had carried away. Thus Egyptian and Greek met together to learn from one another, and so there arose a new and splendid art, influenced by Hellenic forms of architecture, still Egyptian indeed, yet having the distinct marks of foreign ideas.

Here I can only notice the reaction which brought back to Egypt in new forms the gift she made ages before to the intelligence of Greece. One chief object of these papers is to show how Egypt affected other countries, not how they affected Egypt, but in this case I must deviate from my plan so far as to tell how in her seeming decrepitude the ancient country once more revived at the touch of genius, another proof of the flexible power of a race we are too much used to consider immovably conservative.

The discovery is due to the marvellous insight of Mariette. In his long and laborious study of the great temple of Dendara, he was astonished to see that this edifice, built at the end of the Ptolemaic rule, expressed in its plan the doctrine of Plato, the master spirit of the university of Alexandria in the same age. The old want of system is here exchanged for method. Each part of the temple has its fit object in due sequence. The King presents himself as a suppliant at the great door which he alone could enter. He passes from rite to rite through the successive chambers, and at last, in the innermost sanctuary, before the golden instrument of music, the sistrum, which was the emblem of the goddess of beauty, Athor, he wins the knowledge of the three great ideas of Platonic philosophy, the Beautiful, the True, and the Good. The hymns which cover the walls, translating into Egyptian language the thoughts of Greek philosophy, may have an Epicurean sound, but the Platonic theory rules the whole.

It was impossible that such a mental impulse should not find expression in form as well as in words. Though the old skill of hand and knowledge of proportion had departed, the feeling for beauty was not dead. Thus while the art of the details of a Ptolemaic temple wearies us, that of its masses delights us with a new splendour of form and colour. The old capitals of the columns are discarded or modified. Instead of two main types, we have so many that no four capitals in a portico several



rows in depth need be alike. And these forms, though wanting the ancient sense of proportion, are beautiful in their fanciful variety, for they are suggested by the shapes of Greek architecture. The old scale of colour is discarded and blended tones are introduced. The brilliant earlier Egyptian decoration was suited to full day, or to artificial twilight. The Ptolemaic is exquisite in the clear light of the interior of a hall with open roof, the beautiful Hypæthral Hall of the temple of Philæ. Had the artists of this age been as vigorous as those of the older times their work would have been the most beautiful in all Egypt. With its defects it has a splendid originality that gives it high rank among the great styles of the world.

The qualities of Egyptian art cannot be summed up in a few words, yet some idea may be suggested. This art had an object, and having expressed it as fully as any human work has done, never wholly forgot its true function. Constructive skill it has. Imitation it shows in the power of following Nature and even other art, while still true to its principles of form. It displays fancy always in its decorative skill, but most of all when stimulated by Greek ideas. Above all, it shows imagination, for we never look at an Egyptian building without being startled by the force with which it expresses one great idea, simple or else complex, yet still strong in its unity. The true sense of proportion is here. The knowledge of colour is never wanting to complete it.

#### COMPARATIVE NOTE.

No long comparison need be made between the art of the Egyptians and that of their Oriental rivals. The great temples of the Chaldæan cities were merely buildings of the most elementary kind. The Assyrian palaces have higher claims to art. Yet as compositions they are far inferior to the Egyptian temples. Instead of presenting a system of well-proportioned courts and halls, they are merely aggregates of rooms, the larger of which are without symmetry, from the desire to enclose a great space, while the architects were unable to span a wide roof. The merit of these palaces was in their wall-decorations. The lower part of the walls was covered with slabs, the sculptures of which often show much skill, and in the latest period excel those of Egypt. The upper part was covered with porcelain bricks of simple colours, arranged in patterns which have much merit, though they show a poverty of invention.

The Phœnicians again never rivalled the Egyptians. They were metal-workers, and not architects. Fergusson has well said that the artificers of Solomon's temple were smiths, not masons. Even as metal-workers they lacked originality. Serving every ruling fashion of commerce, they borrowed in succession Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greek designs. Yet all they did shows a surprising faculty of adaptation, and a native skill which coloured each phase of Phœnician work with an unmistakable hue of its own.

The debt the Phœnicians owed to Egypt opens a very curious inquiry.

The Egyptian representations of tribute of works in gold, silver and bronze, the wonders of the great craftsmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries before the Christian era, must be compared with the treasures of Mycenæ and the patterns at Orchomenos, if we would know the oldest Phœnician style. The origin is clearly Egyptian, yet even in this remote age we can discern the Phœnician characteristics. The next link is found in the description of Solomon's Temple and the oldest metal-work from Assyria and Cyprus. Still we are in the presence of the Egyptian style. The Assyrian and the Cyprian metal-work then show us a mixed Egyptian and Assyrian style and treatment, in which Assyrian taste finally supersedes Egyptian. This history is an important element in our comparative view, for it shows the fruitfulness of Egyptian art. The inquiry might indeed be traced onward, and the elements which Greek art borrowed from Egypt might be explained, but as they came through a Phœnician medium, and, for the most part, after that medium had been coloured by Assyrian influence, it is of less interest to follow the descent of style in this new direction.

To put any art by the side of that of Greece is the severest test. The sense of measure and form in the three great provinces of architecture, sculpture, and painting was never so fully given to any other people. Yet if, in imagination, we see an Egyptian temple or pyramid beside the Parthenon, we are conscious of a loftier idea and a more forcible expression in the older work. We can never say of the Great Pyramid that measure and form are wanting, or that it has not surpassed our conception of human limitations.

At the moment when the mummies of some of the great Pharaohs have been yielded up by their secret catacomb, and have revisited the upper air once more, what need is there to plead for the interest of ancient Egypt? The trivial questions of the day are put aside as we look across the vast space of time to the old civilization which has these lips eloquent, though dumb, for its advocates. France has done her duty to science nobly; Germany shares the glory; why should England refuse the appeal which Professor Maspero has made?

REGINALD STUART POOLE.



## THE CANADIAN TARIFF.

ENGLAND is angry with Canada about the new Canadian tariff; and angry she would have a right to be if the tariff were, as she seems to suppose, Protectionist and directed against the mother country.

Directed against the mother country with any unkind intention it is impossible that the Canadian tariff, or any other measure adopted by Canada, should be. The feeling of British Canadians towards England is as warm as any reasonable Englishman can desire. The French are French, and their hearts turn to their own mother country. The Irish are Irish, though less Fenian than their compatriots in the United States, as their conduct with regard to the Land League has shown. But the British of all parties retain their affection for England. The gradual relaxation of the political tie has only strengthened the natural bond.

Nor is the Canadian tariff Protectionist, except in relation to the coal tax, which is imposed avowedly for the purpose of compelling Western Canada to burn Nova Scotia coal, but does not concern England. It is not Protectionist, at least in its main object or in its direct intention, though it may be said to have a Protectionist or quasi-Protectionist aspect to which reference shall presently be made. It is the offspring of sheer fiscal necessity. There was a large and growing deficit, which it was imperative to fill. There were only three ways of filling it: further borrowing, direct taxation, and an increase of the import duties. Further borrowing would have been profligate; it would of course have impaired our credit, and would only have staved off the need; the English creditors of Canada, at all events, would not have desired that we should take this course. From direct taxation all statesmen in communities like Canada shrink on political and social, as well as on financial grounds. An increase of the import duties alone

remained. The effect has been an addition to the revenue, which has not only filled the deficit, but produced a surplus, though of what amount it would not be safe to say before next winter, when the Finance Minister will make his statement. The character of the tariff as a revenue tariff is thus vindicated by the result. The writer of this paper has been assured by leading commercial men in Canada, who are in principle Free Traders, and who are unconnected with politics, that the measure on the whole was as well framed as the circumstances would permit; and the Opposition, while as a matter of course it has denounced the Government plan, has as yet propounded no counter plan of its own. The object, announced from the Throne, was not the protection of native industry, but the equalization of revenue with expenditure, and the framers are men who have always professed Free Trade sentiments, besides being the heads of the Conservative and Imperialist Party.

The tariff is directed, if against anybody, against the people of the United States, who were excluding Canada from their markets, and at the same time throwing their surplus goods, whenever there was a glut, at very low prices into the markets of Canada, not perhaps in large quantities, but in such a way as to derange the calculations of Canadian manufacturers, and prevent, so it was alleged, the free growth of Canadian enterprise. There is a rider to the tariff providing that if the United States will lower their duties, Canada will lower hers. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues are, in fact, able to boast that the result of their policy has been a diminished importation of American, and an increased importation of British goods, though it would be unsafe to join in their exultation without knowing the statistics of smuggling, which, on that long and perfectly open frontier, always goes on to a large extent, and has no doubt increased since the raising of the duties on American goods, being in fact the irregular protest of Nature against an artificial line.

The Canadian tariff, we repeat, is the offspring of sheer fiscal necessity. And how was the fiscal necessity produced? How comes it to pass that, though Canada has had no Civil War, and her defence is mainly undertaken by England, her financial condition is now actually worse than that of the United States,—that her public debt is heavier in proportion to her population, and much heavier in proportion to her wealth than theirs,—that while their debt is being rapidly reduced, hers is still increasing,—and that her most experienced financier, Sir Francis Hincks, finds it his duty to warn her, in the *Montreal Journal of Commerce*, that her liabilities are being piled up at a most dangerous rate, and that the reckoning day is at hand? The answer will show that Imperialism, though it may be a magnificent policy, is a policy for which you pay, and that for the increased duties laid by her North-American Colonists on her goods, England has mainly herself to thank.

Of the public debt of Canada, half, at least, may be set down to the



account of public works, undertaken not so much for the commercial objects of the Colony, as for the political objects of the Empire, and especially to the account of a vast system of political and military railways, destined to carry into effect a policy of British antagonism to the United States.

On the political map the Dominion of Canada, since the annexation of British Columbia, appears a solid mass of territory, broken only by Alaska, and nearly equalling in extent the territory of the United States. Such is the picture which Imperialist rhetoric always presents, while Imperialist ambition sees in the vast expanse the destined seat of an Empire which shall balance the dreaded power of the Republic, and wrest from Democracy a noble cantling of the New World. But take the physical map, and it will appear that instead of being a solid mass, the Dominion is made up of four separate blocks of territory, lying along the skirt of the region of ice and snow, destitute of any but political unity, and separated from each other by formidable, if not insurmountable, barriers of Nature. The four are—the Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island; Canada, French and British, now the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario; Manitoba, with the rest of the Provinces to be formed out of the Prairie Region of the North-West; and British Columbia. The peopled parts of the Maritime Provinces are cut off from Old Canada by the State of Maine, and by the wastes through which, hardly taking up a passenger or a bale of freight, the Intercolonial Railway runs. Old Canada is cut off from the Prairie Region of the North-West by the great inland sea called Lake Superior, the Southern shore of which belongs to the United States, the Northern shore to winter and desolation, while navigation is closed during more than half the year. The Prairie Region is cut off from British Columbia by a series of mountain ranges presenting formidable difficulties to the engineer, and, as has been stated, to the working of railways when constructed. The natural connection of the Maritime Provinces is with Maine and the other Eastern States: the natural connection of Old Canada is with the Northern States and with Pennsylvania, from which it draws its coal: the natural connection of the Prairie Region is with Minnesota and the other States of the West, from which it is divided by nothing but a political line: the natural connection of British Columbia is with California. The natural route from the Maritime Provinces to Old Canada is through Maine: the natural route from Old Canada to the Prairie Region is by the South Shore of Lake Superior, starting from the Sault Ste. Marie: the natural access to British Columbia is from California. The want of commercial unity between the four territories is not less marked than their want of geographical unity, of which it is the consequence. To reconcile the Maritime Provinces to a Canadian tariff, it has been found necessary, as we have seen, to give them a protective duty on their coal; and the Opposition, while it denounces



the Government policy as Protectionist, has been restrained by its fear of losing the votes of the Maritime Provinces from saying a word against that which is in reality the only Protectionist tax of the whole.

Now Imperialism has undertaken, in defiance of Nature and of all those economical considerations by which Free Traders say that the world ought to be governed, to weld these four separate territories into a united empire, and to cut them off for ever commercially as well as politically from the rest of the Continent by a line of political and military railroads carried from ocean to ocean entirely within the territory of the Dominion. The Eastern wing of this line is the Intercolonial Railway, intended to knit the Maritime Provinces to Old Canada. The construction of this road is enjoined upon the Dominion by the Imperial Act of Confederation, and was promoted by an Imperial guarantee. It has cost about thirty millions of dollars. It has been worked hitherto by Government at an annual loss. Herculean efforts are just now being made to exhibit it as self-supporting; that it will ever pay interest on the outlay is what nobody pretends to believe; but an experienced railway president, a man certainly not unfavourable to the policy of which the road is an embodiment, told the writer of this paper, that the average annual loss in his opinion was not likely to fall short of half a million, which if capitalized would bring the total outlay up to forty millions. The direct route through Maine is likely soon to be opened, and when it is opened it is difficult to see how the Intercolonial Railway is to continue to be worked at all. The most enthusiastic Imperialist can hardly be sanguine enough to believe that passengers will travel, and shippers send their goods two hundred miles round for the patriotic purpose of maintaining a military and political road.

As a military road, the Intercolonial is pronounced by military men a failure. The portion of it running near the frontier of Maine, would, as soon as war broke out, fall into the hands of the enemy. Nor does its success as a bond of political union between the provinces appear much greater. The Nova Scotia correspondent of the *Toronto Globe*, a strongly Imperialist journal, said not long ago:—

“He would be an unfaithful chronicler of current events who, writing from Nova Scotia at present, should ignore the fact that there is a very large element of dissatisfaction, which rises above the conflict of political parties, and strikes at the constitution itself. In city and country, from all parts of the Province, one hears of a sentiment which is expressed in the significant word Repeal. At no time during the past decade was that ominous word on so many lips as now. It cannot be said that this is the result of agitation, for there has been no agitation. There is no repeal movement. There are no repeal leaders. And yet Repeal—Secession would be a more correct term, perhaps, but I use the word I hear—is talked of in all quarters as a most desirable thing.”

The writer goes on to show that the disaffection is caused, not by the new tariff or by any particular grievance, but by general dissatisfaction with the results of confederation. A Conservative journal in



Ontario was complaining the other day that a large party—the party now supposed to be the majority—in the Maritime Provinces, thought and spoke of Canada as a foreign country. The representatives of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, in fact, go to Ottawa mainly to attend to their provincial interests; they can hardly be said to have blended with the old Canadian parties; they form three flying squadrons for the support of which the old Canadian parties bid against each other.

The western wing of the Imperialist line is the Canadian Pacific, in the construction of which, by the hands of a company, the Dominion is now engaged, and which, like the Intercolonial, has received a British guarantee. It consists of three sections: that along the north shore of Lake Superior; that through the Prairie Region; and that running from the Prairie Region through the mountain ranges which divide that region from British Columbia and through British Columbia itself to the Pacific. The section to the north of Lake Superior is said to present tremendous engineering difficulties, the route being scored with the wide and deep beds of primæval rivers; and we are told that in this, as in the mountain section, the climate is likely to interfere with the working of the road in winter. Eminent commercial men in Canada hold that the construction and working of this section for about 700 miles will be a dead loss. It is difficult to believe that the mountain section will be profitable, since British Columbia, when it is reached, has a population of twenty thousand whites and about forty thousand Indians. That any port in British Columbia will wrest the Pacific trade from San Francisco, can seem probable only when we see it done.

Railways opening up the Prairie Region will of course pay, and pay well, if that region is in fertility and general fitness for settlement any thing like what we suppose. But a single road will only open up a belt of fifty miles, half that distance being as far as a farmer can draw grain in a day. Moreover, this single road is laid out, not in accordance with the behests of commerce, but in compliance with the requirements of the political line. The consequence is, that the Company, into whose hands the construction and working of the line have now been happily transferred from those of Government, is obliged to demand that a restriction shall be laid on the construction of commercial lines which would carry off the traffic from the Government line, though the restriction can hardly fail to be injurious to the commercial development of the Province, and is not unlikely to be the source of future discontent and strife.

The region to the north of Lake Superior is no doubt rich in wood, the conveyance of which may for a time furnish traffic for the road, especially as in the Prairie Region there is a lack of fuel. But when the country is cleared, the timber trade ends, and the district is deserted unless the land can be brought under the plough. Even while



the timber trade lasts, it will not much promote the political object of the railway. The Prairie Region will still be severed from Old Canada by a vast wilderness, peopled only by a few lumbering parties, and as estranging as any sea.

Under the agreement ratified in the last Session of the Canadian Parliament, Canada gives the Company formed for the construction of the road, twenty-five millions of dollars in cash, thirty-one millions in completed works (including surveys), and twenty-five millions of acres of land, besides exempting its materials from import duties, and its lands and works from taxes. These were the best terms that could be made for us by negotiators so able as Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, the latter of whom was charged with having received a bribe, but without a shadow of evidence, and against all the probabilities, the organizers of the Company being, fortunately for the country, men of the highest character, whom no one but a violent partisan could suspect of resorting to corruption. The country acquiesced with a groan, feeling that the price was enormous, feeling also that there was great danger in creating such a power as this huge railway and land-owning company in the North-West, but being willing at almost any cost and risk to be saved from the gulf of public corruption, which yawned before it while the work and all the contracts connected with it were in the hands of Government. In a community such as Canada, the waste of money on useless public works is not a greater evil than their tendency to beget corruption. An experienced politician is reputed to have said that the Intercolonial Railway ought to keep any Government in power for ten years. The present undertaking began with the Pacific Railway Scandal, and the results of an inquiry now in progress have already shown that it has gone on as it began.

Nor, large as is the price now paid, is it likely that the Dominion will be quit of liability for the future. Manitoba and the other provinces to be carved out of the North-West will hardly have an acre of land which they can call their own. They are precluded from taxing land in the hands either of the Government or of the Company. They will therefore have to come upon the Dominion for the expenses of their administration, and if their votes chance ever to be greatly in request, they will probably come upon it with a vengeance.

The character of the Pacific Railway as a political line is stamped by the fact that its construction is undertaken in fulfilment of a treaty with British Columbia, made for the purpose of incorporating that province with the Dominion, not perhaps without an eye to the acquisition, by the party in power, of the British Columbian vote. Like the Intercolonial, it has received an Imperial guarantee. Its efficiency as a bond of political union remains yet to be proved. Hitherto British Columbia has really done nothing but extort money by threats of secession from the Confederation. The idea which appears to be entertained at the Colonial Office that confederations can be made at will



where they are not suggested by any necessity such as that of mutual defence against an assailant and ratified by Nature, is not borne out by experience. Artificial union seems to develop latent antagonisms in proportion to the strictness of the bond. Even the Eastern provinces have been held in the Confederation to a rather ominous extent by pecuniary concessions, styled "Better Terms."

The lands of the North-West, which, in virtue of a grant from England, the Ottawa Government has, with indisputable legality, been treating as absolutely its own and using to defray the cost of a policy of Imperial aggrandizement, were morally the heritage of communities unborn, and their price, if they were to be sold, ought to have been applied in the first instance to the development of the country in which those communities were to dwell. The communities are now born; they will grow; they will become powerful; and in time they will bethink them of their misappropriated heritage. This is a probability of the future, and of the not very distant future, which calls for serious consideration on the part of all whom it may concern. Canadian statesmen, even the best of them, are forced by the exigencies of the party system to live pretty much from hand to mouth, and if the questions of the future are pressed upon them to say, "After me the Deluge." Commerce, therefore, if she is interested in the future, will have to exercise forecast for herself.

An opponent of Imperialism is not likely to take a sanguine view of the prospects of an Imperialist enterprise. But nothing can look less promising than an attempt to put eternal severance, commercial and social, as well as political, between the people of English-speaking race in Canada and those on the other side of the line. The two countries are completely interlocked; the four masses of territory belonging to the Canadians being in fact projections, varying greatly in size, of the habitable and cultivable continent mainly occupied by the Americans into the realm of snow. The Western States cannot do without the St. Lawrence; Canada is indebted to the United States for winter ports, and for the transmission of her goods in bond, by stopping which the Americans would be able, at any time, to put on her a very serious pressure. The people are identical in race, language, character, religion, and fundamental institutions. Canadians go to settle in the States by tens of thousands; they go with as little hesitation or compunction as a Yorkshireman has in going to settle in London. The Canadian farmer, who, in answer to a leading question put by an English visitor, vows that he is devoted to Monarchy and could not live in a Republic, is off next day to Minnesota or Dakota. The journalist who pens the ultra-loyal invectives against annexation which you read with delight to-day, will to-morrow be on the Press of New York. A military college is founded at great expense for the purpose of training officers to command the armies of Canada against the Americans; about the first cadet who passes sets up as an engineer at Chicago. Americans



are getting the railways and other commercial enterprises of Canada more and more into their hands. One of our two great telegraph lines is leased to an American, and an appeal made to the meeting against the proposal on patriotic grounds fell perfectly dead. The very Company to which the construction of the Pacific Railway has been consigned is in part American, and has its head-quarters at St. Paul, in Minnesota. The natural routes between the provinces of the Dominion are, as has been already said, through the territory of the United States. Access to the markets of the United States for the lumber which is her staple and for other products is to Canada a vital necessity, and no trade, either with England or with any other distant countries can possibly make up to her for its loss. Nature has in every way put her ban upon this enterprise, and though expense ruinous to Canada may be incurred, and her commercial interests may be sacrificed in the attempt, the ban will not be removed.

To the expenditure on Canadian public works in general a percentage may be said to have been added by deflection from the line of commercial advantage in the interest of Imperial policy. Of this the Rideau Canal is an example.

Another source of waste and consequent deficit is the needlessly complicated and expensive character of the form of government given to Canada by the Act of Confederation. For less than four millions and a half of people we have eight petty monarchies, one central and seven local, with their respective cabinets, and eight legislatures, all the members of which are paid. Unfortunately, the loss of money is not the worst part of this system; the worst parts are the creation of a numerous class of office-seeking politicians, and the propagation of a fatal tendency to desert honest labour and seek to live upon the public. The Dominion is fast becoming in this respect an exaggerated counterpart of the United States.

That Canada has an organized force of four hundred thousand men, and that its whole population has on several occasions sprung to arms, in a state of perfect readiness to take the field, are preposterous fables, and it is to be hoped that the Commission of Inquiry into Colonial Defences will put an end to the rodomontading on this subject. That Canadians have high military qualities, has been more than once proved; but they would show little sense if, instead of earning their livelihood, as Nature calls them under somewhat stern conditions to do, they were to spend their time in amateur soldiering. Yet a good deal of money has been and is still being wasted on military preparations against a foe who will never come, and whom, if he did come, with his immense superiority of numbers and resources, it would be impossible to resist. In the meantime indispensable services are starved. The special wealth of Canada are her forests, and these are being devastated year after year by fires, kindled by recklessness and sometimes by malice, for want of a proper forest guard. The police, too, is inadequate: the



other day we had a sanguinary case of lynching in the heart of Ontario, and the Provincial Government has been trying in vain to bring people to justice for a violent and ruthless act of self-redress, which was the consequence of its own inability to enforce law.

Let us have sentiment by all means, as well as that material well-being for which alone Manchester is supposed to care, though in fact she has just been founding a university, and is as generous in promoting high objects of every kind as any city in the world. But of all sentiment the most unquestionably good is that which gathers round a happy home, and of this material welfare is the indispensable condition, talk as grandly about empire as you will. In Hare's "*Memorials of a Quiet Life*," there is a story of a farm-labourer who, having been allowed to spend a few days beside his mother's death-bed without having his wages stopped, was so overpowered by such unwonted and un hoped-for kindness, that he could never speak of it without tears. This peasant was one of the lords of an empire on which the sun never sets. It is well to remember that the empire about which those proud words were first uttered was that of Spain, on which the sun has set to rise no more.

Imperialist policy is all the time cutting its own throat. By running Canada into debt it has forced her to lay heavy duties on English goods, and thus to break the commercial unity and contravene the commercial policy of the empire. By the same process it has repelled from the Confederation Newfoundland, who, not wanting to put her back under the burden, decisively refuses to come in. It has also helped to frustrate its own plans in South Africa, where the people, being bidden to look at the results of confederation in Canada, did look, as the debate in the Cape Parliament showed; saw what the results in the financial department were; and, instead of following the example proposed to them, profited by the warning. Nay, the very annexation of the North-West, which was to give the anti-American empire substance and a backbone, is not unlikely to prove the instrument of dissolution. The North-West will not be peopled in the main by British farmers, who, though excellent agriculturists, are indifferent pioneers, and if they wish to emigrate, would do better on the farms of Old Canada, especially on those of Ontario, many of which are being left vacant by Canadian farmers moving to the new territory or to the States. It will not be peopled by Irish peasants, who are hardly farmers at all, and who, set down in a solitude, and in a climate which must be intolerably severe for those who are not well clothed and housed, would soon be compelled to move South. It will be peopled, like the Western States of the Union, chiefly by the onward march of population on the continent itself. A large proportion of the settlers will probably be Americans; and in that remote region, with its new and motley population, the loyalist traditions of Old Canada and her memories of the war of 1812, already faint in their original seat, will hardly find a place. The great



provinces of the North-West will become the dominant power in the Confederation; and everything will draw them towards a union with the United States.

The tariff, though not in the proper sense Protectionist, has a quasi-protectionist aspect; this has been already admitted. Taxes imposed on foreign goods afford incidental protection to goods of the same kind made at home. At the preceding election the country had been swept by the cry of "National policy," that is to say, a fiscal system adjusted to the special interests of Canadian manufactures, in which the people were led to believe they would find a cure for the commercial depression then prevailing; and the change has been followed by a rush, probably too great a rush, of capital into enterprises of that kind.

It may be at once granted that to Canada a protectionist system would be ruinous. She is not like the United States, a self-sufficing continent, but a country with a range of production narrowly limited by climate, and with small markets, whereas now, manufactures having become highly specialized, large markets are indispensable to success. Nor can the general principle of Free Trade, either in regard to production or distribution, appear otherwise than evidently true, from whatever point on the earth it may be viewed. Still the circumstances of England are special; the theories of her economists can hardly escape being to some extent coloured by her circumstances; and even a member of the Cobden Club, when transferred to another country sees matters in a somewhat different light. He is able, at all events, to comprehend Protectionist arguments, which were incomprehensible to him before. England, while she preaches Free Trade to all the world is not herself a Free Trade nation. She raises twenty millions a year by Customs duties, which are to the full extent of their incidence interferences with freedom of trade, and, if not protective, discriminative in favour of the goods which are not taxed. The repeal of the Corn Laws, though a most wise and beneficent measure, was not Free Trade. It was merely the abolition of a particular duty, the retention of which would have been injurious to England as a manufacturing country needing large supplies of imported food. Nor were the members of the League as a body cosmopolitan philanthropists crusading against import duties in the general interest of mankind. Some of them were, and still are; but as a body they were simply English manufacturers agitating for an object of special importance to themselves. Cobden was a genuine free trader; he would have abolished all import duties and substituted direct taxation. But the men who commonly assume the name are simply Englishmen who have judiciously regulated their own tariff in the true interest of their own industries.

If all the world were one community, Free Trade would be its law. No Protectionist is insane enough to propose to run a customs line across the territory of a united nation. And that all the world is one community the enthusiastic apostles of Free Trade seem often



unconsciously to assume. Unfortunately the realization of that assumption, though all good men are working towards it, belongs to a remote future. At present the world is divided into separate nations, rivals and possible enemies of each other. Each nation requires, not only its own establishments, but, unhappily, its own armaments; to maintain them, each is obliged to impose import duties, experience having proved the moral evil as well as the intolerable irksomeness of direct taxation on a large scale; and in framing its tariff, each will, as far as it can, give an advantage to its own industries over the industries of its rivals. This they will all persist in doing, preach to them as you may. Their conduct, viewed in relation to the largest interests of humanity, may not be rational; neither is aggrandisement nor war. Europe turning a deaf ear to the Free Trade counsels of England, has been compared by Free Trade writers to a mad patient rejecting the advice of a wise physician. It is not the wisdom but the disinterestedness of the physician as to which Europe has misgivings. With regard to the motives of Cobden, Bright, Thomas Bayley Potter, Sir Louis Mallet, Mill, there can be no room for doubt; but is there no room for doubt as to the motives of Lancashire, when, with one of her voices she cries Free Trade, and with the other shouts British aggrandisement? The benighted foreigner may be excused for his persistence in heresy, when in the same column he reads, as it is the literal fact that he may, articles on the universal blessings of free trade, and projects for making England mistress of all the water-ways of the world. Perhaps economists bred in great centres of trade have also formed an exaggerated estimate of the efficacy of commercial motives in controlling the general passions of mankind. Free Trade propagandism has failed, and the moral of its failure seems to be that the path lies, not through Free Trade to peace and righteousness, but through peace and righteousness to Free Trade. There are some to whom that conclusion is not unwelcome.

In adjusting as well as she can to her own circumstances and the interests of her own industries, taxes which fiscal necessity compelled her to impose, Canada has done no more than all other nations do. The assertion of commercial autonomy on the part of a dependency is the only peculiar feature in her case. But even if she had gone further, she would hardly have been open to rebuke from a nation which is itself stimulating her, in defiance of all economical considerations, to construct political railroads and to immolate her interest on the altar of an Imperial policy which cuts her off from the commercial advantages and the circulating wealth of the Continent of which she is a part. Free Trade is only a special application of the general principle of non-interference with the beneficent course of Nature; and if ever there was a breach of that principle, the policy which England has pursued, and is pursuing, on the North American Continent is one.

The loss of reciprocity with the United States was a consequence of the political connection with England, who had exasperated the



Americans by the conduct of her aristocracy at the time of the Civil War. The American tariff itself, in its hostility to Great Britain, bears in no small degree the traces of the same resentment, which was, as it was just that it should be, a powerful engine in Protectionist hands. That the framers of the Canadian Tariff will succeed in their attempt to coerce the Americans into a renewal of the Treaty is hardly to be expected. The Republic is too wealthy and too proud to yield to so slight a pressure; her statesmen know too well that Canadians come over to her in crowds. But if the pressure were likely to be effectual, why should it not be applied? An immediate sacrifice would no doubt be made in refusing to buy cheap American goods; but it would be made in anticipation of a greater gain; and a doctrine of Free Trade which should forbid such an exercise of foresight would surely be Free Trade gone mad. Political economy is a matter of expediency: it is not like morality, which forbids us to do evil that good may come. If by abstaining from French wines and silks for a time, England could bring France to reason why should she not abstain? It may be that in a colony we learn rougher modes of doing things. It may be also that we learn from the exigencies of a young country the habit of sacrificing the present to the future. The inhabitants of every great city in the New World are paying the taxes of posterity, for whose benefit everything has been constructed in a day.

The motives of the Canadians in framing their new Tariff were purely financial and commercial. It is not necessary, therefore, to inquire whether they would have been warranted in taking account of social objects such as the creation of a variety of industries with a view to balancing the character and enriching the civilization of a young country. Political economists abstract the desire of wealth from all other human motives in order to form a hypothetical science; then some of them forget that the abstraction has taken place, and reason as if there were no human motive entitled to consideration but the desire of wealth. Adam Smith, unlike some of his illustrious successors, proceeded by the historical and rational, not by the dogmatic method. He sees that the Navigation Laws are bad for commerce, yet he upholds them on the ground that national defence is of much more consequence than wealth. On the same ground he would have let in other considerations which strict economists put out of court, because they are not commercial. There were some who, while they heartily recognized the advantages of Cobden's French Treaty, as well as the high motives of the negotiator, thought the commercial benefit rather dearly purchased at the price of complicity with a stretch of power on the part of a military usurper, whom they knew at the same time to be an incorrigible disturber of the peace of the world.

A practical bearing is given to anything said at present on a Canadian question by the general expectation of a new appointment to the Governor-Generalship. In his official capacity the Governor-General



is a constitutional king, bound to do simply what his Ministers tell him; though the ambiguities of the Colonial constitution, which is a cross between the national and the federal, half written and half unwritten, sometimes call him, and the Colonial Office behind him, into momentary action. But personally he is enabled by his rank to exercise a good deal of influence over Colonial politicians, especially as he has the bestowal of the Imperial titles, which some of them deem the highest prizes. He can deliver as many orations as he pleases, under the form of making official tours, and his utterances, though they may be merely his own, are taken for utterances of the Imperial Government. He is also likely to have his friends in the press, both Colonial and British; and wonderful symphonies they have sometimes given forth. He can do in short practically a good deal more than can be done by a constitutional king. He comes to the country ignorant; during his stay he is protected from the approach of truth almost as effectually as any king, and when his term of five years is over, his responsibility vanishes with the smoke of the parting salute.

Some years ago there might be read upon the walls in England a proclamation put forth by the Privy Council on the subject of the Colorado beetle, in the opening sentence of which Ontario was designated "that town." This was scarcely a stranger mistake than that committed by the Liberals who received with an ovation the late Governor-General of Canada. Had the other party acknowledged by a banquet the zeal and address, the consummate social grace, the almost Sheridanian genius for oratory, especially for the oratory of compliment, displayed by Lord Dufferin in the service of its cause, the tribute would have been eminently well deserved. It was the boast of his lordship's admirers that he had reversed the ignoble policy of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals. His administration was, in fact, a brilliant portion of the general reign of Jingoism, and if it was not given him to achieve an Isandula or a Candahar, peace hath her victories no less renowned than war. Canada owes to him certainly an exaltation of the Governor-Generalship into a Viceroyalty, with a considerable increase of expenditure, as well as an accession of Royal State; probably her final plunge into this policy of constructing a great anti-continental system of military and political railways, with all the consequences which it is likely to entail. The Liberal Minister of the day stood wavering on the brink, and he was reputed to be much under the influence of the Governor-General.

Lord Dufferin's achievements, blazoned as they had been, naturally encouraged a Jingo Government to essay the complete redemption of British North America from democracy by the introduction of a regular Court with etiquette. Of the present Governor-General there is nothing to be said but good: he has used his personal influence for the promotion of objects which must be useful to the country whatever may be its political destiny, and in the one constitutional case in which



he has been called upon to exercise his discretion, he, in the opinion of all impartial men, did right. Nothing disparaging to him personally therefore is implied in saying that the failure of the attempt with which it was his destiny to be associated was immediate and decisive. The Colonists by whom the Colonial Office is advised are, naturally, the members of what the correspondents of Tory papers call "loyal circles;" they are socially, as well as politically, English, usually passing a good deal of their time on this side of the water, and being imbued with aristocratic sentiments. But the people generally, whatever they may be in political sentiment, are in social sentiment American. They received with astonishment and derision proclamations forbidding any but aristocratic equipages to appear in Viceregal processions, and enjoining ladies to go to drawing-rooms in low dresses, which by some are deemed hardly moral, unless they could produce a certificate of inability on the ground of health from a physician. One of the caricatures represented an Irish girl with her bare legs presenting herself to the Master of the Ceremonies, and pleading that nakedness below would do just as well as nakedness above. Nor was a more loyal reception given to the "Manual of Court Etiquette," published by Mr. Fanning, after consulting the official oracles in London, for the guidance of Colonists in these august mysteries, the opening paragraphs of which we will take the liberty of transcribing to show our readers what royalty in a colony would be, and what sort of character England is trying, through her representatives, to impress on a young and naturally noble nation. The section is headed "The Special Etiquette of the Bow, the Train, and the Glove."

#### "THE FIRST PRESENTATION"

is generally the formal *début* of a fashionable life. The members of the nobility and gentry always manage to get their daughters presented, and it is regarded as a patent of social rank by the latter. What on this earthly sphere is more enchantingly exclusive than Her Majesty's Court? The impression made by the *débutante* is a lasting one in England, and consequently art is brought to bear; and the courtesies, the walk, the extending of the arm for the train, and each physical movement are practised repeatedly before some competent teacher of deportment who charges well for the lessons. But money is no object to the aristocracy of England when it comes to presentation lessons. The

#### DEBUTANTE MUST BE PERFECT

in every movement. These teachers are all patronized by the nobility who desire their daughters respectively to be the "belle of the London season." A false step, a mismanagement of the train, a little nervousness, or *mauvais honte*, and the whole affair is a failure.

I am informed that several Canadian ladies have been made the honoured recipients of a command to appear at Court, and friends to whom they have described the affair, have undertaken, with misplaced courtesy, to teach *la belle Canadienne* the details of Court presentation. But pretenders like these cannot confer any real knowledge of the subject. Before the young lady has made any progress in Her Majesty's throne room she feels her failure, and her disappointment is made manifest by her ungraceful courtesies; she moves too quickly, she forgets to extend her arm for her train; she backs accidentally against the diplo-



matic corps of the household; she passes into the green drawing-room, into the vestibule, and down the grand staircase, too quickly, not noticing the elegant statues, life-size, of the Queen and late Prince—the Queen as a gleaner and the Prince as a gladiator—both in the finest pyrian marble; and she passes through the grand entrance and into her carriage

#### WEeping WITH VEXATION

and disappointment. Another Canadian lady enters, glides in with a smile; her every motion grace; her step one of confidence; her name is announced to the Queen by General the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain—she makes the proper courtesy to each of the Royal family, and at the end she extends her arm slowly and gracefully for her train. Then she backs out from the presence of royalty “the admired” of the beholders, who are sharp critics of style and bearing. The papers teem with her beauty and grace (you know ‘tis the style now in England to admire our ladies.) The teacher who gave her instructions is thanked by her chaperons on the manner in which *la belle* passed through this trying fashionable ordeal. Her standing is now fully established. She enters the carriage and drives away as happy as the birds.

#### THERE ARE BUT TWO TEACHERS

of Court presentation that I can confidently recommend to Canadians: one is Miss Birch, 111, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, West, and Mr. L. d’Egville, No. 44, Conduit Street, off Regent Street, Hanover Square, West. Miss Birch is assisted by several assistants who stand in the relative positions of Her Majesty and the Royal Family, and Mr. L. d’Egville is assisted by his elegant and graceful daughter and family. Both of these teachers furnish a Court train for practical illustrations, and they stand the highest in the profession of deportment and dancing.

Now let me advise any ladies of Canada who may ever desire to be presented to the Queen not to accept the officious courtesy of an English lady whose second cousin was presented. Go to one of these teachers, and you may then learn to walk and courtesy properly and to approach Her Majesty with dignity, modesty and grace.”

In another passage the momentous question, whether, at a Court reception, the presentee should be gloved or ungloved is discussed in a catechetical form, and it is decided that the right hand should be ungloved.

“Any one can see at a glance, therefore, that to visit the Governor-General and his royal wife the right hand glove must be removed. When Lord Dufferin opened Parliament, it being a representative reception, all of the guests should have appeared with the right hand glove off, but it has never been done except by a very few who were posted in regard to visiting the Queen’s representative.

Therefore, those ladies who may have a desire to visit H.R.H. at the Vice-regal residence, may depend on the following:—

On entering the building hand your cards to the servant; if you are married have ‘Mr. and Mrs. —’ nicely engraved on one card and ‘Mrs. —’ also engraved on the other. Send them both in; while the servant is gone remove immediately your right hand glove. If you should accidentally meet the Princess Louise in the vestibule or hall she should not be addressed, merely bow. H.R.H. does not *receive* her guests *in the hall*. If you are shown into the parlor get as far as possible from the door as you may not be taken by surprise by so doing. The Court train will probably never be worn in Canada, as it is not worn in England except at Her Majesty’s Drawing-rooms. The only difference I can see between visiting the late Governor-General and his estimable lady and the new Governor-General and his royal consort is that the



right hand glove must be taken off, and I have always argued that it should have been removed when visiting Her Ladyship the Countess of Dufferin, but their Excellencies' elaborate kindness would forbid them mentioning it to anyone, and I have taken it upon myself to go to England and ascertain the exact method, and it is now fully before the reader.

When the Governor-General opens Parliament His Excellency will then hold a representative reception. The Princess Louise will be on his right, and the Governor-General will receive the first bow, which should be properly made. I will teach any lady or gentleman in Toronto or Hamilton how to make an elaborate bow free of cost; they have but to come to my academy and they will be welcome."

Mr. Fanning's manual, though perhaps the most amusing, is not the only characteristic product of the new "Viceregal" *régime*. The Court chronicle, entitled "Lord Dufferin in Canada," has hardly a parallel in its profound adoration of grandeur unless it be that book dear to collectors of literary curiosities "The Lord Mayor's visit to Oxford," in which the Lord Mayor's horses are described as pawing in proud consciousness of their august burden. The glories of the Court of Ottawa are painted in the spirit of a courtier of Versailles, and a long catalogue of the ladies and gentlemen who had the immortal honour of participating, is consigned to the Temple of Fame. There are two opinions, even among strong Conservatives, with regard to the wholesomeness of this "social policy," as it is styled by its devotee.

It was pleaded by the advocates of etiquette that royalty could not exist without it. In that case, royalty's chance of existence in the democratic hemisphere has been decisively shown to be poor. Some other foundation for authority must be found, and it cannot be found too soon.

It was originally intended to endow Canada with an hereditary aristocracy, but the project was blighted by the absence in these communities of hereditary wealth. Still, the attempt is made to keep up a titled class and propagate aristocratic sentiment by the bestowal of knighthood, and other minor decorations. English statesmen are led by the colonists with whom they come into contact to believe that these honours are highly revered by the people, and that the impression made by them is great. Yet in Canada itself this opinion would hardly be formed. More than once knighthood has been refused by politicians who would almost certainly have been glad to accept it if they had dared, but were restrained by fear of losing their influence with the people. An article in a Conservative organ, proclaiming aristocratic principles on the occasion of a creation of knights, was found by the leaders of the party to have injured them even with their own partisans, in an election which ensued. In some instances, indeed, these titles have been so bestowed, no doubt through the Governor-General's ignorance of the men about him, that to the people they must have seemed badges of anything but honour. A large portion of the Canadian press, including some highly Imperialist journals, is now openly opposed to the continuance of the system.



Had an attempt to kindle Jingo sentiment in Canada been successful, the consequences might have extended beyond the colony, and have come back upon England in an unexpected way. Canadian Jingoism would have begun to spit fire at the American Republic, and the ill-feeling against England in the United States, which the policy of Liberal statesmen had almost extinguished, would have been revived. The first dispute about a case of interloping in the Fisheries or of contested demand for extradition, might have led to a downright quarrel, in which the Anti-American party in Canada would have expected to be backed by England. This would have occurred on the eve of a Presidential election, when parties in the United States were on the look-out for political capital, and the Irish, moreover, were highly excited. A spirited policy in the controversy with England would have been made a plank in political platforms, and some one more military in his disposition, and less friendly to Great Britain, than Mr. Garfield, might have received the nomination at Chicago. Free Trade with the United States would then have been farther off than ever. It will never be brought about by demonstrations of economical principle, even though they may be framed by so skilful a hand as that of Mr. Mongredien. The ear of the people is not open to the voice of the missionary, especially when it is supposed that national interest sends him forth. They see that under the existing system their finance flourishes, and their country prospers; they are taken with the idea of fostering home industry; the immigration returns confirm their belief in the policy; and even such of them as are most concerned, the Western farmers for example, do not use imported goods enough to be very sensible of the imposts. The shipbuilding interest, being non-existent, cannot influence the elections. The Democratic party, as a whole, has inherited Free Trade tendencies from Slavery, which was unable to manufacture: but it comprises a Protectionist wing which will always prevent it from making Free Trade a square issue, as the course of events at the last Presidential election showed. Moreover, manufactures are now beginning to grow up in the South, and seem likely to carry Georgia and one or two other Southern States over to the Protectionist side. The only hope of a reduction of the import duties lies in the reduction of the debt, which is fast going on, and in the maintenance of kindly relations between England and the United States. It would be blasted by egging on a British dependency to place itself in an attitude of antagonism to the United States, and compelling the United States, which are now content with the smallest of peace establishments, to put their army and navy on a more costly footing.

What is the object, so far as the English people generally are concerned, of all these desperate efforts, of wasting all this money, of running all these risks? Suppose the dreaded consummation were to arrive to-morrow. Suppose to-morrow the English-speaking race in North America were to become a single Confederacy, excluding war, dedicated



to industry, making an England, political and intellectual, of the New World, and linked by the bond of affection, which in the American as well as in the Canadian breast is still strong notwithstanding our family quarrels, to the common mother country. There might be mourning in the manor-houses, or in some of them, but why should there be mourning in the cottages? Why should there be mourning in those cottages from which tens of thousands are going forth every year to seek a home among their kinsmen in the United States? Surely the sentiment connected with this great moral union of all the communities of our race would be as grand as any connected with the political dominion at present exercised by the Colonial Office over a part of the Colonies of England. Cromwell was not wanting either in military vigour or in high aspirations for his country, yet he, while he united Scotland and Ireland to England, treated the North American Colonies virtually as independent States bound to England by the tie of the heart. The Restoration reversed both parts of his policy, dissolving the Union with Scotland and Ireland, and at the same time reviving the system of interference, in the interest of monarchy, aristocracy, and the Anglican Church, with the communities on the other side of the Atlantic. How much wisdom it showed in dissolving the two unions no one needs to be told; and a short study of American and Canadian history will be sufficient to convince anyone who is open to conviction that few things in history have been more calamitous than the meddling of English Governments with the political development of the New World.

Not that anybody, either in Canada or in the United States, is attempting or at all wishes to precipitate the course of political events. The cry against annexation is raised by nervous Imperialists who feel the action of the economical forces and ascribe it to political intrigue. Freedom in commercial intercourse with the United States is a vital necessity to Canada, which can no more be indemnified for the want of it by an Imperial Zollverein, if that scheme were feasible, than Scotland could be indemnified for want of free commercial intercourse with England. The Customs' line across the Continent must be removed for the good of both the neighbouring nations, and especially in order that the Canadian people may enjoy their full measure of prosperity, receive the fair earnings of their labour, and "eat bread unleavened by injustice." Nor can there be any doubt as to the growth in Canada of opinion favourable to commercial union. But all men of sense are contented to leave the political question to the future, feeling that it would be unwise as well as wrong to do violence to any existing sentiment, and that the indispensable condition of a change in the external relations of the country is the full and deliberate consent of the great mass of the people. There is little reason to fear that anything of this kind will be hastily done. Power is practically in the hands, not of the people, but of the politicians who, as a class, and without distinction of party, are naturally wedded to a system which, as has been truly said, causes Canada to grow more



politics to the acre than any other country in the world. The influence of Imperial honours and of English society on many of our statesmen has already been mentioned. It makes them rather servants of the British aristocracy than of the Canadian people. It is true that the people are becoming aware of the divergence between their interest and the tendencies of the politicians, and that what frightened Imperialists call "a shadowy party" is beginning to appear; indeed it may be said already to have appeared in force at the last general election, when the people left the old party lines by thousands to vote for a commercial policy which they were persuaded would bring them bread. But this shadowy party seeks commercial not political objects, nor has it anyone at its head who is, or likely to be, a candidate for political power. As to American ambition, it is a mere bugbear. Even in the days of Slavery and Southern rule, territorial extension was sought, not so much for itself as for the purpose of maintaining the ascendancy of a party in Congress. The Americans are now, perhaps, of all nations in the world, the least disposed to annexation. St. Domingo flung itself into the lap of the Republic, and the Republic shook it out again. If Mexico is annexed, as now seems likely, it will be by the commercial element in the country itself, which can no longer put up with a plundering anarchy. Had Canada been allowed to become an independent Commonwealth, she would have reposed in perfect safety by the side of the more powerful Republic. In many years of intercourse with Americans of all parties, the writer has never detected the slightest desire to interfere with Canadian independence. A geographical structure which, since the annexation of Manitoba and British Columbia, has truly been compared to seven fishing rods tied together by the ends, the total want of commercial unity, and the national isolation of French Canada, which grows more French than ever, threaten the life of the Confederation far more seriously than American ambition.

All that reasonable men desire is, that the Canadian people shall be left free to manage their own affairs, and to shape their own destinies, in doing which England may rest assured, they will never forget their filial duty towards the mother country; that British noblemen shall not be sent out, by Liberals at least, to use their influence as Governors-General in propagating anti-Continental sentiment; and that the earnings of Canadian labour shall not be wasted in public works undertaken for political objects, in which labour has no interest, and upon the assumption, to all appearances unfounded, of an everlasting antagonism between Canada and the United States. The Imperialists, in driving Canada into a policy of boundless expenditure for their objects, are rushing to the very catastrophe which they fear; she will at length become so loaded with debt that she will no longer be mistress of her own course, and some day she will be compelled to seek admission to the Union on American terms.

The memory of Lord Lisgar's administration is treated with scorn by



the admirers of the more ambitious *régime* which followed. Lord Lisgar was a veteran public servant, satisfied with his career ; he had no objects of personal advancement, or desire to fill the papers on his own account. He was content to perform his allotted part without exaggerating it, and to appear as a faithful and dignified representative of the Crown. He did not go on the stump, meddle with the press, or use his high station to propagate his own opinions. His influence was exercised only in teaching Colonial politicians to observe English rules, and in tempering the violence of their conflicts. He was courteous, but did not hunt popularity. His hospitality was simply that of an English nobleman : it had no ulterior object, and as an example could do nothing but good. When he spoke, his words were those of sobriety and truth ; nor did he ever court applause by indulging in the unmeasured flattery which is at once most seductive and most poisonous to a young nation. If, among English noblemen and public men his counterpart could be found, supposing that the office is to be retained, Canada might go further and fare worse.

There is little use in appealing to a Colonial Secretary. That office acts like a mitre. Make a Low Churchman a Bishop, and he is a High Churchman in a year. Make a Liberal Colonial Secretary, and he at once becomes a Jingo, of the drab, if not of the scarlet, species. But the ear of the people of England, especially of such of them as profess Liberal principles, ought at this moment to be open. They have seen, in the case of South Africa, where they have been led into loss, trouble, and danger not unmingled with disgrace, what it is to allow a most virtuous and talented nobleman, of an aspiring disposition, and surrounded in the Colonial Office by a circle which applauds all his ideas, to play Providence to a country which he does not understand. They have seen what sort of information the Colonial Office gets from zealous subordinates, themselves full of high aspirations, and with titles and other rewards of activity floating before their eyes. We have already glanced at the extravagant notions which people in England have been led to entertain about the military force of Canada, and the hosts which she is ready and eager to send into the field in any English quarrel. These are hardly more wide of the truth than the accounts given by Governors-General and other official persons of the state of public sentiment in the Dominion, and especially among the French of Quebec.

Pecuniary considerations are less august than those of Empire, yet they may not be without weight. English capitalists, at all events, have reason to be cautious how they send politicians in quest of a reputation to earn one by a brilliant administration of Canada. A large amount of English money, too large an amount, as some authorities assert, is invested not only in the public debt of the Dominion and in Canadian railways, but in Canadian mortgages and debentures. The farms of Ontario, as every one who has been connected with the loan societies



knows, are carrying a very heavy load of mortgage debt, while their value has been reduced of late some twenty or thirty per cent., chiefly by emigration to the West. At the same time the taxes have been greatly increased. We had the other day a movement in favour of what is called a National Currency—that is, a large issue of inconvertible paper money—which was strong enough to receive the amatory attentions of a considerable number of politicians, and even of organs of the Government. It was checked, not so much by argument, though those of us who were true to hard money of course did our best in that way, as by a run of good harvests and a revival of commercial activity. Let there come a couple of bad harvests, with perhaps a commercial relapse, and no one will undertake to say that National Currency will not sweep the country at the next election as the National Policy did at the last. Monetary fallacies have misled honest men. To the mind of a farmer overloaded with mortgage debts and taxes, they may find too easy an access. Once more, then, let the British investor in Canadian securities be careful how he runs Canada deeper into debt, or compromises her commercial prosperity for the purposes of Imperial Policy.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

## SCOTTISH, SHETLANDIC, AND GERMANIC WATER TALES.

### PART II.

#### I.

WONDROUS beings were mentioned, in the first part of this essay, which are most frequently met with in the folk-tales of a country thus described by the poet :—

“Land of Isles in Northern Sea ;  
Land of mist and storm's revelry ;  
Land of the raven and sea-mew,  
Of eagle bold and wild curlew ;  
Land of brown heath and treeless plain,  
Of winding voe and surging main.”

It is in the Shetland Tales that we hear a great deal of creatures partly more than human, partly less so, which appear in the interchangeable shape of men and seals. They are said to have often married ordinary mortals, so that there are, even now, some alleged descendants of them, who look upon themselves as superior to common people. The fabulous ancestral forms in question are reckoned among the Trows, or semi-divine figures.

In Shetland, and elsewhere in the North, the sometimes animal-shaped creatures of this myth, but who in reality are human in a higher sense, are called **Finns**. Their transfiguration into seals seems to be more a kind of deception they practise. For the males are described as most daring boatmen, with powerful sweep of the oar, who chase foreign vessels on the sea. At the same time they are held to be deeply versed in magic spells and in the healing art, as well as in soothsaying. By means of a “skin” which they possess, the men and the women among them are able to change themselves into seals. But on shore, after having taken off the wrappage, they are, and behave like, real human beings. Anyone who gets hold of their protecting garment, has the Finns in his power. Only by means of the skin can they go back to the water. Many a Finn woman has got into the power of a Shetlander, and borne children to him ; but if the Finn woman



succeeded in re-obtaining her sea-skin, or seal-skin, she escaped across the water. Among the older generation in the northern isles, persons are still sometimes heard of, who boast of hailing from Finns; and they attribute to themselves a peculiar luckiness on account of that higher descent.

Shetland, in its people and in its speech, is truly Germanic. In that old Hialt Land, or Heth Land, an attempt to introduce Christianity was only made in the early part of the tenth century; and the Jarls ruling there opposed the attempt for a long time with the utmost energy. It was only when a king of Norway came with an army, and left the Jarl the choice either to go to the baptismal font, or to be deposed and to be put to the sword with his family, that the then ruler of Shetland gave up the worship of Odin. But, even in his extreme distress, he only yielded when seeing that the sword was to be thrust into the breast of his son. The love for his offspring then overcame his hatred of the New Creed, and he submitted to baptism.

To this day, the vestiges of ancient Teutonic history and ideas are still observable in Shetland. All round the Scottish coast, and far into the Highlands, the influence of the Scandinavian conquests can yet be traced. Where, at present, a Gaelic-speaking people dwells, which gradually changes its speech now for the English tongue, the names of islands, bays, lakes, rivers, and places still point, here and there, to the former Norwegian dominion, which only constituted, so to say, the second or third wave of a Teutonic flood splashing over the Caledonian shores. Tacitus already testifies that in Caledonia—which, however, did not comprise the whole Scotland of to-day—a people of lusty limbs and ruddy hair lived, whose characteristics, he says, “prove their German origin.”\* And Tacitus was well able to distinguish, on the one hand, the small black-haired Silures, in Britain (South Wales), who were of Iberian origin, from the Keltic Britons; and, on the other, the Germanic Caledonians from both. Three races are thus indicated by Tacitus in Britain: an Iberian (Turanian) one, related to some of the Hibernians, or Irish, and to the Basques; and two Aryan ones: Kelts and Germans. The Piets mentioned by later writers were undoubtedly also Teutons, of Frisian race—a first wave of the subsequent stronger invasion of Angles, Saxons, Frisians, Jutes, and other Germanic tribes.

The Norwegians afterwards came the same way which German sea-dogs had sailed over before. Not long ago, the inhabitants of the Ness, in the Hebrides, still considered themselves to be of special blood; keeping apart from the neighbouring Gaels, and retaining some folk-tales of their own origin from Lochlin—that is, Norway.† From Shetland and the Orkneys, across Thurso—which has its name from Thor—towards Sutherland and the Hebrides, and down to the once so-called “southern isles” of Cantire, Islay, and Man, Scandinavian vestiges are

\* “Vit. Agric.” xi.

† “Die Dänen und Nordmänner in England, Schottland und Irland.” Von J. J. A. Worsaae. Deutsch von Dr. N. N. W. Meissner.



clearly apparent. From there, we come to Ireland, which it is often the fashion now to describe as purely "Keltic." An assertion easily disproved by the checkered pattern-card of races that have entered that isle during two thousand years, as well as by the many centuries of Norwegian and Danish dominion.

Tales of the descent of certain families from water-beings of a magic character are very frequent in the wholly, or mainly, Germanic North. In Ireland, such myths also occur sporadically. In Wales—the by far more Keltic, though not exclusively Keltic, country—the origin from mermen or mermaids is often charged as a reproach upon unhappy people; and rows originate from such assertion. In Shetland the reverse is, or was, the case. There, the descendants of Finns have been wont to boast of their origin; regarding themselves as favourites of Fortune. In Shetland, too, "to be able to ride the Nuggle scathless," was regarded as conferring an extraordinary run of luck, and also power over one's enemies—so much so that when an individual suddenly met a windfall of good fortune, or succeeded in disappointing the designs of an enemy, it was quite proverbial to say: "Yea, she (or he) is been ridin' da Nuggle!"

There could be no better mark of the difference between the Germanic and the Keltic, or Kelt-Iberian, view than in these Welsh notions on the one hand, and the Shetlandic ones on the other.

In Ireland, the Nix and Mermaid myths seem to gradually pale and disappear; at least, it is difficult to learn something about them among the people. From inquiries my daughter, Mrs. Charles Hancock, made on a recent journey with her husband in Ireland, she gathered the following:—

"At Dunluce Castle, an old ruin standing by the Giant's Causeway, I was told by the driver of a car that an old woman had told him that she saw, for the space of three minutes, a mermaid sitting on the rocks under the Castle. The mermaid lived in a cave still shown, and came up every night to Dunluce Castle, which stands on a high cliff jutting into the sea. The mermaid sat every day on the rocks, combing her long *black* hair, which was particularly fine. The mermaid had a *tail*; but on my asking how she could get up from the cave to the castle, my narrator answered:—'Perhaps she flew some!'"

Here, the mermaid has not the Germanic yellow hair, nor the full human shape. However, in this somewhat obscured Irish myth we may possibly trace the idea of an ancestress who visits at night her ruined castle. As to the Giant's Causeway, "this spot is so called because a giant at Portrush wanted to fight another giant in Scotland. His wife got a lot of large rocks collected in her apron, and dropped them at intervals, to make a pathway across the sea for him. Hence the name of Giant's Causeway given to these great rocks."

The story strangely reminds us of the wondrous bridge which the Indo-Aryan hero, Rama, made across the sea to Lanka (Ceylon), in order to battle with a giant. Struggles between leaders in Ireland and Scotland, in grey antiquity, may be the basis of the tale of the Giant's Causeway.



## III.

But who are the Finns of the Shetlandic songs? Are they simply a poetical transfiguration of finny forms of the sea? Or can the Ugrian race of the Finns, which dwells in Finland, in the high north of Norway, and in parts of Russia, have something to do with those tales in which a Viking-like character is unmistakable? Or do these stories not rather refer to a Germanic people of sailors and warriors, to sea-borne and sea-born Heroes of the Water from Lochlin, the Scandinavian lake-land, rich in legends and lays?

Repeated investigations have gradually brought me to the conviction that the Finn or Seal stories contain a combination of the mermaid myth with a strong historical element—that the Finns are nothing else than a fabulous transmutation of those Norse “sea-dogs,” who from old times penetrated into the islands round Scotland, into Scotland itself, as well as into Ireland. “Old sea-dog” is even now a favourite expression for a weather-beaten, storm-tossed skipper—a perfect seal among the wind waves.

The assertion of a “higher” origin of still living persons from Finns, conceived as Trows, would thus explain itself as a wildly legendary remembrance of the descent from the blood of Germanic conquerors. The “skin” wherewith the Finns change themselves magically into sea-beings, I hold to be their armour, or coat of mail. Perhaps that coat itself was often made of seal-skin, and then covered with metal rings, or scales, as we see it in Norman pictures; for instance, on the Bayeux tapestry. The designation of Norwegian and Danish conquerors, in Old Irish history, as “scaly monsters,” certainly fits in with this hypothesis.

But how did the curious “Finn” name arise?

First of all, it must be pointed out that the Ugrian people, which is known under the Finnic name, and which is related to the Magyars, the Turks, and the Mongols, do not call themselves Finns—as little as Welshmen call themselves, in their own language, Welsh. “Welsh” is a name given by the Saxons and other Germans to their Keltic or Romance neighbours. The Finns of Finland call themselves *Suomalainen*—that is, dwellers in the Marshy Land. On the other hand, *fenn*, in the sense of marsh, bog, sump, or water, is a word common to all Teutonic languages. We find in Ulfilas, *fani*; in Anglo-Saxon, *fenn*; in Old High German, *fenna*; in Dutch, *vann*. Fenrir, the gigantic wolf of the Eddic mythology, is literally the Fen-Roarers; the Roarer from the Deep. Fensalir, the Water Hall, is the heavenly abode of a Norse Goddess.

*Finn* is an old Germanic name. In the pedigree of kingly families of the North, in the Langfeddgatal, that Finn name appears between Thor, Frealaf, and “Woden, whom we call Oden.” For these divine names were also princely names. Whether Odin’s cognomen, “Feng,” is

originally connected with Finn, is a point meriting being inquired into. At any rate, the passage in the second lay of Sigurd (18) appears to me to point to the connection of the name of Feng with Odin's quality as a Water-God. A dwarf-name, Finnar, also is mentioned in the Eddic cosmogony.\* Several dwarf names have literal, or nearly literal, contact with Asa names; some of the dwarfs being, as it were, the diminutive counterparts of Gods.

Again, in the Eddic Wayland Lay, the semi-divine German smith—for he is from the Rhenish lands†—is described as a son of the Finn King. His brothers, Slagfidr and Eigil, bear undoubted Germanic names. Simrock puts a note of interrogation after Wayland's (Völundr's) designation as the son of a "Finn" king. But if we remember the occurrence of the name of Finn in the Norse kingly pedigree, together with the frequent occurrence, still now, of the same name in Germany and Ireland, as well as with the appearance of a similar name (Fionn) in Irish and Scotch sagas and history—where we hear of an evidently non-Keltic warrior clan, among which the undoubted Germanic name of Osgur, or Oscar, is often found—there remains, I think, no justification for Simrock's doubting note of interrogation, unless he meant it in the sense of the desirability of an inquiry.

But however the Finn name may be explained etymologically, at all events Norway appears in the Shetland tales, and in the recollection of the people there, as the home of the "Finns." And this home—as I see from an interesting bit of folk-lore before me—is evidently in the south of Norway, where the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic race is pure and unmixed.

Before coming to this important point, I may mention a Shetlandic spell-song sent to me by Mr. George Sinclair, jun. (now in New Zealand). Referring, as it does, to the healing art, it reminds us, in its arrangement, of the well-known pagan German spell-song‡ for the sprain-cure of horses, which has its remarkable counterpart in a similar Shetlandic incantation. The charm-song now sent to me refers to the cure of the toothache; the Finn appearing therein as a magic medicine-man:—

"A Finn came ow'r fa Norraway,  
Fir ta pit töth-ache away—  
Oot o' da flesh an' oot o' da bane;  
Oot o' da sinew an' oot o' da skane;  
Oot o' da skane an' into da' stane:  
An dare may do remain!  
An dare may do remain!  
An dare may do remain!"

In this, though not strictly and correctly, alliterative song, the Finn is not an animal-shaped creature of the deep, but a man, a charm-working doctor from Norway. The real inhabitants from Finland being noted for their witchcraft, it may be that there is a slight confusion here between Teutonic Norwegians and real Finns or Suomalainen people, some of whom probably accompanied the Norse warriors as medicine-men.

\* "Völuspá," 16.

† "Völundharkhvida," 15.

‡ "Merseburger Zauberlied."



Presently we will, however, see that the Finns of the Shetlandic stories are martial pursuers of ships, to whom ransom must be paid in order to get free from them. This cannot apply to the Suomalainen people; much less to a mere marine animal or sea monster: for what should such a creature do with ransom-money? Warlike Norse "sea-dogs" must therefore be meant, who sometimes appear also to have taken their women-folk with them on the Viking expeditions, or pirate enterprise. As to their animal form, Mr. George Sinclair writes:—

"Sea monsters are for most part called 'Finns' in Shetland. They have the power to take any shape of any marine animal, as also that of human beings. They were wont to *pursue boats at sea*, and it was dangerous in the extreme to say anything against them. I have heard that *silver money was thrown overboard to them* to prevent their doing any damage to the boat. In the seal-form they came ashore every ninth night to dance on the sands. They would then cast off their skins, and act *just like men and women*. They could not, however, return to the sea without their skins—they were *simply human beings*, as an old song says:—

" ' I am a man upo' da land;  
I am a selkie i' da sea.  
An' whin I'm far fa every strand,  
My dwelling is in Shool Skerry.' "

Shool Skerry means Seal's Isle. Skerries is the name of many rocky isles round the Irish coast. They are the Norse Skärs. Scarborough has its name from the same Norse word. The Irish Skerries were so called by the Northerners; and the termination of many Scotch and Irish island names shows the old Germanic conquest, although afterwards a fresh Keltization occurred in the speech of the people there, which now recedes again, step by step, before the English tongue.

The "seal," the sea-dog, the "Finn," would thus be the son of the Teutonic North. His skin or armour—without which he is like an ordinary mortal, and rather powerless—he puts down at the shore, in dancing with his fair one. His dancing "every ninth night" may be in connection with an ancient number of the days of the Germanic week. That he, a fearless seaman, should by preference choose as his lair the "skerries" round the northern and western coasts of Scotland and Ireland, in order to prepare, from that safe covert, for fresh Viking expeditions, quite tallies with the song communicated to me, in which Shool, or Söol, Skerry—the Sea-dog's Skär, or Rocky Island—is mentioned as his dwelling-place.

It is well-known what cruel wild wooing the daring Norse warriors used to indulge in on the coasts they harried as Vikings. In the Eddic Song of Harbard, even the world of Gods shows some of these traits. Harbard (Odin) prides himself on such deeds:—

" I was with Fiolwar,	five winters through,
On an island,	Allgreen hight.
There we fought,	and felled the foes,
Attempted much	and wooed the maids.
	Thor.
How was it	with your women there?

*Harbard.*

Meet women we had,	had they but been meek ;
Fair women we had,	had they but been friendly. . . .

*Thor.*

In the east I was,	and o'ercame the Giants'
Evil-minded brides,	when to the hill they went. . . .
Berserk brides	I on Hlesey tamed."

May not, in the same way, the women-folk of the roving Northmen sometimes have been made captive? Perhaps they, too, wore the "skin," or coat of mail, as true Bryn-hilds, in order the better to be protected against a subject population. Or the safety which the armour of the male warrior gave them, was poetically changed into a charm-robe, a sealskin, of their own. Be that as it may, the Shetland tales, at all events, report very touching things of such Finn women as were married to the natives.

## III.

There are many such folk-tales in the northern Thule. A man, we learn, always gets possession of the Finn woman by seizing the skin she has put off. One of these stories\* says that the captured Finn woman would often leave her husband to enjoy his slumber alone, and go down amongst the rocks to converse with her Finn one: but the inquisitive people who listened could not understand a single word of the conversation. She would, it was said, return after such interviews with briny and swollen eyes.

The human family of this Finn were human in all points, except in hands, which resembled web feet. Had the foolish man who was her husband, burnt or destroyed the skin, the Finn woman could never have escaped. But the man had the skin hidden, and it was found by one of the bairns, who gave it to his mother. Thereupon she fled; and it is said that she cried, at parting with her family, very bitterly. The little ones were the only human beings she cared for. When the father came home, he found the children in tears, and on learning what had happened, bounded through the standing corn to the shore, where he only arrived in time to see, to his grief, his good wife shaking flippers and embracing an ugly brute of a seal. She cried:—

"Blissins be wi' de,  
Baith de an' da bairns!  
Bit do kens, da first love  
Is aye da best!"

whereupon she disappeared with her Finn husband or lover.

I hold such Shetlandic stories to be a grafting of real events upon that water-worship creed in which mermen and mermaids, and other mythic beings of the deep, perform their magic antics.

From the same source I have received another tale, of even more

\* Communicated by Mr. George Sinclair.



fantastic zoology, but in which the strange creatures that come up from the flood are characterized as of prophetic power—as all Water Deities are. The story is this. There was a rock on which seals were wont to come, and on which, in their absence, the boys of the village made a great fire, so that, when the Finns arrived, they might burn themselves “on sitting down”—if I may use a euphemism for the grosser word contained in the tale itself. The trick succeeded, and the whole village was startled by horrible screams at night:—

“Ye’r brunt wis !\* O ye wicked folk !  
 Sa na mair blissins fa dis rock !  
 A twall-mont (twelvemonth)—what sall happen dan ?  
 Ye s’ a’ (you shall all) be livin,’ incep’ wan ! (except one) ”

And indeed, this was fulfilled; for that day twelvemonth one of the bad boys met his death, in fishing off the rock.

Very sea-monster-like, but nevertheless leading us back to mankind, is the story of a woman of the people, Anderina Sutherland, who strongly believed in the Finns, and declared herself to be a descendant of them. From her, many Finn tales have been got by Mr. Sinclair, jun. The folks said she was half mad, and the boys used to annoy her very much by calling her names. She was, she said, the “fifth from the Finns,” and she attributed great luckiness to herself, although she was as poor as poor could be.

It would appear that her father’s great-grandfather was a skipper of a six-oared boat, and, when in the pursuit of his calling, was surprised to see on the fishing-lines that were being hauled in over the side, a strange indescribable shape, which imploringly spoke, and when lying amongst the fish at the bottom of the boat cried like an infant. At length it said:—“Lat me oot! Lat me oot! Obey me no’; and ye s’ (you shall) get mair fish as ye can carry!” When it first spoke, it was not larger than a man’s thumb, but soon began to swell and swell until, through its bulk, the boat was in danger of being swamped; and this it would have done, had not the men who were holding it, let go. In its swelling it had promised them *no end of luck*. Luck, of course, in finding of wreck, in fishing, fair wind, and so forth—all things connected with the sea. “Its largest size was about what a big *bull* might be,” Anderina Sutherland said; but the shape she either could not or would not describe. She spoke with awful dread of the whole appearance.

The luck thus given to these men was very great. Only, their families were a shade less lucky, and so on; gradually dwindling into posterity. This water-tale, which lingered in the mind of a poor, daft woman, has, after all, deep connection with Germanic and Greek myths. Of herself, she often repeated with great glee, and with a fishy glister in her eyes:—“I’m da fift fa da Finns, ye ken!” Nothing

\* Perhaps this means: “It is *you* that have been burnt”—namely, drawn upon yourself a due punishment for your wicked act.

could shake her belief in a higher felicitous fate which she thought was ruling her pauper's life. Of this my informant gives me many comic traits. Anderina's apparently foolish tales have, nevertheless, great significance, in as far as, in the very craziness of that Finn-descended woman, there is the strong vestige of the old faith in fortune-bringing, half godlike figures of the sea, who are but a polytheistic rendering of the fruitful cosmogonic power of water.

In another water-tale, "a Finn man escapes with a Shetland bride through a fleet of boats; deceiving his pursuers by cutting little chips off a stick, and making the chips appear, by his peculiar art, like large ships. He, of course, got off the men, who did not know which to pull after." This story has remarkable contact with what an Eddic poem says of the special magic qualities of the Norse Jarls.

If the Finn were a real animal of the sea, he would certainly seek safety from his pursuers by simply dipping under. But no; he escapes in quite a different manner. Himself apparently sitting in a boat, he chips off pieces of wood from a stick; changing them, by his sorcerer's art, into the appearance of a fleet of his own. This looks very Viking-like; for the Eddic Lay of Rigr, in which the three social classes of the Northmen—the thralls, the simple freemen (Karls), and the nobles (Jarls)—are prefigured, says of the Jarl's son, Konur:—

"Konur the young  
Runes of the Past  
Moreover he knew  
Swords to deaden,

Birds' voices he kent,  
The mind to soothe,  
Of eight men he had

With Rigr, the Jarl,  
In manifold knowledge  
Thus the right he gained,  
Rigr to be called,

was cunning in runes,  
and runes of the Future;  
how men to shield,  
the sea to still.

and how fire to quench,  
and sorrows to heal;  
the might and the strength.

he wrestled in runes;  
he showed himself master.  
thus to him it was granted,  
and skilled in runes."

Rigr is a name assumed by Heimdall, the son of Odin. As Rigr, he landed at a sea-shore, and there became the forefather of three classes of mankind. The Norse noblemen, as we see from the above, attributed to themselves a witchcraft almost equal to the divine power of Rigr. Hence we find that, besides being rulers by the sword, they, as fathers and sib-heads, also performed the office of spell-working house-priests. No wonder the name of the Northman, of the "Finn" who had come over the sea, should have become synonymous with all kinds of cleverness and deception on the element which he had made his second home. In this way we may understand the tale of his "rune-cunning" escape through a whole fleet of hostile boats, after he had seized, or eloped with, his Shetlandic bride.

The spell-working by means of cutting off chips from a stick, somewhat reminds us of the prophesying, and the casting of lots of Fate, among the Germans of Tacitus; which was also done by the cutting



up of twigs marked with runes.\* Something similar is reported, by Herodotos,† of a Skythian race, who used willow-rods and linden-tree twigs, thrice cut up, for the same purpose. Many of the Skythian tribes evidently belonged to the Teutonic stock. Norse lays and sagas are full of the witchcraft of such twig-cutting and rune-charms.

## IV.

The question as to the real significance of the Finns being of high importance for the interpretation of the Shetlandic water-tales, I here give what Mr. Robert Sinclair says of the capture of Finn brides by Shetlanders :—

"Each district, almost, has its own version of a case where a young Shetlander had married a female Finn. They were generally caught at their toilet in the tide-mark, having doffed the charmed covering, and being engaged in dressing their flowing locks, while the enamoured youth, by some lucky stroke, secured the skin, rendering the owner a captive victim of his passion. Thus it was that whole families of a mongrel race sprang up, according to tradition. The Finn women were said to *make good housewives*. Yet there was generally a longing after some previous attachment; and if ever a chance occurred of recovering the essential dress, no newly formed ties of kindred could prevent escape and return to former pleasures. This was assiduously guarded against on the one side, and watched on the other; but, as the story goes, female curiosity and cunning was always more than a match for male care and caution; and the Finn woman always got the slip. One or two of these female Finns was said to have the power to conjure up from the deep a superior breed of horned cattle; and these always throve well. I have seen some pointed out to me as the offspring of these 'sea kye.'"

In answer to my question, the Shetland friend lays great stress on the fact of the Finn-woman being wholly distinct from the Mermaid. "In recent versions of stories regarding Finns," he writes—

"I observe a tendency to confound the Finn with the Mermaid. No such thing was thought of in my younger days. It was the prerogative of the Finn alone to *don the seal skin* and become a seal, or *throw it off* and become a man. The Mermaid never assumed the appearance of a seal; nor had she any metamorphic faculty whatever, but, like Milton's Sin, 'was woman to the waist and fair,' and ended in a fish tail."

The latter characteristic, I may say in passing, is a striking divergence from the true Germanic conception of any Nix form; but my Shetland informant is firm on this point, as to local tradition. Maybe that the acquaintance Northern skippers made with Southern tales, caused the "fish tail" to be imported into Shetland, even as we see it in the mermaid tales of Cornwall and Ireland.

Again, the same friend writes :—

"Many stories, such as in 'Fireside Tales', of men capturing females by means of obtaining their charmed seal-skin were told; but in no case I ever recollect hearing of them was the captive said to be a Mermaid, but invariably a Finn; and the offspring were said to be descendants from Finns—not from mermaids. Such an idea as a Merman I never heard of till I saw it in some English work of

\* "Germ." x.

† iv. 67.

fiction. Invariably the Mermaid was represented as a woman to the waist, and ending in a fish tail. I find, however, that, whether this distinction was observed originally all over the islands or not, there has been lately, and perhaps in some localities more early, a confounding of these two myths, and the attributes of the one have been indiscriminately applied to the other. The idea, however, seems incongruous, and jars so much as to seem irreconcilable."

All this goes to make it probable that in the Shetlandic Mermaid tales there is more of a Nature-myth, whilst in the Finn stories a historical tradition seems to be enveloped, though much blurred over, and partly confounded with the water-tales of cosmogonic, theological, and anthropomorphic import. The absence of Mermen in the Shetlandic tales which otherwise show so strong a Germanic character, can, I believe, only be accounted for by the fact of the Finn stories, which refer to Finn men as well as to women, having got so strong a hold upon the popular mind as to make the more fanciful Merman form recede into the dark background; for among other Teutonic races, we regularly hear also of the Merman.

Of the Finn man, my informant says:—

"Stories of the **Norway Finns** were rife in my younger days. These were said to be a race of creatures of *human origin* no doubt, but possessed of some power of enchantment by which they could, with the use of a charmed seal-skin, become in every way, to all appearance, a veritable seal; only, *retaining their human intelligence*. It seems that any seal-skin could not do; each *must have their specially prepared skin* before they could assume the aquatic life. But then they could live for years in the sea. Yet they were not reckoned as belonging to the natural class of 'amphibia.\*' As man or seal they were simply Finns, and could play their part well in either element. Their feats were marvellous. It was told me as sheer truth that they could **pull across to Bergen**—nearly 300 miles—in a few hours, and that, while ordinary mortals were asleep, they could make the return voyage. Nine miles for every warp † (stroke of the oar) was the traditional speed. Speak of steam after that!"

Here, then, the Finns are men; of human origin; remaining intelligent men in their sea-dog raiment; coming from Norway; not swimming like marine animals, but rowing between Shetland and Norway—namely, to the town of Bergen, which lies in the southern, truly and exclusively Germanic, part of Norway. As strong men at sea, they row with magic quickness. The alleged rate of their rapidity is clearly the poetical conception of their power as sailors and terrible heroes of the creeks. Each one of them, in accordance with his bodily shape, must have his specially prepared skin—that is, coat of mail—in order to be ready for the Viking path. There is nothing here of the swimming and dipping down of a seal.

Thus the tale of the charm-strong sea-people of the Finns would resolve itself into a mythic echo from a forgotten historical past.

An Indian tale of gods and heroes may here serve for a comparison.

\* The writer uses this word here, not in the strict sense of natural history, but in the more popular sense of marine animals in general.

† Connected with the German *Wurf*; from *werfen*, to throw, to thrust, to make a stroke.



As, in Shetland, we hear of seals and sea-monsters, who yet are men; so the Ramayana speaks of a "god-like ape," called Hanuman, who came to the aid of the sun-descended Aryan hero, Rama, with a helpful army of monkeys, in the war against Ravana; springing in a single jump from India to Lanka, or Ceylon. Hanuman, at the same time a superior being and a beast, was, no doubt, a chieftain of Drawidian aborigines. To the clear-skinned, fair-haired, clear-eyed "solar race" of the conquerors from Central Asia, the dark natives seemed to be of monkey-like formation in face and body. They may still be seen in that shape on ancient Indian temple sculptures. Nevertheless, the aid of a host of natives was of such high value for the Aryan Sons of the Sun, that Hanuman was received into the Hindoo Pantheon, though as an Ape. His human character, however, appears from the epic poem, Ramayana, itself. For there he is called "perfect;" "no one equals him in the knowledge of the sastras (law-books), in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scriptures. In all sciences, in the rules of authority, he rivals the perception of the Gods." He has great power in magic and medicine. He learnedly discourses on the former Golden Age.\* He is even a philologist, for he has written a grammar—a performance otherwise not usual with either Gods or apes.

Similarly, curious eminent qualities have remained to the Shetlandic Finns, from which their original character may yet be gathered, although fiction gradually wove a misleading veil around them.

## V.

In spite of all that has been said above, and in spite of the clear concordance with Teutonic names, the derivation of the word "Finn" need not even be insisted upon. For the subject at issue this makes no difference; the inner historical significance of the Shetlandic sea-dog tale seems to me placed beyond doubt.

Still, it is remarkable that in the old Irish epics, also, a martial clan should turn up, called Fionn, Fianna, or Fenians, who—even as the Germans of Tacitus—are described as of a bravery verging upon frantic rashness, as fearless of death, hospitable, and truthful; shewing altogether, in their bearing, many bold Teutonic traits.

In dealing with the origin of the Fionn, there is a difficulty, it is true, in regard to etymology. The Gaelic and Erse words which have apparently contact with Finn, Fionn, &c., sometimes mean water; sometimes fair, or fair-haired; sometimes a tribe, a country, a clan, and so forth. As there is in Scotland a Loch Fionn, and Finsba, a river Fine, a port Fintray, a Fin Mountain, and so forth: so we find also in Ireland a lake Finn; rivers called Finn, Finisk, Finnery, &c.; and towns of a similar name—partly with a Germanic termination. These names mostly occur in that part of eastern Ireland where the Northmen long held sway.

\* Muir, iv. 490; and i. 144.



On the other hand, the Norwegians are called, by Old Irish historians, Finn-Lochlannoch; which, however, is explained as fair-haired Lochlanners, or Northmen. They are also called Finngall, fair foreigners. At their side, Dubgall are distinguished; which, it is said, means the somewhat more dark-haired Danes. O'Halloran, in his "History of Ireland," interprets the Fionne-Gail as white strangers—meaning Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians; the Dubh-Gail, or black strangers, as Germans. From the Irish annals of the year 845, it appears that the Dubgalls who then invaded Dublin, and partly hewed down the Finngalls, partly made them prisoners, were Danes; the Finngalls being Norwegians. The flat shores in the middle of the eastern coast of Ireland, between Dublin and Drogheda, where—as in Waterford in the south, and in Limerick in the south-west—the Northmen held sway, were called Finngall—that is, the Land of the Strangers.\*

Those who erroneously go by the exclusive Keltic notion in regard to Ireland, have approached the subject of these repeated Teutonic incursions with an obvious prejudice; but of such prejudices every one ought to divest himself, who professes to treat upon a historical question in the spirit of true inquiry. Some writers, allowing themselves to be misled by their aversion to the Teutonic race, endeavoured to convert the Fianna, Finns, or Fenians, into Phenikians. I have no doubt myself that a Phenikian, Semitic, element is traceable in Ireland, in the wake of which other men of African descent may in times long gone by have come into the island, whose characteristics occasionally crop up, even now, between the Iberian, Keltic, and Germanic types. But the Fionn, or Fenians, I think, are more likely Teutonic Finns than Semitic Phenikians.

Has the name of Osgur, Osgar, or Oscar, which, in the Old Irish "Fenian Poems," is found together with that of Fionn as a chieftain's name, a special Phenikian look? Is it not a clear Teutonic name? Now, an Oscar was the very tower of strength of the Fionn:—

"O Osgur," said Fionn at first,

"As thou art the prop and the strength of the Fians . . . ."

And is it not remarkable that in this epic, which is written in the Old Irish tongue, Lochlin (Norway) should be fondly called the "land of delightful songs"—as if the Finns in Ireland longingly remembered the old home? Lochlan—an authority on Keltic subjects says—is the ancient name given in Irish annals to that part of North Germany which lies between the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe, before the name was transferred to Scandinavia. From that North German seaboard came one of the earliest races that peopled Ireland and Alban, or the Scottish Highlands. During their occupation, Ireland and the north of Scotland were regarded as one territory, and the population passed freely to and fro. Hence it came that the deeds and memories

\* "Die Dänen und Nordmänner in England, Schottland und Irland." Von J. J. A. Worsaae.

† "Fenian Poems." Edited by John O'Daly. First series, xxxi. p. 69.



of this one warrior race belong equally to both countries. Each has its songs about the Fenian heroes.

These Fenians having become blended with the natives of Ireland, we can understand their fighting against fresh Germanic invaders, even as Danes and Norwegians fought against each other. Some writers, it is true, would fain see in the migration of a warrior race from the country between the Rhine and the Elbe a Keltic arrival. For my part, I regard the Fionn as originally Teutonic, so far as we can judge at all. The Irish or Keltic names, and the Germanic ones, still appear in the "Fenian Poems" by way of contrast; and the tone of those poems—in spite of their somewhat crude stiffness, which, however, may be the fault of the translator—has much of Norse severity about it:—

"There were before him in the pangs of death  
One hundred and three Fenian chiefs.  
Draoigheantoir did cut off  
Quickly their heads without untruth . . . .

"Conan released Osgur and Fionn  
From the close spells which on them lay,  
Before Draoigheantoir returned  
In haste back without the knowledge of the bowl."

Scotch writers, who did not yield to prejudice, have expressed themselves for the Scandinavian descent of the Irish Fianna. The attempt has also been made to assign the latter to the Ugrian Finnic stem; an untenable idea already before disposed of. As far as a conclusion is warranted on the obscure ground of the mythic, or semi-mythic, ancient Irish history, the Scandinavian or Teutonic descent of the Fionn seems to me by far the probable one.

If the Ossianic Poems, whose contents refer to Scotland as well as to Ireland, had not come down to us in so corrupt a shape, a conclusion could be drawn with greater certainty. Ossian himself was said to be a son of Finn-Gall, or Finn the Foreigner; and Germanic names, like Oscar, Carul (Karl), Erik, Armin, Arno, Odgal (Od, or Otto, the Foreigner), Suaran, Rothmar, Ryno, Strumon, Sgalag, and various others, appear in these Gaelic songs. The Danish historian, Suhm,\* has shown that there has really been a King Swaran, of West Gothland, who in the third century made several Viking expeditions; a fact which Macpherson could not possibly have known. For the Ossianic Swaran there would, therefore, be an historical precedent. This is noteworthy, whatever colossal liberties Macpherson may have, unquestionably, taken with the oral traditions. Worsaae, who in his investigations always shows the utmost caution and exactness, says of the Ossianic poems:—

"For the Scandinavian North they have a very peculiar power of connection, on account of the surprising concordance they show with the feeling and the spirit of some parts of the sagas and the Edda. These latter, again, form a strong proof of the genuineness of the lays attributed to Ossian, because the sagas and the Edda, at the time Macpherson edited his 'Ossian,' were either not

\* "*Danske Historie*," i.

known at all, or at most very insufficiently—even in Scandinavia itself; not to speak of other countries. The real age of the Ossanic Poems is very uncertain and difficult to fix; but this much is apparent, that they point to a lively intercourse between Alba (Scotland) and Lochlin (Scandinavia) long before the time of the Vikings, and before all historical reports of a connection between those countries."

The old Irish annals are, unfortunately, filled with such a mass of fables, or facts overlaid by fiction, that the soil quakes everywhere, as on a bog. It is difficult, therefore, to make out who were the Fir-Bolgs and the Tuath de Dannans, who in dim ages of antiquity are said to have come into Ireland. The Fir-Bolgs are assumed to have come from Belgium; the others over North Germany, Norway, and Denmark, to Erin.\* What races do these names represent? The names of some of the Fir-Bolg chieftains have a Germanic sound.† Even "fir," in the sense of man, is not only a Keltic word, corresponding to *vir*, but also an Old High German word, as may be seen from the Wessobrunn Prayer.

Belgium, in Cæsar's time, was certainly in its majority German,‡ as it is still to-day, in its large majority, Flemish—that is, Nether-German; *Neder-duitsch*, as the Flemings call themselves, in contradistinction from the French-speaking Walloon minority, which has given the country a French veneer. I have mentioned before Menapians and Chaukians—undoubtedly German tribes—in Ireland, at the time of the Romans. As the Tuath de Dannans met in hostile encounter the Fir-Bolgs, so the Fionn met afterwards the Dannans as foes. The history of the Teutonic race, however, is full of such encounters between kindred tribes.

It is asserted that, already from the third century, Viking expeditions to Ireland are traceable, under Norse leaders like Suaran, Högni, Fridli, Ring, Rolf, and others.§ In clear history we find the Norse invasion and dominion there from the ninth to the twelfth century; it begins with Anlaf (Olaf) and ends with Roderick. There we meet with the Scandinavian kings' names Ifar, Godfred, Sihtric, Regnald, Torfin, Broder, Harold, Askold, and so forth. Anlaf and his brothers, Sihtric and Ivor, went westward about the same time that Rurik, with his brothers, Sineus and Truvor (also clear Germanic names), went eastward, founding the Russian Empire. Ivor's name is still current in Ireland as McIvor; so to say, Iverson. Not a few Germanic names exist in Ireland, which are now wrongly held to be peculiarly Keltic, in contrast to the English ones.

The remembrance of an ancient Teutonic settlement in Ireland is also apparent from the first verse of the German "Gudrun" epic. The names mentioned there are truly German:—

\* MacGeoghegan's "History of Ireland."

† See "Die Nord-germanische Welt." Von Dr. Clement.

‡ "De Bello Gall." ii. 4: plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis.

§ Ossian's "Finngal;" übersetzt von Dr. A. Ehrard.



" Ez wuohs in Irlande geheizen was er Sigebant ; Sio muoter diu hiez Uote durch ir höhe tugende	ein richer künic hër ; sin vater der hiez Gër. und was ein küneginne. sô gezam dem riche wol ir miane."
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But the " Gudrun " even contains the remembrance of internal Germanic wars—namely, of Frisians against Norse Vikings. In fact, as Dr. C. Martinius has shown in a well-reasoned essay,\* the Gudrun epic is, in its basis, a song of triumph of the Frisian over a northern kinsman, but foe. And as Frisians are within the German connection, we all the better understand the references in Old Irish history to somewhat more dark-haired Teuton tribes, called in Erse " Dubgall."

However incorrect the Gudrun poet may be in detail, he yet had a recollection of the historical fact that in the most ancient times Teutonic tribes, even of Germany proper, repeatedly settled in Ireland ; from the Menapians and Chaukians—whose name still lingers in the German family name Hauk, or Haug—to the North-men, East-men, and Danes, and down to our days. And when the Gudrun Lied speaks of a " Voget in Irlanden," a chief governor in Ireland, this, too, fits in with the fact of a Scandinavian Over-lord having once had under-kings in Erin.

These rapid indications are destined to show that the hypothesis of the Fionn, or Fenians,† having been a Germanic warrior sib, is by no means without some basis. That they were afterwards changed into alleged Irish heroes, is a procedure very frequent in folk-tales and history. Thus, the truly Germanic Hunes—among whom Sigurd himself, the Hunic ruler, is reckoned, who fell, according to the Edda, in the South, near the Rhine—were in the later Nibelungen Lay converted into Huns, or Mongols. The Atli of the Edda was changed into Attila-Etzel. Similarly, a gradual re-interpretation and change of meaning may have occurred in the Germanic Finn name, until it was completely Hibernised.

German Franks became, in course of time, Frenchmen, whose name then signified the very contrast of the German race. The Slavonian Boruss name was transferred to a German country, Prussia. The Germanic, Warangian, name of the Russians now is borne by a so-called Slav Empire. Not to speak of Burgundy and Normandy, of the originally Vandalic Andalusia, of Lombardy, and so forth, whose Germanic names were all turned into contrasts of what they at first meant.

If, therefore, as I believe, the mythic Fionn of Ireland were Teutons, much light would be thrown upon the Finn name of the Shetlandic tale. Finn, we must not forget, *is* a German name, well testified to from ancient times. Thus, from the Irish side also, the

\* "Das Land der Hegelingen." 1880.

† I have inquired for the manuscript list of the Fenian leaders, which is preserved in a Dublin University Library, and which I have before me; but the names, as my Irish informant writes, are almost, if not entirely, fanciful. There are 179 names in all. Often a description of the person is added, such as the " Hero of the Wood," the " Man of the Black Spear," &c. Only a few of those names still bear a Germanic trace. This Fenian Army List is, no doubt, a later invention.

powerful rowers and sea-dogs of the Shetland Isles would explain themselves as a Germanic race of invaders, whom the folk-tale gradually mixed up with water-creed forms, converting them into fanciful, half-superior, half-animal shapes.

## VI.

After having gone into these mystic stories, it is time now to speak more fully of the Germanic Water-worship system itself, and to trace out its connection with Indian mythology. It may seem a long stretch, from Shetland and Scotland, across Scandinavia and Germany, to far-off Hindostan; and in order to prove the connection, some philological details will have to be gone into. But I trust that this apparent digression will bring us all the more safely on the right track.

It has been briefly stated before that the Asa Creed—a Light- and Fire-worshipping religion—had been preceded, or accompanied, by the Vana Cult—that is, the adoration of Water as the source of all things. The Shetlandic Nuggle, and its twin brother, the Scottish Kelpie, as well as the various Icelandic, Scandinavian, and German Nikur, Nöcken, and Nix forms have to be ranged within the latter creed.

At first, the Plutonic and Neptunistic systems of faith, or cosmogonic theories, formed contrasts, deadly hostile to each other, among the Teutonic race; but finally, they were fused into a single faith. Of the twelve supreme Gods of the Norsemen—Odin, Thor, Tyr, Bragi, Hödur, Widar, Wali, Uller, Forsete, and Loki, are of Asic origin. On the other hand, the sea-god Niörd, and his children—the Sun and Love deities, Freyja and Freyr—were of Vaenir descent. Of Heimdall also, the guardian of Asgard, who with his horn announces the End of the World, it is sometimes said that he hailed from the Vaenir.

Germans and Englishmen are specially interested in this older Vana Cult, because it was pre-eminently that of the Suevian tribes who once dwelt near the Baltic—called *Mare Suevicum* by Tacitus,—and among whom he includes the Angles and Warins, forefathers of the English, together with the Suiones, or Swedes. At present, the Suevian or Suabian people, owing to the Great Migrations, dwell in Southern Germany; but Vana traditions are still strong in their special folklore. All along the Danube the most remarkable Vana tales are to be found. There also we meet with, in Middle High German sources, many names of places and persons composed with *Vana*—whilst in the North, more especially, there are a great many names composed with *As* or *Os*.

Fierce struggles between Suevian and other Teutonic tribes then dwelling in the North seem to have led to the compromise which established the creed that was afterwards preserved in the Edda. Consequently, the Norse religion is not of a single mould, but shows a mixture of doctrines, like the religions of the Hindoo, the Greeks, and the Romans. When we look at a rock, it often appears, at a first glance, to consist of a single stratum.



On closer investigation, we discover different layers—nay, sometimes, that which had appeared to be a simple and clear geological formation, turns out to be a mass of minute shells, and of other petrifications, heaped up pell-mell. So it is often with creeds. Behind the Asa religion there is the Vanic layer. From the sea-shell of a Water Cult, the Germanic Aphrodite has stepped up to the rulers in Asgard, where afterwards she was celebrated as “the noblest of the Asa deities,” and where she received, in her heavenly abode, as a proof of her high position, one half of those fallen in battle, whilst others of the departed went to Odin, Thor, Freyr, or Hel.

Before entering upon a discussion of the meaning of the word *Vana*, I may say here a few words about the Teutonic Gods in general, and the connection of the Aesir with the Old Indian Asuras.

In Norse mythology, the supreme powers bear various names. They are called Gods, Aesir, Tivar, Diar, or Disir, Regin, Höpt, Bönd, and Vear. As Höpt (Clasps—*i.e.*, Causes of the holding together of the Universe), as Bönd (the United), and as Vear (the Sacred) they not only form the natural, but also the moral, order of the world. This latter conception is, however, clearly a later one, or one subsequently interpreted into these words; for primitive races mainly keep, in their divine appellations, to the outer aspect and phenomena of Nature. Thus, Tivar, Diar, and Disir, undoubtedly were among the oldest divine names; and these words have simply a natural meaning. To this group belongs the name of the German Mars, Tiu, of which the Norse *Tivar* is but the plural. Tiu is the Scandinavian Tyr, the god with the shining sword, who once may have held the dart of lightning, Heaven’s weapon, in his hand. In Anglo-Saxon, *Tir* means splendour. To it, the Old High German *ziori*, splendid, answers. From the same root have branched off the names of Zeus, of Ju-piter (Zeus, the Father), of the Lithuanian Diewas, of the Vedic Dyaus and Devas, as well as the Latin *dies* (day), and other expressions of similar physical import. Only gradually, these divinized Forces of Nature were raised into Moral Powers; the progressing human mind creating its own reflex in the spheres of Heaven.

Even as by the word Tivar, so, I believe, we are also led back by the Asa name of the Teutonic Gods to a Vedic connection. *As*—in Gothic *ans*, in Old Saxon *ös*, which has given rise to so many Germanic names, such as Aslaug, Asmund, Osbert, Osborne, Osric, Oswald, Oswulf, and many others—is a word which strangely recurs, not only in Keltic and Persian, but even in Etruscan mythology—that is, on Aryan, as well as on, probably, Turanian ground. The Hesus of the Gauls perhaps belongs to the same circle. “Aesar” and “Aisoi” the Etruscan deities were called. So it is recorded by Suetonius and Hesychios. The concurrence can scarcely be thought an accidental one. Now, without accepting at all the theory of Lord Crawford and Balcarres, who tries to make the Etruscans the next-of-kin of the Thuringians, the question



may yet be raised whether there is not evidence to be found, in the name of the Etruscan Gods, as well as in several other Etruscan words, of the existence, among that curious nation, of a strong Teutonic, or at any rate Aryan, element, which may once have been their leading war-clan. If this were so, it would only be the counterpart of what occurred in the North in the ninth century, when the Germanic Warangians became the leading war-clan among the Finns, Slavs, and Tatars, forming them into that "Russian" Empire which has even its name from the Teutonic Ros.

Others may think that the fact of there being a common name for the Gods in Aryan and Etruscan tongues, points back to a dim and unfathomable pre-historic epoch of races.\* A third hypothesis, namely, that the Teutonic nations received the word *As* (plur. *Aesir*), Anglo-Saxon *Os* (plur. *Es*), Gothic *Ans* (plur. *Anseis*), from Turanian tribes, I believe to be excluded by etymology. The root is apparently to be found in *vesa* (Germ. *wesen*)—an earlier form of *vera*, to be. It is a word which—without entering here into closer philological disquisitions, or referring to the controversies of eminent Sanskrit and Zend scholars, like Haug, Roth, and Spiegel†—appears to be closely connected with Indian and Greek words meaning "to breathe," "to be." The Germanic Asa Gods would thus explain themselves as *the* Beings, by preference—that is, the Chief Beings.

And I hold the Vedic Asuras, and the great God, Ahura, of the Persian creed, to be etymologically the same as our Asa deities. Ahura Mazda is, in the Zend Avesta, the name of the Supreme Being. The sibilant *s* sound in Sanskrit, often changes, in Zend, into the aspirate *h*. In some of the oldest books of the Rig Veda, Asura is the name of the chief deities. Varuna (the Greek Uranos), the all-embracing sky, is appealed to as Asura.‡ So are Indra, the Ruler of the Air, as well as Agni, the Sun-and-Fire-God, who, together with Varuna, form an ancient trinity—like Zeus, Poseidaon, and Hephaistos; or like Odin (Air), Hoenir (Water), and Loki (Fire): an elementary combination to be found in various creeds.

Varuna, Indra, and Agni were consequently at first Asuras—that is, Aesir, Aesar, Aisoi, chief gods of highest rank. And the Indian Asura name explains itself, like that of the Germanic Aesir, from a

\* Dr. Hyde Clarke, in an essay on "The Turanian Epoch of the Romans," gives Eze, Ezo, Esho, Osu, Osi, &c., as meaning God among various African tribes; and he compares those words with Aesir, Aisoi, and Aesar. The statement is noteworthy—all the more so because in Africa there exists, around the Negro race proper, a large fringe of populations of what, in the usual terminology, may be called a Turanian aspect. Yet, I think it is unsafe to draw very large conclusions from the similarity of sounds, where the roots of a word have not been sufficiently investigated. Of the presence of a large Turanian admixture among the ancient Romans, which Dr. Hyde Clarke exerts himself to prove, I entertain, however, not the slightest doubt.

† I here express my thanks, for a note on the subject, to the Sanskrit Professor, Dr. J. Jolly, of Würzburg.

‡ A single quotation from one of the earlier books of the Rig Veda may suffice: "*O Varuna! we put away Thine anger by our prostrations, our sacrifices, and our libations. Dwelling here, O Asura, wise Ruler, take away the sins that we have committed!*"—i. 2, 14.



root which signifies Being—originally, Breathing; a root we meet again in the corresponding Greek and Latin auxiliary verb. *Asu*, in Sanskrit, is the Breath of Life. The Indian, like the Teutonic gods, are, therefore, in virtue of their common name, pre-eminently the Spiritual Beings.

In this way we are led back to a time when the forefathers of the dwellers in Hindostan, and our own, still lived together under a similar system of worship.

Remarkably enough, the Vedic Pitris, who are conceived as heavenly Father Spirits, and Sons of Gods, are addressed even as late as in the Atharva Veda (18; 1, 2) as "the sons of the great Asura (Varuna), the Heroes, the *props of Heaven*, who shine far and wide." These Pitris—diminished Asuras, as it were—have thus, word for word, the same attribute as the Norse Aesir, who are also called the props, the pillars and girders, of the Universe; corresponding to the Gothic Anseis. This concordance, even in the minor divine scale, still further confirms me in the belief of an identity in name between the earliest Vedic and the Germanic Gods.

In course of time, the highest Spiritual Beings in India, owing to a change in the religious system, the causes of which are beyond our ken, sank to the condition of demons and enemies of the Gods. This is a process frequent in the succession of creeds. For instance, Wodan, the great World-Spirit and World-Runner, became converted into a Wild Huntsman and hellish spuke.

Strong traces of the degradation of the Asura name already occur in the Rig Veda itself, whose contents, also, are not cast in a single mould, but are made up of contradictory doctrines. Thus, in Hymn vii. 13-1, and 22-4, Agni and Indra are called, not Asuras, but Asura-Slayers. Gradually, the Asuras were entirely pushed into the background as mere evil spirits. Scholiasts, who did not know better, or who had an interest in hiding the truth about those devilled Gods, then invented the derivation of their name—instead of from *asu*, Breath of Life—from *a-su*—that is, "not good." A false etymology was started to blur out the real occurrence. It was a sleight-of-hand performance which, under similar circumstances, we meet with in the theological systems of many nations.

#### VII.

I have dwelt on the Tivar, Zeus, Jupiter, and Dyaus connection, and on the identity between Asuras and Aesir, because it strengthens, at least laterally, the opinion I hold that there is similar connection between the *Vanor* of what may be a lost Indian creed and the *Vaenir* of the Edda.

Some have attempted to show that the Vaenir were originally Wendic, Slavonian, deities, whilst others would see in the conflict between the Aesir and the Vaenir a contrast between Germanic and

Keltic creeds. Vanic and Wendic, according to the first-named opinion, would be the same word. This view, as well as the Keltic assumption, I hold to be utterly mistaken. Another interpretation goes to the Norse word *vanr*, in order to explain the Vaenir as beings of the Air, whilst the Aesir would represent the more solid forms of existence. Again, some would interpret the Vaenir as the Beauties, from a Norse word, *vaen*, with which Venus, the Latin word for loveliness (*venustas*), and the German *Wonne*, are connected. The latter explanation need not be absolutely rejected, but the question may rather be raised whether this root, which also recurs in Sanskrit, is not synonymous with another that points to the Water.

The truth in this matter is so simple that one can only wonder at seeing so many specialists wandering about in a maze. *Vana*, in Sanskrit, is one of the words for water. Numerous passages of the Rig Veda contain it in this sense. *Van*, in the Edda, is the mythic stream which issues from the jaws of the Vanar-Gandr, the Water-Wolf, and which runs towards the Nether World. *Vana-quisl* the Northmen once called the river Don. This is evidently but a translation, for Don itself originally means simply water—even as Donau (Danube) signifies Water-Water; succeeding tribes no longer understanding the word Don, and therefore adding *ab* or *au* (= water), whilst still later comers occasionally speak now of the Donau-Fluss—that is, of the Water-Water-Water!

Vandu is a northern Water-Giant. There are Wann Lakes in Northern Germany and in the Tirol. There is a lake of the same name in far-off Armenia, where a kindred Aryan race dwells. There is the Vaenir Lake in Sweden. *Wanne*, in German, is a water-tub. *Wan-Zeit*, in German, means tide and half-tide. In Norway we find a Vannen Island; perhaps once a special seat of the water-cult. *Vand* means water in Danish. The word goes similarly through other Germanic tongues. May not the River Wandle, in Kent, have its name from it?

Starting from the hypothesis that the word must be found in this sense in Shetlandic speech, I learnt, after repeated inquiries which at first seemed hopeless, but finally were perfectly successful, that *vana* and *van*, even there, still mean "water." *Vaen-loop*, or *vane-lup*, is used in Shetland to designate a sudden and heavy shower, or waterspout—a *Wannenlupf*, or *Wasserylupf*, as might once have been said in German. "And I think also I have heard," Mr. Robert Sinclair writes—

"A halo round the moon, or an iris, or mock-sun, called a *van-gan-for*; which, by means of your suggestion, I can easily see might mean a rain-gan-fore, or rain-go-before, as such meteorological signs are reckoned indicative of rain. (The supposed appearance of a person, said sometimes to be observed shortly before death, is called their 'ganfor.')

A Shetlandic spell-saying for laying the wind at sea, which has been in use until quite recently, runs thus :—



"Robbin cam ower da *vana* wi' a shü nü !  
 Twabbie Toobie Keelikin Kollikin ;  
 Palktrick alanks da robin.  
 Güid ! sober da wind !"

Here, "*vana*" is again clearly the water. The two middle lines are obscured in meaning. As an Aryan word, *vana* = water, is thus traceable from India, through Germany and Scandinavia, as far as Shetland ; not to speak of its occurrence on Slav ground.

Now, though the Vedas contain the word *vana* in the sense of water,\* no divine name of that derivation, similar to the Germanic Vana Gods, is to be found in those Scriptures. But in his "Genealogy of the Malabar Deities," the Rev. Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg, of the Jerusalem Church of Trankebar, reports in the last century, that in the old law-books, or Puranas, there are various stories and events with which Brahma was mixed up, and from which he has received different names. For instance, he was called *Ānarmuthuven*—that is, the Oldest of the Celestials ; *Vūnmurhuthali*—that is, Ruler of the Firmament ; and *Vanorkoman*—that is, King of the Celestials.

The names in question, so far as that part is concerned which is not printed in italics, explain themselves, it is true, only from Tamul;† not from the Aryan tongue of India, to which the Germanic languages are akin. *Vanor*, and *Vūn*, also, are interpreted from Tamul as meaning Heaven. To primitive races, however, the sky is but another Ocean—an Ocean suspended above, with sluices either open or shut. Hence,

\* See Grassmann's "Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda." In Kalidasa—as Prof. Benfey, the late eminent Sanskritist, was good enough to communicate to me—*vana* still occurs in the sense of water. He added, it is true :—"Was *vana* betrifft, so heisst es in der That im Sanskrit auch 'Wasser' nach dem Urtheil der besten Lexicographen und in Zusammensetzungen, wie *vana-much*, 'Wasser befreiend,' d.i. spendend, von Indra ; *vana-da*, eigentlich 'Wasser gebend,' als Bezeichnung der Wolke. Allein diese Bedeutung ist höchst wahrscheinlich eine sekundäre und daraus hervorgegangen, dass die Wolken in den Veden als hölzerne Kufen (von *vana*, Holz) aufgefasst werden, welche den Regen enthalten, und daher *vana* genannt werden. Diese Bezeichnung der Wolken erklärt vielleicht die von Ihnen angeführten Worte : *Vana Indis dicitur coelum æreum.*" With all due deference to the great Sanskritist on a subject so thoroughly his own, and on which I could, at best, only express a cautious surmise, I thought it desirable to make further inquiries. I started from the hypothesis, drawn from Germanic philology, that *vana* must mean water in a primary sense. To Prof. E. P. Evans, an American Sanskrit scholar, to whom I here express my best thanks for various valuable communications, I am specially indebted for a number of decisive Vedic and other passages, which leave no doubt on the point at issue. (See, for instance, R.V. i. 54, 1 and 5 ; i. 64, 12 ; i. 119, 1 ; x. 163, 5). The proof that *vana*, in Sanskrit, has originally the meaning of "water"—and not a merely secondary or derived meaning from the fact of the clouds having, as Prof. Benfey says, mythologically been conceived, in the Vedas, as wooden tubs (from *vana*=wood)—seems to me evident from the full concordance of the Sanskrit with the Germanic words for water, which I have above given. True, *vana*, in Sanskrit, also means wood, or forest. May I suggest that, possibly, *vana*=water, and *vana*=wood, are already forms of words worn down by attrition ; middle syllables having fallen out in each, which at first constituted a slight difference ? *Vana*, in the sense of wood, might be an onomatopoeic formation, signifying the "waving" growth of plants, the "wagging" or "vacillating" of the twigs, the "wavy" rustling of the tree-tops. I believe *vana*, in the sense of wavy water, has a similar onomatopoeic origin. Hence, that word may equally belong to Sanskrit and Tamul, to Aryan and Ugrian, to Germanic and Slavonian languages. The wafting of the wind, or of the waves of the air, as well as the waving, wavering, or wobbling movement of the water, describes a sound which recurs in *Woge*, *Wiege*, *Wagen* ; *bewegen*, *wackeln*, *wanken* ; and, with a sibilant prefix, in *schwingen*, *schwank*, *schwach* ; in *vagari*, *vacillare*, &c. ; again, in *Welle*, *wandern*, *wallen*, and a great many other words.

† "Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français." Goa.



Air and Water are not contrasts, but convertible terms, to the early ways of thinking. The same word can, therefore, signify both elements.

Of the Tamul language, Prof. Benfey said that—"it is full of Sanskrit words; and as *vana*, in the later Sanskrit, decidedly means water, it could have penetrated with that meaning also into Tamul." However, *vana*, in a sense connected with water, is to be found also on Ugrian ground. There is in Finland a Vana Lake; but whether its name has arisen from an Aryan race which passed over Finnish ground, or whether the word is racy of the Ugrian soil, it is difficult to say. In the Finnic epic, "*Kalewala*," a Vana name seems to recur in Wäinöläinen, the son of Akko. Again, in Akkad or Sumerian mythology, there are divine forms whose names, I think, may possibly indicate a further parallel. But here we enter upon most uncertain and debateable ground, on which Akkadists and Semitists are utterly at issue; on which Aryanists, too, may have something to say; and where large questions arise about the priority, or the intermixture, of races, languages, and creeds, which at present baffle all attempts at solution.

A single point, however, I cannot avoid touching upon even now.

At a time when Babylonia, according to Berosos, was inhabited by an incongruous mass of races, a strange miraculous figure was said to have risen from the Red Sea, half fish, half man; called Oannes, or Oann. It had human voice, and taught men how to write, as well as all sciences and arts; how to build towns and temples, to till the fields, and to give laws. During the day, that great teacher Oann instructed men. At night he returned to his native home, the sea. This same superior being gave an account of the origin of the world: how, in the beginning, everything was an Abyss of Waters, enveloped in Darkness, in which the most fantastically-shaped animal forms swam about—the produce of a "twofold principle." Images of these primæval forms, says Berosos, could still be seen in the temple of Bel. (Is not this a crude evolutionist theory, founded on excavations of pre-historic animals by the Chaldæans?)

The original Abyss of Waters, or Chaos—Berosos continues—was ruled over by a woman called Omorka; a name rendered by an Armenian translator as "*Markaia*." In Chaldæan, *Markaia* was called *Thalatth*; which in Greek meant *Thalatta*, the Sea. Bel dissolved this Chaos, or Woman, by cutting it, or her, in twain; thus creating Heaven and the Earth. After that, the sea-monsters, not being able to bear the light, died. But men arose now from the earth being mixed with Bel's own blood.

This doctrine of Oann, or Wann, whose name remarkably tallies with the divine Vana race, has a curious likeness to a hymn in the *Rig Veda*,\* of which I shall speak in the concluding part, and which says of the origin of the world:—"Darkness there was; in deep darkness enveloped was the Universe—an Ocean without light." A ray of desire, or love,



then shot, according to the Vedic hymn, across this "Nothingness enveloped in deep Gloom," and out of it came living creation. The cosmogony of Oann, which comes very near the Indian idea, is a combination of the Neptunistic and Plutonic view. Thalath, or Taledeth, is etymologically explained as the Birth-giving One. The Aboriginal Flood is here again the source of all things.

Gesenius thinks that Oann signifies a more cultured race, which came on board ships through the Red Sea, and which by the child-like imagery of less advanced tribes was transmogrified into Fish-Men. Indeed, another ancient writer describes Oann as "wholly like a fish, but with another head below the fish-head, and with feet below the tail, like those of a human being, and with a human voice;" an engraven representation of which was still extant in his time.

Does this description not remind us of the "scaly monsters" in old Irish history? Must not the other head, below the fish-head, and the human feet below the fish-tail, be interpreted as those of a warrior in scaly armour?

Seven times—Berosos reports—such Fish-Beings arose in the course of years from the Red Sea, bringing revelations and confirming what Oann had taught. Is this not a mythical record of seven successive arrivals of an Oann, Vana, or Finn race? Marcus von Niebuhr\* thinks "the description looks very like that of men in fish-skins." Do we not seem to have here the charm-working skin of the Shetlandic Finns? Berosos says that Oann "lived an amphibious life." Exactly like the Finns of these Northern Isles!

I will not pursue this subject any farther, beyond saying that several attempts have been made to explain the name of the Aboriginal Flood, conceived as a birth-giving woman, Omorka, or Markaia. The interpretation varies according to the division of the syllables.† A Merlady Markaia certainly is. But how, if Mar-Kaia were a Mer-Cow—so to say, an all-nourishing cow, Audhumla, which in Norse mythology brings forth even the ancestor of the divine race? I start this hypothesis at the side of other attempts at interpretation, for which there is, perhaps, far less firm ground. The symphony of Oann with the Vana name certainly entitles it to some consideration.

Perhaps Oann, after all, represents an Indo-Aryan tribe which came by sea to Babylon. Even the Anu spoken of by Megasthenes, from Indian sources, as the forbear of the Northern races, may perhaps yet be ranged within this connection—in the same way as Prof. Max Müller has identified another mythical ancestor of races, mentioned from Indian sources by the Greek writer referred to, with the Turanian stock. The first deity and divine forefather of the Assyrian kings, it is true, is also called Anu; and Rawlinson reminds us, in discussing this subject, of

\* "Geschichte Assur's und Babels seit Phul." 1857.

† "Aegypten's Stelle in der Weltgeschichte," by Christian Carl Josias Buusen, v., p. 227.

Oannes. But considering the great confusion of populations in the early history of Babylonia, as testified to by Berosos, a blending of Oann with Assur blood would not be unlikely. The very faces of some early Assyrian kings seem rather to confirm this surmise.

I have been led to the search for an Indian divine name connected with the Germanic Vaenir by a passage from Finn Magnusson.\* I now believe I have found such relation between the Vana circle of deities and the Malabar names of Brahma—even as there is, to my mind, no doubt about the kinship between the Aesir and the Asuras. The great Aryan God, in Malabar theology, appears as a Vanor Ruler. So this Vana word has, in a divine sense, been in use among Vanor-adoring Hindoo, Wanen- or Vaenir-worshipping Teutons, and probably also among those devoted in classic times to the Venus cult, as well as among the Oann-taught races of early Babylonia.

Thus Shetlandic, Icelandic, Scandinavian, and German words and ideas of worship lead in a twofold way, by strange threads of connection, into distant Asia, back to cult-forms of incalculable antiquity.

KARL BLIND.

\* *Vana* Indis dicitur coelum æthereum (teste Paulino a St. Bartholomæo, Musei Borg. cod. MS., p. 52), et specialiter Tamulice *vanam*, ex observatione doctissimi nostri Fuglsangii mihi benevole communicata.



## MR. BRADLAUGH AND THE CONSTITUTION.

THE "Sessional Resolution" of the House of Commons, by which the elected member for Northampton is prevented from complying with the requirements of the law, for the purpose of taking his seat, expired with the past Session. Mr. Gladstone said in the House, on the 8th of August, that "if, next Session, Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself, and claimed to take the oath, Her Majesty's Government would deem it their duty to consider the question with a view to the termination of the controversy."

There can be little doubt that early next Session, by an amendment of the existing Statutes for the Regulation of Parliamentary Oaths, the last remaining religious test will be abolished, and elected members of Parliament, enjoying the confidence of, and holding the most solemn species of trust from, a constituency, will encounter no further impediment in pledging their honour and their conscience than witnesses in courts of justice. The course of legislation in this direction has been so continuous and uniform, that it is scarcely possible that the advocates of tests should attempt to shelter themselves in the last resting-place, which, by a mere accident of language, as it would seem, has been left open to them.

The facts, however, attending Mr. Bradlaugh's forcible exclusion from the House have been far too notorious for it to be satisfactory, in the public interest, that the controversy should be simply closed up by the peremptory seal of legislation. It is sometimes of even more importance that a legislative measure should be fully understood and approved by the whole nation than that it should be enacted. In the case now under consideration there is more than one constitutional principle, of no small moment, involved, and the urgency of the moral and religious

issues at stake has never been dissembled; while it is this very urgency which, by pitting one religious party in the country against another, constitutes one of the chief difficulties of the situation.

Owing to the greath length to which the proceedings in what is already a *cause célèbre*, and what will shortly be a "leading case" in constitutional law, have extended—beginning as they did in May, 1880, with the opening of the present Parliament, and still going on—there are probably few people who bear in mind all the consecutive stages of the process by which Mr. Bradlaugh has advanced his claim to sit in the House. The story may, for the present purpose, be briefly summarized by recalling the facts that when Mr. Bradlaugh was elected as Member for Northampton at the last General Election, he applied to the Chief Clerk (Sir Thomas Erskine May) to be allowed to make an affirmation or declaration in place of the oath prescribed by law, "in virtue of the Evidence Amendments Act of 1869 and 1870." The result of this request was, first, the appointment of one Select Committee, and then of another, the general bearing of the Reports of both Committees being that, though it was their opinion that an affirmation could not, in such a case, be substituted for the oath, yet it was, on the whole, expedient to allow the affirmation to be made, in order to prepare the way to have its legality tested in a court of justice. Thereupon followed the resolution of the 2nd of July, 1880, by which "every person returned as a member of the House claiming to be a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration, instead of taking an oath, should henceforth be permitted, without question, to make and subscribe a solemn affirmation in the form prescribed by the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, as altered by the Promissory Oaths Act, 1868, subject to any liability by statute."

In consequence of this resolution, Mr. Bradlaugh made the affirmation and took his seat, but was unseated last April, in consequence of a successful action being brought against him under the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866. This Act imposes a penalty of £500 on a person who has voted or sat in the House of Commons "without having made and subscribed the oath appointed by the Act." The judgment was affirmed by the Court of Appeal, which, in common with the Court below, disallowed Mr. Bradlaugh's defence that he was, under the Statutes, enabled to affirm instead of taking the oath. By one of the sections of the same Parliamentary Oaths Act the result of success in the action was to render his seat "vacant as if he was dead."

A new election for Northampton followed. Mr. Bradlaugh was re-elected, and this time presented himself in order to take the oath in the way usual with newly-elected members, and (as the report says) "having delivered to the clerk the writ accrediting his return for the borough of Northampton, was about to take the usual oath, having been handed the book for that purpose," when Sir Stafford Northcote, interrupting the proceedings, rose to address the House; upon which the



Speaker made use of some expressions which it is worth while to record precisely as given in the *Times* of April 27, 1881:—

"I understand that the right hon. gentleman the member for North Devon proposes to submit a motion to the House on a matter of form. I think it right to say, before the right hon. baronet does so, that the hon. member for Northampton, having been introduced, has come to the table to take the oath required by law in the accustomed form. He is prepared to comply with every provision of the Statute in order to take his seat in this House. Undoubtedly a proceeding so regular and formal ought, under ordinary circumstances, to be continued without interruption. But, having regard to the former resolution of this House, and to the reports of its Committees in reference to this matter, I cannot withhold from the House an opportunity of expressing its judgment upon the new conditions under which the oath is now proposed to be taken."

Thereupon followed the carrying, by a majority of 33—208 members voting the one way and 175 the other—of Sir Stafford Northcote's resolution that, "having regard to the resolution of this House on the 23rd of June last, and the report of the proceedings of the Select Committee therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not allowed to go through the form of taking the oath prescribed by the Statute."

From the time of passing this resolution to the end of the Session, Mr. Bradlaugh repeatedly attended for the purpose of qualifying himself for sitting in the House by taking the prescribed oath, but was on all occasions prevented, sometimes by the violent intervention of the officers of the House, acting under the directions of the Speaker, in pursuance of the above resolution. Latterly, in order to prevent riotous proceedings, he was expelled even from the outer precincts of the House.

As an explanation of the grounds of Mr. Bradlaugh's conduct in the whole of these proceedings, and as some clue to unravel the strange action of the House, it is important to notice two public utterances of Mr. Bradlaugh's; one, published by request in the public newspapers on May 21, 1880, shortly after his first election and his expressed wish to avoid taking the oath, coupled with his request to be allowed to affirm; the other, contained in a speech delivered at the bar of the House of Commons on April 26, 1881, while Sir S. Northcote's resolution was still under discussion.

The first utterance of Mr. Bradlaugh's, on May 21, 1880, was:—"The oath, although to me including words of an idle and meaningless character, was and is regarded by a large number of my fellow-countrymen as an appeal to the Deity to take cognizance of their swearing. It would have been an act of hypocrisy to voluntarily take this form if any other had been open to me, or to take it without protest, as though it meant in my mouth any such appeal."

The second utterance alluded to, on April 26, 1881, as reported in the *Times* of April 27, is:—"He had stated before the Committee that the oath would, in the most complete degree, be binding upon his honour and conscience, and maintained that, much as he valued the right of sitting in that House, he would go through no form of oath or



declaration which was not thoroughly binding upon him as to what it expressed."

It may be remarked, by the way, as to the first of these utterances, that Mr. Bradlaugh has accidentally been placed in a specially unfavourable position through the very conscientious view which he took of the oath, and the wholly fortuitous circumstance that the use of the affirmation seemed to be an alternative, which even commended itself to the House as a possible escape from the embarrassment. Mr. Bradlaugh says, "It would have been an act of hypocrisy to voluntarily take this form if any other had been open to me, or to take it without protest." One of the main charges made by the opponents of Mr. Bradlaugh's claims was that he had at the first requested to affirm, and had, in fact, in accordance with the permissive resolution of the House, actually affirmed. This was treated as, *ipso facto*, an overt condemnation of himself as a fit and proper person to take an oath. But, had this path of proceeding by affirmation not been open to him, it may reasonably be presumed from his conduct on his second election, and from the above-cited utterances, that he would have complied with the form of taking the oath in a simple and straightforward way, though probably accompanying it with some words in order to discharge his conscience from the burden of a hypocritical use of language less significant to him than to most others, and to imply that none the less the obligation was equally binding on his conscience and honour.

Thus, Mr. Bradlaugh has, by a mere accident—the serious consequences of which no one could have foreseen—been ensnared in a sort of constitutional trap. No honest man could wish otherwise than, as far as may be, to release him from a position like this, for which, at all events, he is in no way responsible.

In reviewing from a constitutional standpoint the critical circumstances which surrounded the passing of the resolution which finally precluded Mr. Bradlaugh from taking his seat, it is, first of all, apparent that the Speaker took upon himself a grave responsibility, when he allowed the ceremony of receiving Mr. Bradlaugh's oath to be interrupted for the purpose of allowing Sir S. Northcote to move a resolution. The Speaker, indeed, recognized the cogency of the circumstances which alone could justify so extreme a course; yet certainly, all the later perplexities—and perplexities of the most anxious kind, the House certainly found them—have sprung from the Speaker's action at this point, and if he was wrong, his zeal must be criticized as not according to knowledge. The Speaker, it has been asserted, at constitutional crises, is only the servant of the House, having neither eyes, ears, nor mouth but theirs. But before Mr. Bradlaugh had completed the taking of the oath, he was in no way within the Speaker's jurisdiction any more than any other stranger who, for a special purpose, was allowed to be within the precincts. Mr. Bradlaugh, like any other stranger within or outside



the precincts of the House, might have brought himself within the jurisdiction of the House by some breach of the privilege of the House or its members, or by some act of contempt. But there was no pretence of this. The Speaker labours to say how regular and formal were all the proceedings which were taking place. Yet, in the middle of these proceedings he allows a startling interruption, followed by a long debate, and consents to become the instrument by which the qualifying oath is never completed.

This leads to the momentous question as to what is the true attitude of the House and its Speaker in respect of the Parliamentary Oath.

There are two aspects, and two aspects only, in which the House of Commons can be regarded in respect of the administration to its members of the oath required by law to be taken by them before sitting or voting in the House. The House is either a "judicial" body, which, for the protection of its own character, order, and proceedings, needs and obtains the special securities contained, or supposed to be contained, in the most solemn of all forms of assurance; or the House acts in what has been called a purely "ministerial" capacity, and, when formally assembled with its Speaker in the chair, merely constitutes the court in which the oath has to be administered, while some one or other of its officers is also nominated by law as the instrument through whom the formal act of taking the oath is performed.

On the theory of the House administering the oath in a judicial capacity, where the sole or primary purpose of the oath would be the guaranteeing the trustworthiness of the acts of its members within the limits of its jurisdiction, it may be fairly admitted that the House might go some way beyond merely witnessing the formal compliance with the ceremonial, and might on occasions criticize the demeanour, the professed intention, or the accompanying language which surrounded the outward act. In default of all such explicit qualifying circumstances as might throw suspicion on the presumed intention of the person taking the oath, the prescribed form of taking the oath is legally presumed of itself to contain its own guarantees. In the rare cases in which either the oath is objected to on assigned conscientious grounds, or the person about to swear is objected to by others as "incompetent," presumably on such grounds as ignorance, foreign manners, or avowed opinions, special legislation has intervened to substitute simple forms of affirmation or declaration. But it may be presumed that a judicial person or court, when receiving a statutory affirmation or declaration, would be just as much entitled as when administering an oath to go behind the formal recital of the prescribed words and criticize the capacity and intention at the moment of the person making the recital. Such a right is inherent in a judicial person or court empowered to administer an oath; and it is for this reason, among others, that the privilege of administering an oath is only conceded with due deliberation and special precautions, the administrator being always a strictly responsible official, and loosely constituted



bodies—such, for instance, as Committees of the House of Commons—having no such power. When the power is given to a Commissioner, to Royal Commissions, or to temporary judicial commissions of inquiry—if not given by Statute—it is an act proceeding from the highest executive authority, in pursuance of the special prerogative of the Crown as the fountain of justice.

It will thus be seen that, if it is contended that the House of Commons itself administers the oath as a judicial body specially empowered by law for that purpose, this proves a great deal too much. It at once opens out a way to all those irregular and irresponsible interruptions from private members, the apprehension of which is, no doubt, one of the grounds for only conceding the privilege of administering oaths to compactly organized, specially instructed, and highly responsible bodies of persons. Burke said, on a notable occasion, alluded to in the recent debates, that while in its legislative capacity the House was “in most instances esteemed a wise body, in its judicial capacity it had no credit, no character at all.” This may be saying a little too much for either capacity, but there is no doubt that the House of Commons is, on the above theory of the rights and duties of a judicial authority administering an oath, so grossly and so obviously unfitted for criticizing the “competency” of its own elected members, that it is no extreme presumption to suggest that it has never been a doctrine of the Constitution, or intended by the Legislature, that it should attempt to exercise such judicial functions at all.

The more the true nature, history, and purpose of the oath are considered, the more conclusive this presumption becomes.

In fact, Mr. Gladstone will be found to have more and more firm basis for his assertion in the House, on the 22nd of June, 1880: “First of all, if the House has any jurisdiction beyond providing that a certain formal duty be performed, it is a jurisdiction which has never been exercised, and which I believe it would be most impolitic on the part of the House to exercise. Secondly, the more I look at the case the stronger appears to me to be the arguments which go to prove that, in the essence of the law and the constitution, the House has no jurisdiction at all.”

Mr. Gladstone, in substantiating his view as to the purely ministerial position of the House of Commons during the administration of an oath to a newly-elected member, alluded to the original practice in Queen Elizabeth's reign, long persisted in, of administering the oaths through the medium only of the Lord Steward (a representative of the Crown on its purely executive side) and his deputies.

The actual circumstances, as described by the old authorities on Parliamentary practice, enforce this argument still more strongly than does the bare statement of the facts as made by Mr. Gladstone in his speech.

The following quotation is from an old law-book on “The Original Institution, Power, and Jurisdiction of Parliaments,” purport-



ing to be a "manuscript of the late Judge Hales," and dated 1707. The work contains little more than a collection of tersely reported precedents, or rather curt notes, with dates and marginal references extending back to Edward III.'s time, and even earlier.

Under the head "Taking the Oaths of Supremacy," and with the marginal reference "*8 Eliz.*," it is said :—

"The first motion of taking of the oath there, it was the first day taken by the Speaker, the next by the Clerk and Serjeant, and declared by the Vice-Chamberlain that the Queen had appointed the Comptroller to take the oath of the Knights and Burgesses as the Lord Steward had for that purpose.

"During the sermon, the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, accompanied with divers of the Privy-Council, came into the Commons House of Parliament, and there in presence of a great number of Knights and Burgesses signified that he was appointed by the Queen, which was testified by the Privy-Council there; he appointed five of the Privy-Council his deputies for ministering the oath, and upon that the said Lord Steward and his deputies ministered the oath; which finished, the sermon ended, and the Commons repaired into the Parliament Chamber to the Queen."

With the marginal reference "*8 May, 14 Eliz.*," it is said :—

"The Earl of Lincoln, Admiral of England, appointed Lord Steward for the time, came to the Commons House, accompanied with four of the Privy-Council, and there ministered the Oaths of Supremacy, and made the said four his Deputies. . . ."

In a still earlier treatise on "The Ancient Method and Manner of holding Parliaments in England," dated 1675, by one of Sir Thomas Erskine May's predecessors, "Henry Elsyng, Esq., sometime Clerk of the Parliament," it is said, under the head "of the first day's appearance" :—

"Now, since the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, the Commons take the Oath of Supremacy; and since the third year of King James, they take the Oath of Allegiance also, which the Lord Steward administers unto them, and appoints certain of them his deputies, to give the same unto the rest."

No clearer case could be made out for the assertion that during at least all the period which intervened between the fifth year of Elizabeth and the fifth year of Anne (that is, nearly 150 years) notwithstanding the constitutional and political changes, the two revolutions, and the successive recastings of essential parts of the constitution, the practice and theory relating to the administering of oaths to members of the House of Commons was absolutely uniform. It was purely an executive act for the purpose of obtaining from individual members of the House certain securities solely concerning the protection of the established religion, and of the reigning dynasty. It had nothing to do with the House of Commons in its corporate capacity, and it does not seem from the above citations that it was even formally assembled at the time the oaths were being taken.

If this be so, during all this period, such an interruption as that made by Sir Stafford Northcote, and permitted by the Speaker, would have been simply impossible.

The contention, then, that the functions of the House of Commons on the occasion of the oath being administered are now judicial, and



not ministerial in the sense above described, must be that a constitutional change of no insignificant character has affected the House of Commons between the reign of Anne and the present time; and that the results of that change are formally expressed in the recent Statutes, which prescribe, among other things, that the Parliamentary oaths shall be taken in the House of Commons with the Speaker in the chair. It must be argued that the House of Commons has recently assumed the character of an oath-administering authority which it never had before, and such as has been in no other case conceded by the Constitution to any authority not composed of strictly ascertained ingredients, firmly coherent, and legally responsible. This transformation of the House of Commons must have been carried on during a period in which no resolution or serious constitutional change, other than a popular modification of the House itself, has taken place, and when every other change in the law relating to test oaths has been in the uniform direction of simplifying the modes of their administration, and removing possibilities of importunity or embarrassment from the consciences of persons called upon to take them. The supposition is too incredible or absurd to be worth pursuing further to its consequences.

To all these general arguments it is to be added that no words whatever in the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866, which, with its later amendments, contain the sole written enactments now applicable to the subject, countenance the notion of any transfer to the House of Commons, or of the existence in that House, of any authority to adjudicate on the capacity or competency of its members to take the oath; and that the preamble of the Statute points only to the duties incumbent on members, and not to any duty, new or old, incumbent on the House—the words, with those of the first clause, being, “Whereas, it is expedient that one uniform oath should be taken; be it therefore enacted, that the oath to be subscribed by members on taking their seats, shall be in the terms following.” The whole Statute continues to speak of the duties incumbent on the member taking his seat, and of his liability for neglect, and of the modes of punishing neglect through an action in a Court of Law. It contains not a word bearing on any conceivable right or duty of the House in the matter, except that the occasion and place of taking the oath shall be that of a formal sitting of the full House; and that the House may—for purposes, presumably, of its own convenience—*by standing orders*—not (be it noticed) by extemporaneous, *ad hominem* resolutions—make certain definitely limited variations in the detailed and external formalities of the oath, of the like kind as, in other matters, Statutes often leave to be made by all sorts of special executive authorities, such as a Privy Council Board, the Head of the Metropolitan Police, or the municipal authorities of a Borough. Every argument points conclusively one way, and one way only: that in this matter of actually administering the Parliamentary oath, the law is face to face with the member about to take his seat; and while it



does its utmost, by threats of punishment, to prevent the oath being evaded in cases where no special statutory substitute is provided, and invites all persons to co-operate in inflicting the punishment, leaves the House of Commons wholly on one side, only incidentally recognizing it as providing the time, place, and outward formalities at and amidst which the oath may and must be taken.

If these reasonings be sound, there is no escape from the unwelcome conclusion that a gross constitutional outrage has been committed, by means of a chance combination of a number of persons, swayed, it would appear from the reports, mainly by a variety of strong feelings and personal antipathies. It must be reluctantly admitted, too, in disparagement of one of the most eminent and capable officers the House has ever had, that this combination was supported by the Speaker, who seriously misapprehended his duties, and allowed himself to be made the implement of a casual, tumultuous, and tyrannical majority, instead of insisting on his true character as the organ of the whole House, fully and solemnly accoutred with all its traditions, laws, rights, privileges, and responsibilities.

It is from shame at this false step which has been taken that the difficulty of undoing the past without plenary confession of its mistake is felt by the House. The relations of the House to the constituency of Northampton, and to the whole electoral body, have become anomalous, and must be brought into conformity with the requirements of the constitution if the form of representative government is to be maintained. It is child's play for the House to put itself at once against the law and against the will and sentiments of the people when fully enlightened as to the state of the law. The House of Commons, though possessing an aggregate unity and continuity, to which, perhaps, no other corporation can pretend, is, in its composition, as mobile and fluctuating as any assembly could be, having such peculiar responsibilities as are cast upon it. Nevertheless, it is only in moments of very heated excitement that a majority of the members of the House of Commons act as if they were indifferent to the lasting character of their House, or hope to find a mean subterfuge for their illegal acts in the consciousness of their own individual unaccountability in the future. It was a blow to the character of representative assemblies all over the world when, thirteen years after a resolution of the House of Commons had declared John Wilkes incapable of re-election, the original resolution was, by a fresh resolution ordered to be "expunged from the Journals of the House," as being "subversive of the rights of the whole body of the Electors of the kingdom."

It is not worth while lingering long over the question whether, supposing the House of Commons had been called upon (as they were not) to superintend, as a judicial body, the administration of the oath, the grounds upon which Mr. Bradlaugh was rejected were sound, from a purely legal point of view. It may be that, if he had appeared in a court of justice



and offered to take an oath, his public utterances on the Divine, as distinguished from the human, obligation of an oath would have furnished ground, in the judge's opinion, for cross-examination as to his belief in a God, and in a condition of rewards and punishments, either in this world or another. He might, in consequence of his answers, have been objected to as "incompetent," and he would thereupon have given his evidence (as, he says, on such occasions he habitually has given it) in one of the other ways substituted by Statute. The mere fact, by the way, that the House of Commons was unable to conduct such a cross-examining process might, of itself, cast doubt upon its claim to affect a judicial character; and there is reason to believe that the executive officer himself who administers the oath, whether he be (as in old times) the Lord Steward, the Lord Admiral, and their deputies of the Privy Council, or (as now) the Chief Clerk of the House, or whoever is from time to time designated by the terms of the Statute, or by a Standing Order made in pursuance of the Statute, to receive the oath, might properly take means, then and there, to satisfy himself as to the words of the oath being understood, and its divine obligation admitted. There are, no doubt, persons who would deny this right, but it seems to be inherent in the act of what is called administering the oath. The opponents of Mr. Bradlaugh's claims made a great deal of this fact, though it really serves them very little. The House neither proceeded with the regularity of a judicial body, nor with the calm indifference and impartiality of ministerial functionaries in attendance for the purpose of giving validity to an act of a purely ceremonial kind. The House mixed two functions, the judicial and the deliberative, together, availing itself of one or the other, or of both, as might best seem to suit at the moment. In a judicial capacity they affected to cross-examine Mr. Bradlaugh by hearing an explanation of his views at the bar of the House, and then rejecting his oath. As a political and deliberative assembly they entered into a protracted and inflammatory discussion, the result of which is fully to demonstrate the wisdom of the constitutional provision which ignores the judicial claims of the House of Commons in this class of business. The House first interposed as judges; then one and another of its members, seizing the occasion, argued as only rival demagogic politicians stirred by religious antipathies can argue.

Admitting then, for the present purpose, that Mr. Bradlaugh, with his views, might be legally prevented from taking the Parliamentary Oath, however mistimed and mistaken were the actual modes resorted to for preventing him from taking it, the present position of things must be distinctly looked in the face—that is, that there is a class of persons who are at present excluded from the House of Commons by reason solely of their religious belief. It is far better to give up, once for all, the worthless discussion as to whether the act of taking the Parliamentary oath implies the recognition of a religious obligation, or whether the religious sanction is only "surplusage," and added, as lawyers say, *pro majore*



*cautelâ*, while the true sanctions are the same as attach to a statutory affirmation. There is no doubt that the two forms of assurance—that of oath, and that of affirmation—exist side by side, and that, in practice, as well as in legislative usage, an important distinction has been drawn between the use of the two forms respectively. The one form has been made applicable only to persons who (according to the law as settled in repeated judicial decisions) believe in a God, and in His exercising penal jurisdiction against liars and “covenant breakers” in this world or the next. The other form has been extended to such persons as for conscientious reasons object to the form of the oath, or to the ceremonies attending the act of taking it, and to persons objected to on the grounds of incompetence, or themselves objecting without reason assigned. It was clearly and decisively established by the Court of Appeal,\* affirming the judgment of the Court of Queen’s Bench in *Clarke v. Bradlaugh*, that the benefit of the statutes for relieving witnesses in courts of justice from the obligation of taking an oath, even though they belonged to none of the religious denominations to which previous relieving statutes extended, did not go further than the precise class of persons designated; and that Members of Parliament are among the classes of persons not benefited by any of the relieving Statutes. It is impossible to resist the cogency of the considerations urged by all the judges, who certainly entertained the arguments urged the other way in a most broad and dispassionate spirit. In the words of Lord Justice Lush, “there is not the slightest doubt that the only persons who are permitted in the House of Commons to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath, are those classes of persons who by previous Acts of Parliament have been permitted, *on all occasions and at all times, throughout the United Kingdom*, to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath.”

The Evidence Amendments Acts, on which reliance was placed by Mr. Bradlaugh, did not apply to Scotland, and Lord Justice Bramwell’s doubts on this point add another conclusive argument adverse to Mr. Bradlaugh’s legal claims in the present state of the law. He said, “It seems to me extremely difficult to suppose that the Imperial Legislature, which has made a law affecting English and Irish tribunals, nevertheless has incidentally passed an enactment with respect to the English law of evidence and English tribunals, which affects the Imperial Legislature, even as to the case of a member representing Scotch constituency.”

Thus, the only outlook is fresh legislation for the extension to occasions whatever, including those of Members of Parliament about to take their seats, of the benefit of the relieving Statutes which now apply only to the occasion of giving evidence in courts of justice. Lord Justice Bramwell, in the case just cited, himself held that the Parliamentary Oaths Act, which, with its later Amendments, prescribes the present form of oath and the mode of administering it, contemplates not only the present existence, but the coming into existence

\* “Law Reports,” L.B., Part vii., p. 38.



of classes of persons who *on all occasions* are permitted to make a solemn declaration or affirmation instead of taking an oath.

It will hardly be upheld as a matter of deliberate policy, even in the most select recesses of the House of Lords, that the closing of this century is to be signalized by overtly setting up a newly-invented Parliamentary test, which would be found to be in its operation more irreligious, more tyrannical, and more fraught with immoral consequences than all the rest which have been, one after another, swept away. When once attention has been fully aroused to the iniquitous operation, as a test, of an antiquated form of words, to maintain the form is to enact the test for the first time. The form is first found to be a test, when, owing to a new growth of opinion, an old form hitherto insignificant, and believed to be harmless, is found to exclude the persons otherwise inadmissible. Thus, it is not possible to take refuge in a supposed claim to keep things as they are. To uphold the old form by desisting from effectual legislation is consciously and actively to re-enact it. Henceforth it will, and must, be known far and wide, either that a certain form of religious belief is a condition *sine quâ non* for taking a seat in the English House of Commons, or it is not. It is impossible to predict what lines a debate on this subject may take, because the persecuting spirit which simulates devotion is too old a foe for any historical student to be ignorant of its devices.

Mr. Newdegate has already given hints in the House about "the fool who has said in his heart, There is no God,"\* and Sir H. Tyler, the Conservative M.P. for Harwich, has spoken about "the present occasion as an opportunity for those who were on the side of Atheism, irreligion, and immorality to vote in one direction." Well did Burke prophesy of such in the warning language :—

"From what I have observed, it is pride, arrogance, and a spirit of domination, and not a bigoted spirit of religion, that has caused and kept up these oppressive Statutes. I am sure I have known those who have oppressed Papists in their civil rights, exceedingly indulgent to them in their religious ceremonies, and who really wished them to continue Catholics, in order to furnish pretences for oppression. These men never saw a man (by converting) escape out of their power, but with grudging and regret. I have known men, of whom I am not uncharitable in saying (though they are dead) that they would have become Papists in order to oppress Protestants, if, being Protestants, it was not in their power to oppress Papists. It is injustice, and not a mistaken conscience, that has been the principle of persecution, at least as far as it has fallen under my observation."†

It was said above that the new theistic test is more objectionable and obnoxious than all the previous tests which, one after another, have been abolished.

First of all, it is a serious disparagement to orthodox Christianity to retain a theistic, while abolishing a Christian test. Those who are the firmest adherents of what is known in this country as Christian ortho-

\* *Times*, June 23, 1880.

† Burke: "A Letter to a Peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics," A.D. 1782.



doxy—including in this somewhat vague term the tenets of the Trinity and the Incarnation—should be the first to resist a broad practical distinction being drawn of the greatest publicity and political importance between a belief in God and a belief in Christ—between the admission of a Jew and the admission of an Atheist. For the first time in the history of Parliament, Christ and God are to be set up in opposition to each other, and the conflicts of early Arianism in Alexandria and Constantinople in the fourth century are to be re-enacted in London in the nineteenth. This is no rhetorical estimate of the direct and obvious consequences involved in retaining a theistic and abolishing a Christian test. If it be urged that the theistic test has, time out of mind, prevailed in courts of justice, the instant reply is that the argument confutes itself, inasmuch as where there has been continuous usage, there has been no contradiction; and consequently no public antithesis between one Person in the Trinity and another. But the argument itself comes badly from the mouths of those orthodox Christians who would draw a distinction between Parliamentary and all other oaths, on the ground that Members of Parliament are concerned with questions relating to national religion in a way no other persons are to whom relieving Statutes have been extended.

This, however, is at the best but an argument *ad hominem*.

A more general objection to the theistic test is that it cannot be presumably justified by any reference to special national institutions which might be supposed likely to suffer detriment at the hands of persons alien to them in sentiment. Such has always been the defence of the persecuting laws which, at one time and another, excluded Roman Catholics, Protestants, Nonconformists, and Jews from sitting and voting in the House. But it can scarcely be said that persons who have peculiar speculative views on providence, the creation, and the government of man and the world are likely to be more inimical to any peculiar national institutions than avowed opponents of the Established Church, consistent deniers of all that constitutes the essential facts and doctrines of Christianity, and those who owe their highest spiritual allegiance to a visible authority outside the Queen's dominions and in no way subject to her authority.

There remains then to be encountered an undefined belief that persons who have adopted a negative opinion on the question as to the existence of a Supreme Being are *ipso facto* condemned as unfit to be legislators. But why? It is not now seriously contended that they are more flagitious than the rest of the world in their own lives, or more indifferent to the morality of others. It is scarcely pretended that they are necessarily less intelligent and well-informed than average members of Parliament. Nor is it said in so many words that some standard of intelligence and morality ought to be applied to an elected member different from what he has had to abide by in appealing to a constituency.

The truth is that the peculiar infamy attaching in some people's minds to the profession of atheistic opinions is the legacy of one of the



most dead and irreligious periods in the history of English Christianity—that is, part of the eighteenth century. Churchmanship had been degraded to the coldest of respectable formalisms; Christianity was almost expiring in the course of its hazardous passage from the charge of the Puritans to that of the Methodists. Morality and public spirit were betaking themselves to a precarious refuge in the breasts of speculative philosophers and political reformers. There was just enough reminiscence of religion in Churchmen and Christians to abominate all who competed with themselves to be religious leaders of the people. The outburst in France at the end of the century against all existing ties, whether religious, political, or social, finally welded together in a fixed association the deniers of a God, the opponents of a monarchy, and the reckless reconstructors of society. From that time the term “Atheist” simply meant the advocates of what was mysteriously and indefinitely vicious, and was synonymous with a social outcast.

So far as it was attempted to justify this sentiment, it was alleged that the sole ground and sanction of morality was the apprehension of punishment for wrong-doing in another world. If this sanction were withdrawn, all morality must be unstrung; and the disbeliever in such a sanction was left without other restraints which could be counted upon as of practical avail. The improvement of moral science, the recovery of Christian belief, the spread of speculative habits of thought, the strengthening from within of all that is really vital in English Churchmanship, have reduced the quantity of professed Atheistic opinions to practical insignificance, and have brought down such opinions to the commonplace level of a vast number of other exceptional and somewhat eccentric tenets. To place a new and special bar against them is to give them an abnormal prominence which must instantly rally to their side all those who would vindicate a right to absolutely unrestrained mental freedom. There are no problems on which it is more difficult for a speculative thinker to formulate his views satisfactorily to himself than those of Creation and of a Personal God. There are moments of reflection when every alternative solution must be bravely faced, even the one which involves absolute negation or doubt. It is only by the exercise of utterly unfettered liberty of thought, if at all, that an inquirer or doubter can, apart from a simple acceptance of a Revealed Creed, work his way out of darkness into light; and even when he has reached the uttermost point of assurance, he may fail to give reasons which would satisfy another, and even may have again and again to doubt his own conclusions. In the case of a single soul it is a flagitious and grossly irreligious act to attempt, by bribes or menaces, to precipitate and force into non-natural directions so critical, so sacred, and so soul-searching a process as this. Where the attempt is erected into a national policy, it can only tend to bring about the death of theological thought and of genuine religion itself, and must be stigmatized as nothing less than a crime against the religious nature of man.

SHELDON AMOS.



## NEW ZEALAND IN 1881.

NEW ZEALAND is about forty years old as a British Colony, and during that period at least a thousand books and pamphlets and some tons of official documents have been printed concerning it. It may therefore, at first sight, seem improbable that any new thing should remain to be said of the country, its history, or its prospects.

But all who have visited "New Countries" know how rapid are the changes—social and industrial—to which they are subject. The New Zealand of to-day is not only very different from the New Zealand discovered by Tasman in 1642, or that first governed by Captain Hobson in 1840, but even from the New Zealand of three years ago. The processes both of growth and of decay work revolutions there, which England can scarcely appreciate. It is not only that Europeans increase and multiply, but that the native population decays. The Moa has passed away and the Maori is following him. The native forest-trees give place to European products. Even the rivers shift their courses. So that the natural historian has almost yearly a tale as new to tell as the economist and the politician. And where you have two races existing or attempting to exist side by side, the ordinary rate of progress is liable to be checked or accelerated by causes which in old settled communities are unknown. Perhaps, therefore, it is hardly necessary that an Englishman who has spent three or four months in New Zealand, free from all business engagements, should excuse himself for adding a contribution to our stock of knowledge as to the actual present position of the Colony.

I landed at Auckland, on the 14th November, 1880, and embarked at the "Bluff," on the 12th of March, 1881, and the intervening period was (with the exception of a three weeks' trip to Norfolk.

Island) occupied in exploring various portions of the North and South Islands of New Zealand. All I aim at in these pages is a brief summary of the actual condition of the Colony; in its political, financial, industrial, and educational aspects. If I omit any pictorial descriptions of its natural beauties—of Milford Sound, of Rotomahana, or the Hot Lakes, it is because they have been abundantly illustrated elsewhere.

There are, perhaps, few countries in which first impressions are so often contradicted by subsequent experience as in New Zealand. The visitor who supposes that the country is one homogeneous whole, and has not realized the distinctions of North and South, and the contrasts between the products, climate, and population of each, soon finds his mistake. He may have known perhaps that he is visiting a region equal in area to the British Isles, and extending over 14 degrees of latitude, but he has yet to learn that between the North Cape and Invercargill, there are diversities far more striking than between John O'Groats and the Land's End. He is repeatedly asked both during his travels, and after his return, "How do you like New Zealand?" a question to which he finds it quite as difficult to frame a concise reply as if he were asked how he liked Europe or America. For though a population no larger than that of Liverpool is spread over an area equal to that of Great Britain, this half million of people now present every variety of aspect and condition possible in a self-governing nation on the largest scale.

It is not perhaps very surprising that an Anglo-Saxon Colony should have contrived in forty years to attain to an annual export of more than £6,000,000 sterling in value of its own produce, nor that it should be able to scrape together an annual revenue of nearly £4,000,000; but it startles even an Englishman to be told that this infant dependency has so far emulated parental extravagance as to have piled up already a national debt of nearly £30,000,000 sterling.

In New Zealand, as in England and Ireland, the burning question of the day is that which relates to the Land, its tenure and its ownership.

It will, therefore, be perhaps most convenient that I should, in the first instance, briefly review the actual position of affairs in the Colony in reference to the Land. New Zealand contains about 64,000,000 of acres, of which (after deducting about 20,000,000 of forest, lakes, mountains, and worthless country) there remain about 44,000,000 fit for pasture or tillage. Of this 44,000,000 acres, 16,000,000 still belong to the Maoris or their assignees, 14,000,000 have been sold by the Government to Europeans, leaving a residue of about 14,000,000 acres still available for sale and settlement by the State. A large portion of this (say about 12,000,000 acres) is now held, on terminable pasture licenses, by nine hundred "squatters."

Although since the consolidation of the nine Provinces of New Zealand



into one Federal Government in 1876, the administration of the territorial revenue has been in the hands of the central Government, the systems and terms of sale in the different land districts still vary. By the Land Act of 1879 (repealing fifty-seven previous Land Acts) the Colony was divided into ten Land Districts—viz., Auckland, Taranaki, Hawkes's Bay, Wellington, Nelson, Marlborough, Canterbury, Otago, Southland, and Westland. The unsold Crown Lands in these ten districts are classified as Town, Suburban, and Rural Lands, and varying prices placed on them accordingly. The mode of sale is in some instances by selection, and in others by auction, the upset price varying in various districts. In Otago, Westland, Marlborough, Hawkes's Bay, and Taranaki, the upset price by auction has been £1 per acre. In Canterbury the price is £2 per acre by selection, auction being only resorted to in the case of two simultaneous applications.

The yearly payments in respect of pasture-licenses are generally calculated on the number of sheep the run will carry. The total sum recently received under this head by the Government has been about £110,000 per year. The existing New Zealand law respecting the transfer of land, and the system of Registration and Government Guarantee of Title, is framed on that introduced into South Australia by Sir Robert Torrens.

Out of the forty-four millions of acres available for cultivation in all New Zealand there were little more than 800,000 under crop last year, including wheat, barley, oats, potatoes and all other crops except hay, and from this comparatively small area more than 6,000,000 bushels of wheat, 700,000 of barley, and 8,000,000 bushels of oats were produced; but, as a general rule, wool is, and will be for some time to come, the only product that will pay in New Zealand for export to a distant market.\* Those who have any practical experience as farmers at home and know the cost of tillage and of rearing stock in an old country may form some judgment as to the profit likely to be realized by the producer, with oats at a shilling a bushel, beef at 17s. a hundredweight, mutton at 2d. a pound, and labour at 7s. or 8s. a day. It is not, under these circumstances, surprising that wool should almost monopolize the attention of the New Zealand immigrant. If he cannot buy land in fee, he can at a moderate rent get a run for his sheep, shear them at 15s. per hundred, and ship his wool to Europe with a certainty of a return, varying indeed but (barring rabbits or floods) always remunerative. There are over 13,000,000 sheep in New Zealand (against about 28,000,000 in Great Britain and Ireland) chiefly merino, with a fair sprinkling in the plains of Leicesters and Lincolns, Romney Marsh and Cotswolds. According to Professor Hector's last statistics there were about three quarters of a million of cattle and 140,000 horses in New Zealand ten years ago, and with

\* During the year ended March 31, 1881, over 3,000,000 lbs. of wool, valued at more than £3,000,000 sterling, were exported from New Zealand.



reference to the last mentioned animals it may be remarked that draught horses and thoroughbreds of the best strains of blood have been recently imported.

The "Land Question" in New Zealand is not, as with us, a controversy as to the respective rights and liabilities of landlord and tenant, nor as to the facility of transfer from hand to hand, but between the holders of pasture-licenses or "squatters" on the one hand, and the advocates of a larger importation of small owners, who shall bring under tillage a large portion of the land now occupied by sheep-farmers. If the material interests of the nine hundred "squatters" of New Zealand should ever come into conflict with those of the half million who form the bulk of the population, it is easy to perceive which of the two classes would go to the wall. But from what I have seen both of the cattle-runs stocked with Shorthorns and Herefords in the North Island, and the sheep-runs in both islands, I am convinced that the only profitable purpose for which the bulk of the land in New Zealand can be now occupied is for pasture. In the North Island, between the Thames and the Waikato rivers, large tracts of fern land are heavily stocked with bullocks, which can be sent at a profit to the Auckland market, but if the same land were cut up into small farms and brought under the plough, I am afraid the farmer's balance-sheet would not be very satisfactory.

I visited a friend in Canterbury, who has a run of about 100,000 acres, carrying about 50,000 sheep. He is not making a *fortune*, but if his run were cut up into small blocks of two or three thousand acres each for "smiling homesteads," and each owner had to bear the costs of buildings, labour, cartage, wool sheds, wire-fencing, &c., I very much doubt whether these semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural competitors of the old "squatter" would even make a *livelihood* out of the business.

In calculating the prospects of sheep-farmers in New Zealand, a special and rather novel element of difficulty (the rabbits) must be taken into account. There is, I believe, an old law still unrepealed in some New Zealand statute book, imposing a penalty of £50 on the unauthorized slaughter of a rabbit. In consequence, partly perhaps of this protection of the race, it has in Otago and Southland especially, increased to an extent threatening the very existence of the sheep-farmer. In vain they tried to exterminate the vermin with dogs, guns, and nets. At last they petitioned the Government to establish "Rabbit Boards" in the infested districts. A so-called "rabbit inspector" employs men paid out of the local rates, who march over hill and dale with bags filled with grain steeped in phosphorus. This deadly poison is doing its work, and by applying the principle of "payment by results," and paying for rabbit skins at the rate of 15s. per hundred, the squatters and their sheep are beginning to look up again. One of the results of this system is seen in a return of more than six millions of rabbit



skins, valued at no less than £57,000 in the list of exports from New Zealand for the year ended on March 31st last.

In New Zealand, as in other British Colonies, various attempts have been made at "special settlements," as they have been called, sometimes founded with some exclusive view—political or religious. The first of these attempts was made in Otago, in 1848, where a body of Scotch Presbyterians bought a vast tract of land, and sold it to settlers at £2 per acre. The second of these experiments was that of a body of English Episcopalians in Canterbury. In 1850 a body of about 2600 settlers landed at Lyttelton, under arrangements with the New Zealand Company which afterwards collapsed. Danish and Norwegian settlements have been formed more recently; in 1868 in the North Island, in the "Seventy-mile Bush," between Wellington and Hawkes' Bay, and various other smaller attempts have at different times been made.

Speaking generally, these "special settlements" have, where land has been well selected, prospered accordingly, but having reference to the special hopes and aspirations of the pioneers at the time, they have in some cases afforded remarkable illustrations of the "vanity of human wishes."

By the Land Regulations of the Canterbury Association (as by those of Otago), special provision was made for the maintenance of churches and schools. In the case of Canterbury, the proviso thus made caused a charge on the now extinct Provincial Government in the shape of a special Territorial Endowment coming out of the original revenues, but so far as education is concerned, the final outcome of all these careful provisions is a purely secular system embracing those provinces which had started on a distinctly religious basis, and placing them on the same footing with the rest of New Zealand.

The importance of the land and its products as compared with all other industries in New Zealand scarcely needs illustration. But if one were needed it would be found in the fact that the total number of hands employed in *all* the manufactories in New Zealand, including ship-building, collieries, iron-foundries, woollen factories, saw and flour mills, breweries and potteries, scarcely exceeds 12,000, while nearly 50,000 are employed in occupations connected with the land alone.\* And if we turn to the exports for the year just ended as a further test of the source of the country's industrial wealth we shall find that out of a total value of six millions sterling, no less than three and a half millions are set down to wool, and half a million more to cereals. Gold from quartz and alluvial mining, taken together, yielded for export rather more than a million, so that five-sixths of the exports for the year, including minerals, came from the land.

But though it is on the right administration of the land and its revenues that the material prosperity of New Zealand mainly depends, the

\* It is a fact worth the notice of British manufacturers that nearly all the agricultural implements used in New Zealand (except ploughs, which they make themselves) are imported from America; also all the reaping and binding machines.



present *financial* position of the colony may be said to attract, at this time, especial and even anxious interest in England.

Under the powers given by the Public Works Act of 1870, more than twelve millions and a half have been spent on railways and other public works, and in immigration, and the debt of the Colony has of course been largely increased thereby. The policy of these proceedings has been gravely challenged in some quarters, and doubts have been expressed as to the power of New Zealand to meet its obligations. Without expressing any opinion on the financial policy of ten years ago, I can only say that I noticed no tendency to repudiation on the part of any important section of the community. It may be added that their acquiescence in a Property-tax, which is supposed to have yielded for the last year not less than half a million, points in the same direction. There may be differences of opinion as to the mode in which the loan has been expended, and the propriety of making railways in districts where no traffic which could cover the working expenses seemed likely to arise. But taken as a *whole*, the railway operations of New Zealand can hardly be regarded as a failure. About 1,200 miles are now completed, and about 3000 of telegraph line (making about 8000 of wire) have been laid down. This has been done at a cost of less than nine millions, while for the year ending March 31, 1881, the railway account shows an excess of revenue over expenditure after discharging all working expenses, of no less than £303,777, which gives  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. towards the interest of 5 per cent. payable on the loan. The centesimal proportion of expenditure to revenue on all the New Zealand railways taken together is 63.26, according to the latest returns.

If New Zealand has in these matters gone ahead rather rapidly, it has been in conformity with the precedents of almost all our free colonies, whose ruin has been frequently predicted, but which, nevertheless, still survive. It may be mentioned as one of the results of the bright prospects held out to immigrants during the decade of New Zealand extravagance, that no fewer than 84,000 Europeans made their way as settlers to the colony between the years 1868 and 1878.

The provinces of New Zealand, of which six (*viz.*, Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago) were originally created in 1848, and afterwards increased to nine, were consolidated into one federal government in 1876, when the whole colony was divided into sixty-eight counties. The seat of government, which was first for a short time at Russell, and afterwards for twenty-three years at Auckland, is now, and has since 1864 been at Wellington, where a parliament assembles, consisting of a Legislative Council of forty-five members, nominated by the Colonial Government, and of a House of Assembly of eighty-nine members, elected by ballot and manhood suffrage. All naturalized British subjects who have resided for a year in New Zealand, and are enrolled as electors, and of full age, are entitled to vote. Four members of the House of Assembly are Maoris, and are elected under



a special law by natives alone. Acts passed by the Colonial Legislature may be reserved by the Governor for royal assent; but it is said that through all the vast amount of legislation which has taken place during the last twenty years, not half a dozen instances have occurred in which the assent of the Crown has been refused.

The duration of the Parliament of New Zealand is limited to three years. The system of Responsible Government has prevailed since 1854. During the quarter of a century which has since elapsed, the colony has been governed *nominally* by seven successive governors, and *practically* by twenty successive administrations.

In all the principal towns of New Zealand municipal institutions exist, having powers similar to those exercised by the like bodies in England. There are also Elective Road Boards, and Boards of Health, and what are called "County Councils." There are 814 post offices, each of which is a Government Savings Bank and Life Assurance Office.

To epitomize the legislation of New Zealand on subjects of public importance would be here impossible. But I may be permitted to select one—I allude to the measures taken to promote Education, which are at the present time so imperfectly apprehended, that I need offer no apology for giving the following details as to the steps hitherto taken by the Colonial Government on this subject.

By the New Zealand Education Act, passed in 1877, twelve Education Districts and Boards were established, under a Minister of Education. It was provided by this Act that the cost of building and maintaining primary schools should be defrayed out of funds to be provided by the Parliament of New Zealand.

Besides provisions for the establishment of normal and training schools, and for building school-houses, it was enacted that £3 15s. should be paid out of the Colonial Treasury to the Board of each district for each child, to encourage daily attendance at a public school.

Every school is to be managed by a Committee, selected by the householders of the district, and these Committees are empowered to elect the twelve Boards above mentioned, each of which consists of nine members.

From the Report for 1880, it appears that 817 public primary schools, with an average attendance of 54,724 children (school age being from five to thirteen), then existed in New Zealand. These children were taught by 1773 teachers, of whom 659 were head-masters, and 278 head-mistresses. The percentage of actual average attendance to the numbers on the roll was 76 per cent. The subjects of instruction are, besides the "three R.'s," grammar, geography, history,\* elementary science, drawing, "object lessons," vocal music, needlework, and domestic economy. Compulsion can only be applied where a majority of the School Committee in any case approve of it. There are no fees

\* In the West Christchurch School there is a "Conscience Clause" allowing the withdrawal of children whose parents object to their instruction in history.



in any of the primary schools. Bible teaching is not allowed in school hours.

With the view of ascertaining the actual condition of affairs, I visited several of the largest primary schools in various parts of the colony. In twenty-two of the largest schools, in which the salaries of the headmasters range from £300 to £500 a year, there is an aggregate staff of 306 teachers, of whom 157 are pupil teachers. Of this staff the total cost in salaries is £31,862, and the average attendance in all these twenty-two schools together was last year 14,170. There are four training colleges for teachers at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin, which are maintained at the public cost.

With respect to secondary education, New Zealand presents some features worth studying. There are at present about eight or ten high schools—viz., at Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Dunedin, Christchurch, Napier, and other towns, the curriculum of which includes modern languages, mathematics, and classics. Scholarships have been founded by private individuals, tenable at these high schools by candidates passing good examinations at primary schools. But the most important of these scholarships are those worked through the twelve District Education Boards. An annual Parliamentary vote, taken at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* per child in average attendance at all the primary schools (amounting in 1880 to about £4,000), is handed over in fixed proportions to the twelve Education Boards, and this sum enables the Boards to offer scholarships of the average value of £30 a year, tenable for two years, in the proportion of one to every 800 children in average attendance. These scholarships are open to all children under fifteen, whether at Government schools or elsewhere, but can only be held by those who actually go to high schools. In this matter, speaking generally, the policy of the Colonial Government is to maintain the distinction, both as to subjects to be taught and cost, between primary and secondary education.

The constitution of the University of New Zealand (which was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1876, and was previously the subject of provincial legislation) is at present simply that of an examining body, governed by a Chancellor and Senate, and having power to confer degrees. Colleges at Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, and Dunedin, where the actual teaching work is carried on, are affiliated to the University of New Zealand. There has been much recent discussion in the New Zealand Legislature respecting the University, and a draft Bill has been prepared, making changes in its present constitution.

The total annual cost of education in New Zealand was, according to the last report, £467,198, of which £368,457 was derived from the direct vote of the Assembly, and £21,330 from the rents of "Education Reserves," or lands granted in certain provinces before 1876 for educational purposes. By an Act of 1877, three-fourths of the proceeds of these "Reserves" were allotted in aid of primary, and the remaining



one-fourth in aid of secondary education. Of the total sum of £467,198 above mentioned as the annual cost of education in New Zealand, £187,763 went in salaries and £172,867 in buildings. Official expenses, and a grant of £6,000 in aid of public libraries, absorbed the rest. The average cost per scholar in the primary schools was £7 10*s.* per annum. Besides the Government Schools, there are about 250 private Elementary Schools, supported by subscription. In addition to the above-mentioned provisions for the education of the children of Europeans, there are about sixty schools, containing rather more than 2,000 Maori children, for whose education a grant of £10,000 a year is made by the State.

In New Zealand no provision for a State religion exists. Out of a total population of about 410,000 Europeans, about 180,000 are members of the Church of England, 98,000 Presbyterians, and 59,000 Roman Catholics, the rest being divided among the various denominations of Protestants, and about 1400 Jews.

I had no opportunities of becoming acquainted with the ecclesiastical organisation, either of the Roman Catholic or of the Presbyterian bodies; but perhaps a brief sketch of that adopted by the Anglican Church may not be without interest.

The Colony is divided into six dioceses—viz., Auckland, Wellington, Waiaapu, Nelson, Christchurch, and Dunedin, each of which is the centre of a Diocesan Synod, governed by a Church Constitution, founded in 1859, by which also a General Provincial Synod was erected, consisting of three clerical and four lay representatives from each of the six dioceses; the six Bishops above named, and the Bishop of Melanesia being *ex-officio* members.

This General Synod meets triennially, and holds its meetings at the above-named towns in rotation, Napier being the place of meeting for the diocese of Waiaapu. The constitutions of the six Diocesan Synods are exactly alike, so that in describing that of Christchurch I shall describe all.

The Synod of Christchurch consists of about 100 members—56 clergy (being all the clergy of the diocese), and 47 laity, elected by all the adult members of the Church in the diocese. The Synod meets annually at Christchurch, and sat last year for nine days. Besides the duties usually appertaining to Church Synods, that of Christchurch has certain financial responsibilities, for the diocese has landed property yielding a considerable revenue. When the Canterbury Association sent out their first "Pilgrims" as they were called, in 1850, one-third of all the proceeds of land sales was reserved for Church purposes. The land was sold for £3 an acre, and £1 of its value was reserved. Though this system lasted only for a short time, yet under it landed property was accumulated, now yielding a considerable revenue, in the hands of trustees for the Synod. Out of this revenue all the clergy of the diocese are subsidized, and the Bishopric and Dean and Chapter of



Christchurch endowed; the Bishop receiving, I think, about £1,200 a year. From this fund a subsidy is granted of £50 a year to each of the 56 clergy, the remainder of their stipend coming out of local offertories.

As a matter of fact, the clergy of the Diocese of Christchurch have incomes averaging about £300 a year. In this, as in the other New Zealand Dioceses, the country is mapped out into "Parochial Districts," which is the name given to rural districts in their early stages of thinly-scattered population. As soon as the inhabitants have subscribed or guaranteed between them a certain stipend, the Bishop, or rather the "Church Property Trustees," add a grant of £50 from their fund; but before a clergyman is appointed, the Bishop must be satisfied that there will be an income forthcoming (including all sources) of not less than £280 per annum if a house is provided, or of not less than £320 per annum if there is no house. After a time, as the population of the district increases, it is, on the fulfilment of certain prescribed conditions, raised to the rank of a "Parish." A Vestry is elected by the adult inhabitants.\* The Vestry, in its turn, elects four local "Nominators," as they are called, who, acting conjointly with four other official nominators, appointed by the Synod for the whole Diocese, are empowered, subject to the Bishop's veto, to appoint to vacancies as they arise.

In the case of a "Parochial District," the Bishop both appoints the first clergyman, and fills all vacancies. The powers of the Official Nominators appointed by the Bishop, extend to all parishes in the Diocese, and they are a permanent body, removable only by the Synod. The local or Parochial Nominators go out of office yearly, subject to re-election by the Vestry.

The Bishops themselves are elected by the Diocesan Synods, subject to the approval of the Bishops collectively. When the Primacy is vacant, the bench of Bishops collectively appoint a successor.

Such being the constitution, Diocesan and Parochial, of the Church in New Zealand, it becomes interesting to inquire how it works, and how far it appears to be suited to the requirements of the community as it now exists. In the case of the Diocese of Christchurch, it must be remembered that about one-fifth of the income of every clergyman arises from endowments; but, so far as I have been able to learn, the voluntary system existing in five out of the six Dioceses in which there are either no endowments at all, or of so small an amount as not to be worth taking into account, is a success. It supplies fairly the existing spiritual needs of a widely-scattered population, nor does it appear that the independence of the clergy is compromised by the absence of endowments. When it is considered that the enormous area of parishes in New Zealand (sometimes nearly fifty miles square) im-

\* A voter must have been enrolled two months on the Register of Churchmen before he can exercise the franchise for Vestrymen.



mensely increases the physical labour of their supervision, and that whatever is done in the matter of religious education falls on the clergy, I think they cannot be said to be overpaid. In a country where large blocks of land are almost wholly used for sheep farming, the shepherds and shearers form for the most part a roving class, who are constantly changing masters and homes, and the difficulty of exercising any Christian influence over such a population, is considerable, by whatever denomination the task may be undertaken.

No sketch of "New Zealand as it is" would be complete without some reference to the Maori race; for though the days of Maori wars are happily passed, and though unhappily the race itself is visibly destined to perish, its influence on the social and political life of New Zealand has by no means ended.

The ordinary associations of Englishmen with Maoris have been so long mixed up with tales of massacre and violence as to affect visibly our present ideas and policy. The Bay of Islands—the first scene of missionary enterprise in 1814—has been at various periods the scene of some of the most terrible of these tragedies. Here Marion du Fresne and his comrades perished. Here, in 1809, the captain and crew of the *Boyd* were murdered. Here (at Kororareka), in 1845, the chief Heke cut down the British flagstaff and repulsed our troops. The massacre of twenty-two civilians at Wairau, in Marlborough Province, and the more recent and more atrocious murder of a large number of unoffending women and children at "Poverty Bay," on the east coast, in 1868—all these events have given the tone to public feeling in England, and seemed for many years almost to palliate a policy of extermination. During the forty years which have passed away since 512 Maori chiefs signed at Waitangi the treaty which purported to guarantee to them the undisturbed possession of their land, a vast European population has poured into New Zealand. In the meantime, the Maori race has dwindled from 100,000 to less than half that number at the present day. The main object of the British colonist in New Zealand has been all along the same which animates Englishmen everywhere—namely, *to make money*; and they knew that the best means of making money was to acquire land. So the cry of the British colonist has not unnaturally been, "Sweep away these useless Maoris, and give us their land!" First the operation was attempted by land companies, directed by grandees in England. Colonel Wakefield, for instance, reports to the New Zealand Company, from Wellington, in 1839, that he has "bought a territory as large as Ireland for blankets, muskets, red night-caps, fish hooks, and Jews' harps, valued at £8,983."

When it became no longer possible to swindle the ignorant natives out of their lands, and the era of "Commissioners" and official intervention supervened, it was not found difficult to pick quarrels with the Maoris, whose traditional trade had been quarrelling and fighting. It is difficult for those who see only the present position of affairs, as between



the New Zealand Colonists and the Natives, to realize the fact that not many years ago, whenever a dispute arose between the two races, Imperial troops were immediately called in aid to settle it. Twenty years ago there were no less than ten British battalions engaged in this business, and it is a moderate estimate to say that ten millions of English money have been spent in these Maori wars.

The withdrawal of Imperial troops from New Zealand was strongly objected to at the time as an abdication of official responsibility, but is now accepted as having inaugurated an era more peaceful and prosperous for the colony than any which preceded it.

At the present moment the defence of New Zealand depends on an armed constabulary of about 900 men of all ranks. It is not surprising that with so slender a force the colonists are very circumspect in their dealings with the Maoris. The case of Moffat, a deserter, who was shot in the "King Country" last November, and of a lady artist of the *Graphic*, who was murdered soon afterwards in Taranaki, would have probably given rise to Maori wars under the old régime; while the performances in the last-named district of the insurgent Natives who violently interrupted the surveys, would have been expiated probably by bullets in the "good old times," instead of the quiet consignment of the offenders to an indolent seclusion at Lyttelton and Dunedin.\* The most melancholy feature of the present aspect of the Maori people is that they are the easy victims of any amount of charlatanism both at the hands of their own people and of Europeans. They are split up into sects, both political and religious. About 15,000 of them who live on a block of land about 100 miles long by 50 broad, on the west coast of the Northern Island, own allegiance to the so-called Maori King, who discourages all contact on the part of his people with Europeans. Not far off, the chief Te Whiti manipulates a credulous community with a dexterity which baffles our officials; and Te Kooti, the instigator of the Poverty Bay massacre, still eludes all attempts to capture him. Meanwhile the "Hau Haus," whose specialty is that they have appropriated to themselves the promises given of old to the Israelites, and the exhortations to exterminate their enemies, still exercise a baleful and fanatical influence over communities supposed to have been some years ago converted to a genuine Christianity. Torn asunder by internal divisions, puzzled by false priests, false prophets, and impostor kings, and swindled by European land-jobbers, the remnant of this noble race still shows signs of grandeur in the last stage of its existence.

To those who desire information on New Zealand and its present condition, with special reference to its attractions as a *field for emigration*, the hackneyed answer must be given that there are two classes only to which the country offers temptations as a home, viz.:—

\* It appears from the Governor's speech at the opening of the New Zealand Parliament, on June 9, 1881, that the Maori prisoners have been released.



(1), to those who are ready to work for wages as shepherds, domestic servants, or labourers. And (2), to those who can take out with them a few thousand pounds to buy sheep. Young gentlemen who have never been able to buckle up to anything at home, but fancy that with a gun and a pipe and a spirit flask for their stock-in-trade, they can find a sphere for their indolence in New Zealand, had far better stay in England and sweep crossings or break stones in the roads. For servants, male and female, for smiths, wheelwrights, shepherds, and ploughmen, there are abundant openings at good wages always. The election cry of the working-man in the Australian Colonies—

"Eight hours to sleep, eight hours to play,  
Eight hours to work, eight bob a day,"

very fairly epitomises his lot.

For men of culture who may desire work in connexion with primary or secondary schools, there is a limited demand; the same may be said of well-qualified governesses. But with reference to this class of work it must be borne in mind that a system of State education which, from the infant school to the college, may be said to be practically almost free, leaves a comparatively small field open for private tuition. With respect to capitalists it may be said that the days of making colossal fortunes out of small beginnings in New Zealand have almost passed away. The "millionaires," if there are any, in New Zealand now, are the few who bought their land a quarter of a century ago at 8s. or 10s. an acre, or those who were lucky enough to become possessors of tracts which have since grown into centres of industry or trade. But if the days of speculation are passed, those of a civilization, more permanent and more promising have begun. On no subject connected with New Zealand do such strangely erroneous notions prevail in England, as with reference to the condition of Colonial Society. The ignorance in some quarters on this subject is not only ridiculous in itself, but involves grave impertinence towards our New Zealand fellow-subjects. "Have you any vegetables in New Zealand?" was the question of a good lady to a friend of mine who has a beautiful garden well stocked with fruits and flowers surrounding a country-house in Canterbury province, provided with all the comforts and refinements of an English home. "Have you any sense in England?" might have been the reply. The fact is, that whether you take town or country, North or South, you see little in New Zealand which has not its counterpart at home. There is no metropolis, indeed, to take the place of London, which circumstance arises from the former sub-division into Provinces, which had a tendency to equalize the importance of each provincial centre. Wellington being the seat of Government, claims to be the Capital of New Zealand, but its population of 20,000 is only about one-third of that of Dunedin, Christchurch, or Auckland. The population of the three towns, in 1877, was 18,000, 22,000, and 22,000, respectively by the Census of 1877. But in all these towns, the appliances of

civilization, the provisions for lighting, roads, public conveyances, shops, banks, compare favourably with those of any large provincial town in England.

There is moreover a specialty almost in every New Zealand town in the shape of an excellent club, where guests introduced by members are, on very moderate terms, hospitably entertained. The Englishman, whether his lot be cast in town or country in New Zealand, finds all the sports of the old country, including cricket and lawn tennis, in full swing; and with respect to the first-named game, will find in more than one province of New Zealand an arena for the exhibition of his skill which may fairly be backed both for size and excellence against any in the United Kingdom.

The rivalry of the different provinces as fields for enterprise of all kinds, finds scope not only in the competitive temptations of investments to capitalists and land purchasers, but in the conflicting claims to admiration of the natural beauties of New Zealand. In the North you hear of nothing but the glories of Rotomahana, and its hot springs. In the South, the pilgrims who leave the colony without a visit to the "Sounds" and fiords of the west coast are considered to have crossed the ocean in vain.

This rivalry between provinces which have ceased to be political units is rather obsolete, though very harmless in its merely social and picturesque aspects, but is not without its prejudicial effect on the *political* life of New Zealand. Government by party, which is admitted to be an inevitable outcome of representative institutions, is worked under exceptional difficulties in a community which has practically no metropolis, from whence party organizations usually emanate. The abolition of the provinces was both inevitable and of good effect; but during their fifteen years' duration the seeds of local conflicting interests were sown, which will long bear fruit.

Judged by the test of increase of population during the past decade, New Zealand gives exceptional evidences of progress. The census of 1881 shows a total population of 489,500 against 256,300 in 1871, being an increase of no less than 90 per cent.—exceeding the percentage of increase during the same decennial period of Victoria, New South Wales, and Tasmania put together.

As regards the future of New Zealand, how far the undeniable natural advantages which the country possesses may be utilized for the best interests of the community, must depend in great measure on the moderation and sagacity of her leading public men. For all practical purposes of government, New Zealand, like all her sister colonies in the Southern hemisphere, is a Republic. It is, of course, in the power of a judicious Governor to soften down asperities, to crush or shorten political dead-locks, and generally, by the exercise of tact and timely hospitality, to bring to bear on public affairs an influence rather *personal* than political. But it is in his capacity of representative of the Queen,



rather than of Governor of the colony, that under the system of "responsible government" his voice is heard, or his influence felt. He has no real power. His instructions from home, whatever they may be, must in all cases, except the bare form of reserving a Colonial Bill for the Royal Assent, give way to the vote of his Parliament, as conveyed to him through his responsible executive. How long this critically-devised system may last, must depend very much on the mutual forbearance of all who have to carry it out. The position of a constitutional monarch presents no parallel to that of a colonial governor in a free dependency. Both may, indeed, be equally powerless, but the viceroy is subject to trammels and conditions from which his suzerain is free. In New Zealand, for instance, vast questions are practically removed from his cognisance, on the right solution of which the well-being, if not the safety, of the colony may depend.

Such, however, are the irrevocable conditions under which the administration of all our free colonies is placed. And there are, perhaps, few communities owing allegiance to our Queen which are by their personal and natural advantages better calculated to weather any future political storms they may be called on to encounter, than the colony which has been christened the "Britain of the South."

ARTHUR MILLS.

## ARARAT AND 'EDEN.

### A BIBLICAL STUDY.

#### I.

THE place where the Biblical record represents the ark as resting after the Deluge, the point of departure which it assigns to the Noa'hidæ, is "the mountains of Arârât."\* Starting from a certain date, this memorial has been connected with the highest mountain of the chain of Armenia, which the natives designate by the name of Massis. In other passages of the Bible, Arârât is the name of a country,† associated with those of *Minni*, the *mat Mannai* of the Assyrian documents, the *Mivvâç* of Nicolas of Damascus—that is to say, the country bordering on Lake Vân and Ashkenâz. The LXX. render it by *Ἀρμενία*, and in like manner, in the Assyrian text of the inscription of Behistun, the *Armaniya* or *Armina* of the Persian text is translated by *Urartu*. This geographical name of *Urartu* or *Arartu*, which is frequently employed in the historical documents of the kings of the great Assyrian empire, always denotes in them the north-east part of Armenia; and this agrees with the opinion of St. Jerome, who understands the Arârât of the prophets as the vast fertile plain watered by the Araxus. Moreover, it is to this region that Moses of Khorene and the other Armenian writers apply the appellation *Ararad* or *Ayrarad*; it is here that Herodotus places his Alarodians, whose name is only a variation of it. The plain in question stretches to the south-east of Mount Massis—the Agridagh of our day, situated on the right bank of the Araxus—the mountain called Baris by Nicolas of Damascus, and on the summit of which he thus early relates that the débris of the ark were shown. It was not till a late date, however, that the name of Arârât came to be applied to this mountain itself; for St. Jerome it still denotes the plain which stretches at its feet. The application of the name of Arârât to Mount Massis has

\* Gen. viii. 4.

† 2 Kings xix. 37; Jer. li. 27.



been the result of the Biblical interpretations which recognised in its summit the *harê Arârât* of Gen. viii. 4. Originally this name denoted a country surrounded by great mountains of which the Massis was the highest peak, and not a particular mountain, whether that or any other.

The majority of the ancient Greek and Latin interpreters of Holy Scripture have adopted this localization of the Arârât of the Deluge at Mount Massis. But the tradition of the Eastern Christian bodies was different, and proceeded from an earlier Jewish tradition. The Targumim of the Pentateuch and the prophets render *Arârât* by *Qardu*; the Peshito-Syriac version does the same in Gen. viii. 4; and this interpretation is followed by all the Syrians, beginning with St. Ephrem. It is adopted also by St. Epiphanius, and it was known to Josephus, in whose text the form *Καρρῶν* or *Καιρῶν* is manifestly a corruption of *Καρδῶν*. This agrees with the notions of Berosus, which make the vessel of Xisuthros rest on the Gordyæan mountains—that is to say, the mountains of the present Kurdistan. Mu'hammad follows the same idea in the *Qur'ân* when he makes Nu'h disembark on Mount El-Djudî, which he calls a "Kurdish mountain." This mountain is, in fact, situated to the southwest of Lake Vân, and its snow-crowned summit can be seen from a great distance in Mesopotamia. The Emperor Heraclius ascended it from Tsamanên in order to see the place where the ark had rested. Kazinî pretends that some timbers of this miraculous vessel were preserved there down to the time of the Abbassidæ, and the popular belief of the neighbouring countries is that some even yet remain. Berosus, for his part, says that the fragments of the vessel of Xisuthros were shown in his day in the Gordyæan mountains, of which legend we also find an echo in St. John Chrysostom and St. Epiphanius. It is true that Nicolas of Damascus related exactly the same thing of Mount Baris, which is the Massis, or, as we say, the Arârât—that is, the mountain which the Persians and the Turks at this day designate as the *Kuh-i-Nu'h*, or "mountain of Noa'h," in virtue of the same localization of the diluvian tradition, and the summit of which, as was also pretended in its neighbourhood at the time of Chardin, contained relics of the ark.

The mountain of Nizir, where the narrative of the Deluge in the epic poem of Uruk makes the vessel of 'Hasisadra to rest, is situated farther to the south than the Gordyæan mountains, and directly to the east of Assyria, in the chain of the Mount Choathras of Ptolemy, which unites the mountains of the Carduchians or Gordyæans with Mount Zagros, and forms the frontier of Media on that side. Perhaps we must identify this mountain with the peak of Rowandîz, situated exactly on the 37th degree of latitude, between the basin of Lake Urumiyah and the valley of the Great Zab. In fact, in the most fully developed of his historical inscriptions, that of the monolith of Nimroud, the Ninevite king Asshur-Naçir-Abal relates a campaign which he carried on in the midst of the



group to which this mountain belongs,\* in the third year of his reign, under the eponym of Asshur-iddin (882 B.C.). Now it follows from the group of facts connected with the war to which this episode belongs, that the mountain Nizir adjoined the country of Zamona and the town of Babitê, both situated to the east and south-east of the upper part of the Little Zab, the Caprus of the classic geographers. In fact, the same monarch says expressly, in this same inscription but in the story of another campaign, that, having set out from the town of Kalzu (now Shamâmek), near Arbela, he was obliged to pass the Zab in order to reach Babitê.

Abulfeda and Isthakhri transfer the name of El-Djudî and the tradition of the ark to the mountain which overlooks Nisibis, and which the classical geographers call Masion—a name to which the Syriac documents give the form *Mashê* or *Mashî*, and which appears radically the same as that of the Armenian Massis. It is to be noticed that Strabo† gives Masion as forming part of the group of the Gordyæan mountains. Popular Mussulman legends also make Nu'h disembark after the Deluge at Kufah, on the western arm of the Euphrates, where his embarkation in the ark is more usually placed. This, however, has not much more value as an indication of an ancient tradition than the statement of Joseph ben Goryon, who places the Biblical Arârât to the north of Armenia, towards the country of the Alani and Scythians—that is to say, in the Caucasus; or that of the Samaritans, who transport it to the island of Serandib, or Ceylon, the theatre of a localization, made in later times, of many of the scenes of the earlier chapters of Genesis.

On their conversion to Islamism the Persians placed the mountain where Nu'h left the ark at Mount Elvend, above Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatane; the Afghans at their Mount Kuner, or Nurahil; the Bukhars at their Nura-dagh. In these localizations they have doubtless been guided by ancient indigenous traditions, and it appears that a precisely similar one was anciently applied to the peak of Demâvend. In fact, the name of the desert of Naubendan, which stretches at the foot of this high mountain and is overlooked by it, presents a singular analogy to that of Nâubandhanam, "fastening of the vessel," given to the peak of the Himâlayas where the Indians pretend that Manu Vâivasvata made fast his vessel at the time of the cataclysm; and it is difficult not to believe that the peak of Demâvend must have received an Iranian appellation corresponding to the Indian name, whence that of Naubendan has been derived. This is the more probable, since the peak in question is the highest summit of the system of the Elburz, or Alborj—that is to say, of the Harâ-Berezaiti of Rhagian Media—and since, as M. Franz Delitzsch‡ has noticed, this name of Elburz is evidently that which the "Book of Jubilees" and St. Epiphanius had

\* "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," vol. i. pl. 20, l. 33-38.

† xi. p. 541.

‡ "Die Genesis ausgelegt," 4th edit. (1872), p. 545.



in view and altered when they called Lubar the mountain where Noa'h's ark rested. I have the less hesitation in admitting this, as I believe myself to have proved elsewhere\* that it is Elburz which is already designated in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions under the name of *Allabria*—a proof that, from a remote antiquity, the local Median pronunciation gave to its appellation *Hard-Barjat* (which is the Persian equivalent of the Zend *Harâ-Berezaiti*) the form *Halâ-Barjat*. The similar elision of the end of the original name in both *Allabria* and *Lubar* is of a nature to lead to the belief that it was through the medium of the Assyrians that the Jews and Syrians first gained the knowledge of the majestic peak to the south of the Caspian Sea and of the narratives which connected it with the Deluge. A similar grafting of the Biblical narrative on an ancient indigenous legend of the Deluge led also to the placing of Noa'h's departure from the ark on the mountain of Apamea in Phrygia.

If we examine the sacred text attentively, it is impossible to admit that, in the mind of the Jehovistic writer—who is always, however, much nearer than the Elohist to the conceptions of the Chaldean tradition—the mountain of the Flood was the *Arârât* of Armenia. In fact, he says† in express terms that it was by “journeying from the east,” *bends’âm miqqedem*, that the descendants of Noa'h reached the plains of *Shine’âr*. This accords in a very satisfactory manner with the indication in the original Chaldæo-Babylonian narrative concerning the mountain *Nizir* as the point of departure of the renewed human race after the Flood. But it must be observed that if we prolong our search for a very high summit, such as must necessarily have been that on which the ark rested, still farther in the direction of the east, beyond the barrier with which the Gordyæan mountains, *Choathras* and *Zagros*, more immediately bound the vast basin of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, we arrive at the chain of the *Hindu Kush*, or rather at the mountains where the *Indus* takes its rise. Now it is just at this latter point that the traditions as to the cradle of the human race converge which were current among two of the great peoples of the ancient world who have preserved the clearest and most circumstantial reminiscences of the primitive ages, the accounts most analogous to those of the Bible and of the sacred books of Chaldea—I mean the *Indians* and the *Iranians*.‡

## II.

In all the legends of India the origin of mankind is placed on Mount *Mêru*, the residence of the gods, a column which unites the sky to the earth. This Mount *Mêru* has had its place shifted several times, in consequence of the progress of the march of the *Aryas* into India; and

\* “*Lettres Assyriologiques*,” t. i. p. 36 et seq.

† Gen. xi. 2.

‡ See D'Eckstein: “*De quelques Légendes brahmaniques qui se rapportent au berceau de l'espèce humaine*,” Paris: 1856. E. Renan: “*De l'Origine du Langage*,” 2nd ed., pp. 218-235; “*Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*,” 1st ed., pp. 450-456. Obry: “*Le Berceau de l'espèce humaine selon les Indiens, les Perses et les Hébreux*,” Amiens: 1858.



Obry has, with a masterly hand, made a sketch of the successive changes of the position assigned to the sacred mountain. The Brâhmanas of Central India wished to have it in their neighbourhood, and fixed it first at Kailâsa and then at Mahâpantha (surnamed Sumêru); and at a still later date the propagation of Buddhist doctrines among the Barmans, the Chinese, and the Singalese caused Mêru to be claimed by each of these peoples for their own country. But the primitive Mêru was situated in the North, even with respect to the first habitation of the Aryan tribes on Indian soil, in the Pundjâb and on the upper Indus. And this is not a fabulous mountain unknown to terrestrial geography. Its real existence has been demonstrated, and also its situation towards the Seres of the ancients—that is to say, the south-west part of Thibet.

At first sight, it is true, on reading the description of the Mêru, such as it results from the totality of the ideas furnished by the Purânas, it appears overcharged with so many purely mythological features that one hesitates to believe that it has any basis in reality. In fact, in order to realize these descriptions one must represent one's self in the centre of a vast level and very elevated surface, surrounded by various mountain ranges, a gigantic block, the axis of the world, raising its head to the highest point of the heavens, whence there falls on its summit, on the north pole, the divine Gangâ, the source of all the rivers, which there discharges itself into an ideal lake, the Mânasa-Sârovara, or "excellent lake of the spirit," which Brahmâ has created from his *Manas*, or his spirit, and which has obtained for the celestial mountain its name of Mêru, signifying "which has a lake."\* Mêru, then, is at one and the same time the highest part of the terrestrial world and the central point of the visible heaven, the two being confounded through ignorance of the real constitution of the universe; it is also, at one and the same time, the north pole and the centre of the habitable earth or Djambudvîpa—literally, of the continent of the tree Djambu, the tree of life. Leaving the higher basin of the mountain in which its waters have at first collected, the source Gangâ travels seven times round the Mêru in descending from the abode of the seven Rishis of the Great Bear, to empty itself afterwards into four lakes placed on four summits adjacent to this vast pyramid, and serving as buttresses on its four sides. On each of these four supports of the Mêru, turned towards the four cardinal points, there springs up and grows, in an enchanted garden and near its special lake, a marvellous tree called by the generic name of Kalpavrikcha, Kalpadruma, or Kalpataru, "tree of the desires or periods," which seems to be both a tree of life, like the Djambu near to the central and higher lake, and a tree of the knowledge of good and evil, in that it prolongs the days by fulfilling all the desires. Fed by the waters of the celestial Gangâ, the four lakes, in their turn, feed four terrestrial rivers, which flow out through the mouths of four symbolical animals.

\* E. Burnouf, in A. de Humboldt's "Asie Centrale," t. i. p. 115.



These four great rivers water as many distinct regions, named Mahā-dvīpas—large islands or large continents—and discharge themselves into four opposite seas, to the east, south, west, and north of the central Mēru. The four peaks which thus surround this latter, and the four animals which give outlet to the four rivers, are of four different metals and four colours, analogous to those of the four castes of India—that is to say, those of the east white, or of silver, for the Brāhmanas; those of the south red, or of copper, for the Kshattriyas; those of the west yellow, or of gold, for the Vāīyas; and those of the north brown, or of iron, for the Çudras. Moreover, the four lakes, the four rivers, and the four oceans are composed of different liquids, likewise corresponding to the four castes, and these latter, with which are connected all the nations of the human race, are reputed to have set out from the four sides of Mēru to people the whole earth.

Mēru and its four great counterforts rise from a central continent, or Madhya-dvīpa, of a great elevation, to which are given the names of Svargabhūmī ("celestial land"), Suvāna-bhūmī ("golden land"), Akṛīda-bhūmī ("land of amusements"), Tushita-bhūmī ("land of joy"), and more generally those of Ilā-varsha, Ilā-vṛita, Ilā-varta, "section, province, or region of Ilā," daughter and wife of Manu, considered as mother of the human race.\* Lastly, the four rivers, and the four continents which they water, are placed under the guardianship of four chief gods, called Lōkāpālas or "protectors of the regions," each surrounded by seven other gods who sing their praises; thus is made up a total of thirty-two different personages, who, with the supreme god throned on the central Mēru, form the group of the Trayastrinshadēvas, or thirty-three gods, so celebrated in the Brahmanical mythology.

From the midst of the absolutely mythological features with which this description is overburdened, this real idea may, however, be evolved—viz., that in it the cradle of the human race is placed on the plateau which crowns a highly-elevated region, situated near the centre of the Asiatic continent and surrounded by a girdle of mountains, which plateau is overlooked by a mountain where the gods are reputed to have taken up their residence, and where four great rivers flow from four lakes, more or less exactly adjusted to the four cardinal points, or, at least, have their sources sufficiently near to these lakes to have been supposed to be derived from them through those subterranean channels which the popular imagination is so ready to invent. Wilford, and after him Wilson and Langlois, have shown that, for the Indian Purānists of the Middle Ages, the four rivers which issue from Mēru—Çita, Gangā, Thakchu, and Bhadiā—were the Hoang-Ho, the Ganges, the Oxus, and the Irtych; the four lakes—Arunōda, Mānasa, Citōda, and Mahabhadra, or Çitōdaka—were Orin-Noor, Manassarovar, Dio-

\* On the true character and signification of Ilā, who was originally a personification of the earth, called in the Vedas Ilā, Idā, or Irā, see Wilson, "*Vishnu-Purāna*," p. 350; Lassen, "*Ind. Alterthumsk.*" p. 498; E. Burnouf, "*Bhāgavata-Purāna*, t. iii. pref. pp. lxx.-lxxxviii.



Saran, and Dzaïssang or Baïkal; the four regions—Bhadraçva, Bhârata, Kêtumalâ, and Uttara-Kuru—were China, India, Bactriana, and Siberia; and, lastly, that the oceans at the four cardinal points into which the four rivers empty themselves must be assimilated to the Yellow Sea, the Bay of Bengal, the Caspian Sea, and the Frozen Ocean. Thus, in the widest sense, Mêru and the surrounding region embrace the whole of the immense plateau of central Asia, bounded on the south by the Himâlayas, on the west by the Hindu-Kush and the Belur-tagh, on the north by the Altaï, and on the east by various groups of mountains which succeed each other from the Altaï to the Himâlayas. This accords with the geographical indications of the book *Bhishmakanda* of the great epic poem of the *Mahâbhârata*, which represent Mêru rather as a vast and highly-elevated region than as a distinct mountain, and make it supply all the rivers of the world with water. The system is pretty much in conformity with that which Justin has borrowed from Trogus Pompeius, and according to which Scythia, the country of the most ancient of mankind, without having, properly speaking, any mountains, is higher than the rest of the earth in such a way as to be the starting-point of all the rivers, *editiorem omnibus terris esse, ut cuncta flumina ibi nata*.

But the enormous extension thus given to the region of Mêru is certainly not the original conception of it. In really ancient times, the geographical horizon of the Aryo-Indians did not include Siberia and its peoples. These are never mentioned in the two great classical epopees of India; the only nations, beyond the celestial mountains, known to these poems dwell in the north-west, in the basin of the Iaxartes or of the Sir-Daria of the present day. These are the Çakas and the Toukhâras, the Sacæ and the Tochari of Græco-Roman geography. By a strict investigation, full of learning and criticism, Obry has proved that, for the Brâhmans of Gangetic India, the ancient limits of the countries surrounding Mêru were originally:—

To the east—Lake Kara-kul; the river Tarîm; Little Bukharia; and, as a sea, Lake Lap.

To the south—Lake Manassarovar; the river Ganges; Hindustan Proper; and the Bay of Bengal.

To the west—Lake Sir-i-kul; the river Oxus; Bactriana; and the Caspian Sea.

To the north—Lake Issi-kul; the river Iaxartes; Transoxiana; and, for a sea, Lake Aral.

Here, again, there seems to be already a modification of what must have been the conception of this sacred geography under its original form. The Brâhmans of Central India were determined at any price to give a place in it to the Ganges, which had become for them the sacred river *par excellence*. However, it fits but very imperfectly into the system of regular orientation of the four rivers at their starting-point. Moreover, everything seems to indicate that, at a more ancient date, like as



the Sindhoû still excelled the Gangâ in the opinion of the Aryas of India, whose chief settlement was then in the Pantshanada (Pundjâb), or the country of the Sapta-Sindhavas, so that one of the paradisiac rivers flowing from the south which occupied the southern position was that which we may call, with Obry, the Kameh-Indus—that is to say, the course, constantly directed from north to south, of the river Kameh, which falls into the Indus after having become united to the Kabul, of which the Indus itself is a continuation. The Kameh, called also the Little Sindh, is in fact the western branch—taking its rise more to the north than any of the others—of the system of streams which constitute the Indus in the greatest development of its volume, at its entry into India. It may perfectly well have been taken for its principal source in the conception of the rivers of Mêru, just as the Lake Hanou-Sar, situated at the foot of the glacier of Pushtigur, may very easily have been assigned as its origin.

It is true that the Rig-Vêda does not mention the name of Mêru, nor yet that of the Himâlayas—though in it the celestial, aërial, and terrestrial mountains are frequently invoked—and that the name of this divine mountain appears for the first time in the Râmâyana. Some learned men have concluded from this that the myth of Mêru did not originate till after the Vedic period. However, as we shall find an exactly similar one among the Iranians, it is very difficult not to admit, notwithstanding this singular silence—to which, however, we might find a parallel in other analogous facts—that the myth of the sacred mountain, the abode of the gods and the cradle of the human race, was one of those which were originally common to the two branches of the eastern Aryas previous to their separation. It even seems that the Rig-Vêda\* presents us with an express allusion to it in a hymn of the poet Nôdhas, the son of Gotama, in which we read: “The noblest, the most wonderful work of this magnificent one (Indra), is that of having filled the bed of the *four rivers* with water as sweet as honey.” And this conception of the four rivers, inseparable from that of Mêru, or the paradisiac mountain (but which, perhaps, did not yet bear that name) attaches itself to a whole system of conceptions and beliefs already existing at the time of the composition of the hymns of the Vêdas.

### III.

Not less remarkable are the ideas of the Iranian tradition as to the cradle of the human race. The groundwork is exactly the same as that of the Indian myths of Mêru, but the features of the description of these sacred places, with the Iranians, approach perhaps still more nearly to certain peculiarities of the Biblical narratives, because they have not travelled so far away from the original birthplace of the human race, which consequently has not assumed for them so cloudy a character, and

\* i. 5. 1, 6.

the memory of which is not encumbered with so exuberant a mythological growth.

The plausible conceptions as to the successive stations of the Iranian race in its first movement of extension which are contained in one of the oldest chapters of the books attributed to Zarathustra,\* characterize the Airyana-Vaedja, the original starting-point of mankind, and of the Iranians in particular, as a northerly, cold, alpine region, whence the race of the Persians descended towards Sogdiana. There rises the umbilicus of the waters, *nafedhrô apdm*, the holy mountain, the Harâ-Berezaiti or Berezat Gâiri of the Zend-Avesta, the Albordj of the Parsis, from the side of which flows the not less sacred river Arvand, the waters of which were drunk by the first human beings. On the highest summit of this mountain, the peak Hukairya, there is "neither day, nor night, nor icy wind, nor burning heat, nor sickness which is the cause of numerous deaths, nor defilement produced by the daevas."† Like the Mêru of the Indians, Harâ-Berezaiti is the pole and centre of the world, the fixed point around which the sun and the planets perform their revolutions. Analogously to the Gangâ of the Brâhmans, it possesses the celestial fountain Ardvî-Çûra, the mother of all terrestrial waters and the source of all good things. In the midst of the lake formed by the waters of the sacred source grows a single miraculous tree, similar to the Djambu of the Indian myth; or else two trees, corresponding exactly to those of the Biblical garden 'Eden—the Viçpa-taokhma, or "tree of every seed," and the "white Haoma," or Gâokerena, the tree of life and immortality, which protects from all evils. There is the garden of Ahuramazda, the Garo-Nmânem, like that of Brahmâ on Mêru. Thence the waters descend upon the earth towards the four cardinal points, in four large streams, which symbolize the four horses attached to the car of the goddess of the sacred source, Ardvî-Çûra-Anâhita. These four horses recall the four animals placed at the source of the paradisiac rivers in the Indian conception; and Eugène Burnouf has discovered in the Zend-Avesta some traces of the idea of the thirty-two genii, guardians of the horizon, which holds an important place in it.

Airyana-Vaedja has been placed in Media Atropatene by the inhabitants of Persia and Media. But this is only a transfer of a somewhat late date, a localization of the sacred tradition which has nothing primitive, and has only originated in consequence of the real site being forgotten which the compilers of the Zend-Avesta had in view when they spoke of this original birthplace of mankind. The real site of the Airyana-Vaedja, in its ancient and original conception, is to the east of the Caspian Sea and of Lake Aral; and the illustrious Eugène Burnouf has shown incontestably that Harâ-Berezaiti is the Bolor or Belur-tagh, and the Arvand one of the rivers which issue from this group of mountains.

\* Vendidad, i. 1, 2; cf. Minokhered, lxii. 13.

† Yesht, x. 50.



This primitive Berezat or Harâ-Berezaiti has at a very early date had substitutes, if we may so speak. Such is the Mount Ushidarena of the Zend texts, Hoshdâstar of the Parsi mythology of more recent date, a more southern mountain, but the situation of which is very difficult to determine, and which, perhaps, corresponds to Pushtigur, or to a point in the chain of the Hindu-Kush. Such is, also, Mount Iskata, surnamed Upairi-Çaena, "higher than the flight of the eagles," which the Pazend and Pehlevi writings make to be Arparçîn. As for this latter, its identification is not doubtful; from the indications furnished by the Bundelesh\* as to the four rivers which take their rise there, we cannot fail to recognize in it Kôh-i-Baba; but afterwards Mount Demâvend was attached to it, thus extending the name of Arparçîn to the whole chain of mountains which, under different names, runs from east to west "from Seïstan to Khuristan," as the Bundelesh tells us†—that is to say, in conformity with the improper use which it often makes of these expressions, from the Hindu-Kush to the ancient Media. This secondary Berezat is, besides, often distinguished from the real and primordial one; the Bundelesh‡ calls it "chief of all the mountains after Albordj." But the Harâ-Berazaiti, or Albordj, has itself in the course of ages undergone those displacements which the names of the legendary and mythical geography of the first ages always suffer. For, as M. Renan has well said, "races carry with them, in their migrations, the ancient names with which their traditions are associated, and apply them to the new mountains and rivers which they find in the countries where they establish themselves." All the sections of the Iranian nation have desired to have near them their Harâ-Berazaiti or Albordj. Thus it happens that, by a constant shifting from east to west, the sacred mountain has been successively fixed in the Balkhan Mountains, situated on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, near the desert of Kharizim; at the Elburz to the south of the same sea, in the ancient Rhagian Media; and finally at the Elbruz of the Caucasus. Mount El-Djudî, in Kurdistan, has also certainly been a secondary Albordj; for it is this which St. Epiphanius designates by the name of Lubar, which, as we have shown, is a corruption of it, like the Allabria of the cuneiform documents. The mountain which overlooks the ancient Ecbatane in Great Media has, in its turn, been taken as a representative of the paradisiac mountain Airyana-Vaedja, and on this account has been invested with the sacred character attested by the inscriptions which Darius the son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes, have caused to be engraved there on the rocks. This is evident from its very name, transcribed as Orontes by the Greeks, and given under the Parsi form *Arvand* in the "Afrîn of the seven Amshaspands,"§ the composition of which belongs to the western Irân and to the age of the Sassanidæ, which name proves, as Eugène Burnouf has shown, that in this mountain was placed a spring Arvand,

\* Chap. xx.

† Chaps. xii. and xxiv.  
§ Khorda-Avesta, l. 8.

‡ Chap. xxiv.



corresponding to that of the primordial Harâ-Berezaiti, doubtless the spring near to which the Achæmenidæan monarchs have placed their inscriptions to the glory of Ahuramazda. This is the Mount Elvend of the present day; and the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, by calling it *Ellibi*, prove that the transformation of the *r* of *Arvand* into an *l* already existed at an ancient date in the local pronunciation. Besides, *Ellibi* is to *Arvand* as *Allabria* is to *Harâ-Barjat*: the two assimilations confirm each other. Kiepert had already proved, from the geographical names furnished by Ptolemy, that the transformation of the *r* of the Zend and Persian into *l* in a great number of cases—a fact which is observed equally in Pehlevi and in modern Persian—was one of the distinctive characteristics of the popular Iranian speech in Media. M. Spiegel, who accepts this fact as certain, has seen in it an effect of Semitic influence: I think we must rather recognize in it the action of the Medic-Turanian dialect, the organ of which possessed the *l* sound, which was unknown to the Zend and the Persian.

The name of Baris, assigned by Nicolas of Damascus to the Armenian Massis, or Arârât, appears again to be a corruption and shortening of Berezat, a name which must have been applied for a while to that mountain, so high and so remarkable, at the time of the introduction of the religious ideas and traditions of the Iranians into Armenia. With still more certainty we find Berezat transported as far west as Asia Minor, in the Berecynthus in Phrygia, which also is a sacred mountain, the residence of Rhea-Cybele, the name of which goddess only differs by a transposition from the Sanscrit Irâ, a personification of the earth as mother and nourisher, which we have already (p. 458, note) connected with Mount Mêru.\*

## IV.

Obry seems to me to have proved in a very convincing fashion that the mountain which the Aryan tribes regarded as the sacred birth-place of the human race had received from them, before the separation of the tribes of Irân from those of India, the appellation of Aryâratha, chariot of the Aryans, or of the illustrious, the venerable, because on its summit the chariot of the seven Brâhmanical Maharshis, the seven Mazdean Amescha-çpentas—considered as the seven stars of the Great Bear—was reputed to revolve. In fact this constellation of the seven Rishis, often styled *aryas* in the Vêdas, bears the names of *vâhanam* and *ratha*, "chariot," and the Indian narratives of the Deluge make the seven dêvas which compose it navigate the diluvian ark along with Manu Vâivasvata, not only to keep him company and encourage him on the immense ocean of waters which had broken loose, but also to assist him to make fast his vessel to one of the highest

\* For the name of this personage the Vedas employ the three forms Ilâ, Irâ, and Idâ; this last may very well have been the prototype of the name of Ida, another mountain sacred to Rhea-Cybele in Phrygia and Crete.



peaks of the Himalâyas, sometimes called Nâubandhanam, "mooring of the vessel," and sometimes Manoravasarpnam, "descent of Manu." This appellation is not without analogy to that of Qaniratha-Bâmi, "high ornamented chariot," or Qaniratha simply, given by the Zend books to that part of the earth inhabited by mankind, of which Airyana-Vaedja is the centre; or to that of Tshâitra-ratha, "painted chariot," applied in Sanscrit to the garden of the god of riches, planted to the north of India. I cannot follow the learned Aryanist of Amiens when he claims that the name, thus restored, of *Aryâratha* is the origin of that of the Armenian *Ararad* or *Ayrarad*. This latter, as the cuneiform documents of Assyria prove to us by giving it, from the ninth century B.C., under the form of *Urartu*, is of a date anterior to the settlement of any Aryan population in Armenia; it must belong to the language of the most ancient inhabitants of eastern Armenia, of the basins of the Araxus and Lake Vân—that is to say, of the Alarodians, to call them by the name given them by Herodotus—a language still very imperfectly known, although we possess rather numerous cuneiform inscriptions in it, and which certain indications would give ground for suspecting to be allied to the languages of the Caucasus. Moreover, for the Armenians, this name, which was foreign to their language, is a complete enigma; they only explain its origin and meaning by means of a wretched paragram.\*

But there is nothing, absolutely nothing, to prove that, for the Elohist writer, the author of Gen. viii. 4, the geographical name of Arârât had the same meaning as for the prophets. It is, on the contrary, remarkable that these latter, in speaking of the Armenian country of Arârât, do not appear to be acquainted with the tradition which placed in it the resting-place of Noa'h's ark, and make no allusion to this tradition, which would, however, have been of capital importance in their eyes. This would seem naturally to lead critics to the conclusion that the localization of the final fact connected with the Deluge on Mount Massis, in the country of Ayrarad or Urartu, has been the consequence of the mention of the name of "the mountains of Arârât" in Genesis, instead of such mention having been the result of an ancient tradition current in Armenia and spread from thence into Mesopotamia and Syria. It is important to notice in connection with this, that the use of the name of Arârât as applied to the diluvian mountain is peculiar to the Elohist writer, and constitutes a real innovation on his part. This name, as we know in a positive manner from Berosus and the original cuneiform documents, did not appear in the Chaldæo-Babylonian tradition. The Jehovist, who is certainly prior to him, and who always keeps closest to this tradition, does not employ such a name and does not appear to have known it. For him, it is quite evident that the ark rested at the same spot as for the Chaldeans, towards the mountains of Nizir, since it rested to the east of the plains

\* They explain it by *Arayi arad*, "the fading of Aray," their ancient monarch, defeated in the plain of Ayrarad by the army of Semiramis. Mos. Khoren., i. 14.



of Shine'âr.\* Now it is indisputable—from the ethnographic table in the tenth chapter of Genesis, which emanates from him—that the Elohist writer had an acquaintance with a part at least of the Iranian populations which is not found in the same degree in any other of the Biblical writers anterior to Cyrus. There is nothing impossible, then, in his having borrowed from those populations, who were known to him, the name of *Aryâratha* or *Airyâratha* for the diluvian mountain, which name he may quite naturally have rendered as *Arârât*, whether he had in view the assimilation to that of the Armenian *Ayrarad*, or whether that assimilation was not present to his mind and was only made subsequently, in conformity with his text. For here positive data are wanting to decide between the two hypotheses, which are both equally admissible.

Let us remark, however, that he may have drawn from a Babylonian source, if not primitive, at least contemporary with himself, this notion of a diluvian *Arârât* or *Airyâratha*, derived from an Aryan origin. In fact, the lexicographical documents of the palatine library of Nineveh show us that the Assyro-Babylonians sometimes called the *Ayrarad* of Armenia *Urtû*, whence we must conclude that by an artificial etymology they decomposed *Urtu* or *Arartu* into *ar-Urtu*, "the mountain† of Urtu," just as, at a later date, the authors of the Aramaic Targumîm of the prophets, having become acquainted with the classical name of Armenia, analyzed it into *har-Mînî*, "mountain of Mînî," which expression they substituted for the *Mînnî* of the original texts. It follows, also, from the same passages of the Assyrian lexicographical tablets, that the name of the Armenian *Arârât*, when read as *Urtû*, was written by the same ideogram as the name of the Babylonian country of Akkad, which ideogram is explained elsewhere by *mâtum elitum*, "elevated country," and by *šaqu*, "summit." Thus, when the Chaldæo-Assyrians decomposed *Urtu* or *arartu* into *ar-urtû*, it was in order to give it the meaning of "the high mountain." For them it was, therefore, an exact equivalent of the Zend *Harâ-Berezaiti*. Consequently, it is quite natural that, if they were acquainted with the Iranian legends concerning the sacred paradisiac mountain, they should have given to it the name of *Ar-urtû*, both as being identical in meaning with its appellation of *Harâ-Berezaiti*‡ and also as being identical in sound with that of *Airyâratha*. Now, in order to furnish the proof that some names belonging to the Iranian mythology were known and introduced into Babylon and Assyria, if not as early as the time when the lexicographical tablets were first written, at least at the date when

\* Gen. xi. 2.

† The word *arru* being construed *ar*, "mountain," corresponding to the Hebrew *har*, has not yet been pointed out by Assyriologists. I find it with *gublu*, given as an equivalent of *sadû*, in a fragment still unpublished of a list of Assyrian synonyms.

‡ M. Spiegel, after Eugène Burnouf, notes, as a circumstance worthy of great attention, the use in the consecrated name *Harâ-Berezaiti* of the word *hara*, of Semitic origin, instead of the properly Iranian word *gairi*. The holy mountain is sometimes called absolutely *hara* or *Haraiti*.



the copies which we possess were made—in seventh century B.C.—it will suffice to refer to that in which the gloss *Mitra* accompanies a surname of the Sun-god.\*

The Iranian origin of the name of the diluvian Arârât, then, is possible, and even probable, whether we suppose the Elohist to have borrowed it directly from what he knew of the traditions of Media, or whether we prefer to believe that he received the name by way of Babylon.

In this way we find ourselves carried back, by the agreement of the sacred tradition and the most venerable among the profane traditions of the mountainous region of Little Bukharia and Western Thibet, as it were, to the place whence the great races of the human family came. It is here that the Aryan race certainly had its origin. It is here that four of the greatest rivers of Asia—the Iaxartes, the Tarîm, the Oxus, and even the Indus through some of its affluents—take their rise. The culminating points of it are Belur-tagh and the vast plateau of Pamir, so well fitted to support primitive populations yet in the pastoral condition, since it offers them all that is necessary for their existence—shelter, food, and fuel—and that at a height above sea-level at which, everywhere else, nothing is met with but eternal snows. The name Pamir, in its primitive form, was Upa-Mêru, “the country under Mêru,” or perhaps Upa-mîra, “the country near the lake” which itself had given rise to the appellation of Mêru. Again, we are forced to turn our attention thither by certain reminiscences of the Greeks, particularly the sacred expression μέροπις ἄνθρωποι, which perhaps originally meant “the men sprung from Mêru.” The traditions of other peoples as to the native country of their ancestors also converge in the same direction, but without reaching the central point, obliterated, as they are partly, by distance. “The Mongol tribes,” observes M. Renan, “connect their most ancient legends with the Thian-chan and the Altaï, the Finnish tribes with the Ural, because these two chains hide from their view a more distant system of mountains. But prolong the two lines of migration indicated by these traditions towards a more remote starting-point, and you will find them meet in Little Bukharia.”

Is it not, to say the very least, curious to note the perfect agreement between these conclusions and those to which M. de Quatrefages has been led by considerations of a quite different order, considerations exclusively borrowed from the domain of anthropology and from the geographical distribution of the races of mankind?

“We know,” says the eminent professor,† “that there exists in Asia a vast region, enclosed on the south and south-west by the Himâlayas, on the west by the Bolor, on the north-west by the Alla-Tau, on the north by the Altaï and its derivatives, on the east and south-east by the Felina and the Kuen-Lun. Judging of it by what exists at the present day, this great central region might be regarded as having included the cradle of the human race.

\* “Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia,” vol. iii. pl. 69, No. 5, l. 63.

† “L'Espèce humaine,” 2 ed. p. 130 et seq.



"In fact, the three fundamental types of all the races of mankind are represented in the populations grouped around this region. The negro races are the furthest removed from it, but have nevertheless marine stations in which they are found pure or mixed, from the Kiussiu to the Andaman Islands. On the continent they have mingled their blood with nearly all the inferior castes and classes of the two Gangetic peninsulas; they are still found pure in each of them; they ascend as far as Nepâl and spread to the west as far as the Persian Gulf and Lake Zareh, according to Elphinstone.

"The yellow race, pure, or mixed here and there with white elements, seems alone to occupy the area in question. The circumference of this region is peopled by it to the north, the east, the south-east, and the west. In the south it is more mixed, but it none the less forms an important element of the population.

"The white race, by its allophyle representatives, seems to have disputed the possession of even the central area itself with the yellow race. In the past we find the Yu-Tchis, the U-suns, to the north of Hoang-Ho; at the present day in Little Thibet, in Eastern Thibet, small islands with white populations have been pointed out. The Miao-Tseus occupy the mountainous regions of China; the Siaposhes are proof against all attacks in the gorges of Bolor. On the confines of this area we find to the east the Aïnos and the Japanese of high castes, the Tinguians of the Philippines; to the south the Hindus. To the south-west and west the white element, pure or mixed, is completely predominant.

"No other region on the face of the globe presents a similar reunion of the extreme types of the human race distributed around a common centre. This fact of itself might suggest to the naturalist the conjecture which I have expressed above; but we may appeal to other considerations.

"One of the weightiest of these is drawn from philology. The three fundamental forms of human language are found in the same regions and in analogous connections. In the centre and the south-east of our area the monosyllabic languages are represented by the Chinese, the Annamite, the Siamese, and the Thibetan. As agglutinative languages we find, from the north-east to the north-west, the group of the Ougro-Japanese; in the south that of the Dravidians and the Malays; and in the west the Turkish languages. Lastly, Sanscrit, with its derivatives, and the Iranian languages, represent, in the south and south-west, the flexible languages.

"With the linguistic types accumulated around this central part of Asia all human languages are connected, either by their vocabulary or their grammar. Some of these Asiatic languages approach very near to languages spoken in regions far removed, or separated from the area in question by very different languages.

"Lastly, it is from Asia, again, that our earliest-tamed domestic animals have come. Isidore Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire is entirely agreed on this point with Dureau de la Malle.

"Thus, taking into account only the present date, everything leads us back to this central plateau, or rather this vast enclosure. Here, we are tempted to say to ourselves, the first human beings appeared and multiplied, down to the moment when the populations overflowed like a cup which is too full, and poured themselves out in human waves in all directions."

#### V.

In the preceding pages we have been insensibly led to the assimilation and almost complete identification of the diluvian mountain and the paradisiac mountain, of the birthplace of the first and that of the second human race, in the Biblical conception as to the earliest ages and the origin of our species. It is, in fact, a result which I think it impossible to avoid; and this is the reason which has led me to reserve for this chapter of my article the question of the site of the garden of 'Eden



according to the data furnished by the Jehovistic document inserted in Genesis.

I have not to examine here the problem—which is still premature for science, but which may probably one day be solved according to the new elements which geology and palæontology will introduce into the discussion\*—the problem as to which was really the geographical birthplace in which man made his appearance on the day when he was created. But historically, it seems to me indisputable that the three great branches of the white race, which, in reality, constitute the choice part of the human race, and which the Bible makes to be the posterity of Noa'h, took their rise in that region of Central Asia in which we have been led to place Mêru and Harâ-Barezaiti; and it was from thence that their multitudes departed in order to spread themselves by migration over the rest of the surface of the earth. Even supposing—which I shall not seek to do—that for that race this was but a first halting-place in stupendously ancient times, and that the other races of humanity did not issue from these same parts, but from another earlier birthplace more or less near, it was quite natural that the three divisions of the post-diluvian Noa'hidæ—as they considered themselves to be—should place the origin and the Edenic happiness of the first human pair of the antediluvian period, in their primitive innocence, in those parts to which they traced back the most ancient reminiscences which they had preserved; in those spots which had witnessed first the dwelling together, and then the separation into three branches—differing by certain features of physical type and by language—of their ancient ancestors in the time of the generations succeeding the Deluge, the impression and the memory of which event always remained so vivid in primitive traditions which, as we have seen, were common to them.

It is a notion very generally admitted among the interpreters of the Sacred Books in the earliest centuries of Christianity, that, at the time of the Deluge, the human race, in the person of Noa'h—the just man who alone was preserved from this terrible punishment—found refuge in the very same region which had sheltered its cradle. And this idea is, to my mind, quite in conformity with the spirit of the ancient tradition.

That such was the conception of the Jehovist of Genesis seems to me to admit of no doubt, from his own words. It is “towards the east” (*miqqedem*) that Yahveh Elohim planted the garden of 'Ēden; † to the east of this garden lay the *addînâh*, the fertile inhabited and cultivated land in which Adam dwelt after his expulsion from the terrestrial Paradise, and where his posterity by Shêth maintained their position; while Cain, in consequence of his crime, was driven thence by the Divine anger, ‡ and went and settled in the land of exile (*ereq Nôd*), which is also situated

\* See what M. de Quatrefages already says of the indications which seem to follow from certain facts proved by these sciences. “*L'Espèce humaine*,” 2nd ed. p. 132.

† Gen. ii. 8.

‡ Gen. iv. 14.



"to the east of 'Éden" (*qidmath-'Éden*.)\* The site of the *addmâh* is formally determined by the circumstance that it was "at the east of the garden of 'Éden" (*miqqedem legan-'Éden*) that Yahveh placed the Kerubîm to prevent the approach to it of the man who was banished from this abode of delight.† At the same time, when the Deluge had ravaged the surface of this *addmâh*, inhabited by the descendants of Shêth, which had been the theatre of the union (mentioned in the narrative) of the sons of God with the daughters of men,‡ and to which the Jehovist seems in several very precise passages§ to limit the destruction produced by the Flood, it was, again, by an emigration which set out from the east (*bends'am miqqedem*) that the posterity of the three sons who left the ark with Noa'h reached the plains of Shine'âr.|| The diluvian mountain on which the ark rested was, therefore, according to the tradition which the Jehovistic writer has received, situated in the far east with regard to Babylonia, but nevertheless placed between this region and the antediluvian *addmâh*, which was still farther east—that is to say, in geographical conditions exactly analogous to those of 'Éden itself.

These different features of the Biblical text, all borrowed from the same fundamental document, give us a glimpse, by their juxtaposition, of a system perfectly analogous to that which is essential in the diluvian narratives of India. For the Brâhmanical Indians, the garden of delight of Méru, and the summit on which the vessel which was the means of rescue from the Flood ran aground, are placed in the same group of mountains, whether in the Himâlaya, or the Kuen-Lun, or the Tiau-shan, but always to the north of India. It was on the northern side of this group of mountains, the umbilicus of the world, in the paradisiac land of Uttara-Kuru, that Manu Vâivasvata resided before the Deluge, and it was there that he received the warning of the divine fish. Then, when his vessel was borne on the upraised waters, the sacred mountains, which alone remained unsubmerged in the midst of a universal inundation, afforded him a harbour of refuge. It was here that he disembarked, and, after the Flood was over, made his "descent from the mountain of the north" on the other side, towards the south—that is to say, in the direction of India. Except in so far as the migration in question takes place from east to west, instead of from north to south, the notion which springs from the chain of facts in the narrative given by the Jehovist of Genesis appears to me exactly the same. Before the Deluge the posterity of Adam dwelt to the east of 'Éden; the posterity of the blessed son in the region to which is specially given the name of *addmâh*—a place of exile and misery as compared with the earthly Paradise, but an abode of delight still as compared with the land of Nôd, to which Qain, the cursed son, was relegated. It is here that Noa'h resided; it is here that he received the divine warning and built the ark in anticipation of the Flood. But when the Deluge was over, Noa'h and his children, after their voyage on the upraised waters, found themselves, on the con-

\* Gen. iv. 16. † Gen. iii. 24. ‡ Gen. vi. 1, 2. § Gen. vi. 7; vii. 4, 23. || Gen.



trary, transported to a region where they henceforth had 'Ēden "to the east;" and from thence their migration, which withdrew them at once from their birthplace and from the place which had witnessed their rescue, proceeded from east to west. It is very difficult, after this, not to believe that, for the narrator who thus unfolds the course of events, the paradisiac garden and the diluvian mountain, the position of which with regard to the country where he wrote is indicated by him in the same terms, must have belonged to one and the same prodigiously elevated mass of land, forming, as it were, the axis of the world, and towering above "the highest mountains which are under the whole heaven," which had been submerged fifteen cubits by the inundation.\* This doubly-sacred mountain range, placed far to the east in respect to the plains of Shine'âr, in which the confusion of tongues took place, would thus form, in the mind of the Biblical writer, a kind of barrier between the abode of the ante-diluvian and that of the post-diluvian human race, in the same way as the one where, in the tradition of India, are placed both Mēru and Nāubandhanam.

Notwithstanding the small space which the diluvian tradition occupies in the sacred books of Mazdeism, I think I discover in it manifest traces of a similar notion. In fact, it is in the Edenic land of Airyana-Vaedja† that Yima, by order of Ahuramazda, who warns him of the imminence of the Flood,‡ forms the square garden, *vara*, which in this form of the narrative plays the same part as the ark in that of the Bible, and is, as it were, a sort of earthly paradise analogous to the Uttara-Kuru of the Indians and at the same time a place of refuge from the scourge which devastates the rest of the earth. Let us remark that, in almost all the places in Irân to which we have seen the sacred mountain of Harâ-Berezaiti transported by a later localization, we have also ascertained that, under the influence of the introduction of Jewish, Christian, or Mussulman ideas, people thought they recognised the diluvian peak in the mountain thus designated by the Mazdeans. This is an almost certain indication that the new traditions were in these cases grafted on some conception belonging to ancient indigenous legends which favoured them, and that in all these places people thought they possessed the *vara* of Yima and at the same time the Harâ-Berezaiti, with which its notion was closely connected.

These are the facts which have justified us in uniting in the same chapter the study of questions relating to the diluvian Arârât and to 'Ēden, as being intimately connected with each other and scarcely capable of being separated.

## VI.

The reader cannot have failed to be struck, as the first explorers of Sanscrit literature have been, with the close analogy, we might even say the perfect identity, of all the essential features of the typical

\* Gen. vii. 19, 20.

† Vendidad, ii. 42-45.

‡ *Ibid.*, 46-79.



description of Mount Méru in the Purānas with the topography of 'Ēden in the second chapter of Genesis. The garden of 'Ēden (*gan-'Ēden*), the garden of God (*gan Elohim*),\* which is guarded by the anointed and protecting Kerúb (*Kerúb mimscha'h hassóchéch*),† is placed, like the garden of delight of the gods of India, on the summit of a mountain, the holy mountain of God (*hur qodesh Elohim*),‡ all sparkling with precious stones.§ The Jehovistic writer does not say so in Genesis, but the prophets are express in this respect. The tree of life grows "in the midst of the garden" (*bethóch haggan*), with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,|| exactly like the tree Djambu, in the centre of the delightful plateau which crowns the height of Méru. A river goes out of 'Ēden to water the garden, and from thence it divides and forms four arms.¶ This corresponds in the most precise manner with the way in which the spring Gangá, after having watered the Celestial Land, or the Land of Joy, at the summit of Méru, forms four lakes on the four counterforts of this holy mountain, whence it afterwards flows out in four large rivers towards the four cardinal points.

The names of Ilâ-varsha and Ilâ-vrita, given to the Svarga-bhumî or Tuschita-bhumî of Manu—after Ilâ, the wife of Manu and mother of the human race—give to this mountain the character of an earthly paradise, whence mankind derived their origin, and at the same time of a habitation of the gods. However, the real human-paradisiac land in the legends of India is Uttara-Kuru, the tradition of which was already gathered by Megasthenes, and which is situated on the northern side of Méru. Uttara-Kuru, therefore, geographically stands in the same relation to Méru as, in the Jehovistic narrative used by the final editor of Genesis, the antediluvian *addám* does to the 'Ēden of the holy mountain of God. The same relation of position also exists, in the Mazdean narratives, between Airyana-Vaedja and Harâ-Berezaiti, with its peak Hukairya, where dwelt Yima in the days of his purity,\*\* and before him his ancestor Haoshyangha.†† But it was not on this mountain, but in the lower country which stretches beneath its shadow, that Yima established his flourishing kingdom down to the date of his sin, causing the human beings who multiplied rapidly under the shelter of his throne to lead a truly Edenic life, on the happiness of which the Zend-Avesta complacently dwells, on several occasions. It was here that Yima assembled all the best of mankind at the same time that Ahuramazda assembled, also in Airyana-Vaedja, the celestial Yazatas‡‡—a remarkable story, in that it brings into contact, on the same territory, these superhuman genii and mankind, as the Biblical narrative does the *bené haelohim* and the *benóth háádám*.§§ In the Indian and Iranian traditions the earthly paradise—in which the first human generations passed their days of innocence and happiness, the recollection of which is common to these

\* Ezek. xxviii. 13.  
§ Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14, 16.  
†† Yesht, v. 25.

† Ezek. xxviii. 14, 16.  
|| Gen. ii. 9; iii. 3.  
‡‡ Vendidad, ii. 42-45.

‡ Ezek. xxviii. 14, 16.  
¶ Gen. ii. 10.      \*\* Yesht, v. 21  
§§ Gen. vi. 2, 4.



traditions and to that of the Bible—comprises both the holy mountain and the region situated at its foot, in which region men became developed in numbers; we get no glimpse of any very clear distinction between the respective conditions of these two abodes. The system of Genesis is, in this respect, much better prepared, much more regularly conceived; it establishes between the two successive abodes of the first human beings an essential difference, a logical gradation corresponding to the phases of their moral history. The paradisiac felicity attached to the state of perfect purity exists only in the garden of 'Ēden, planted on the holy mountain. The land situated at the foot of this mountain—the *addmāh*—although fertile and still pleasant to dwell in, is no longer a place of beatitude, like Uttara-Kuru and Airyana-Vaедja, to which it forms a parallel; it is already a land of exile and of imperfection, to which man has been condemned after the sin which has banished him from the garden of delight. This is because, in the Biblical conception, the state of innocence and happiness only existed for the first couple of our ancestors, and that only for a short time; they soon lost its privileges through their own fault, and all their posterity are born in the land of exile, bearing the hereditary burden of the Fall. The dogma of original sin, by thus defining itself more clearly, and by assuming a religious and moral importance of the first order, which is reflected on the whole history of the human race, has brought with it as a consequence a clear and precise distinction from what has always remained enveloped in vagueness and confusion among the Indians and the Iranians.

I have stated above, in agreement with M. Renan, that the sacred expression *μέροπες*, as used among the Greeks to designate mankind, could not have originally been applied to them on account of their possessing the gift of articulate speech, as is pretended in the etymology of grammarians of late date, but as having proceeded from Mēru. Such an explanation, the consequence of which is to carry back this name of the sacred mountain, the abode of the gods and the birthplace of mankind, to the most ancient period of Aryan unity, is corroborated, in a manner to my mind quite decisive, by the existence of myths which make the Meropes to be a special and autochthonic population, of a date far back in the most ancient times, who lead a life of innocence and happiness, marked by extraordinary longevity (a feature in common with the Indian legends concerning Uttara-Kuru), under the government of a king Merops, who is sometimes represented as preserving them from the Deluge, in the same way as the Yima of the Iranians, and assembling them around him to shelter them from the Flood, from which they alone escape. This myth is usually localized in the island of Kos, which receives the name of Meropēis, Meropis, or Meropē. But the island of Siphnos is also reputed to have been called Meropia in virtue of a similar tradition, and Strabo speaks of a fabulous region, of the name of Meropis, which was described by Theopompus and which seems to have been placed near the country of the Hyperboreans. Merops is



also given as a king of the Ethiopians; the most pious and most virtuous of men, the husband of Klymenê the mother of Phaethôn, and consequently anterior to the catastrophe of the conflagration of the universe, by which the first human race, that of the golden age, is often said to have been destroyed. Or else the same name is given to a prophet-king of Rhyndakos, in Mysia, who also receives the very significant appellation of Makar or Makareus, "the happy." All this shows that the paradisiac myth of the Meropes was not peculiar to the island of Kos, but was current elsewhere in the Greek world and had undergone more than one localization there.

The farther we go on, the more the collection of facts which we are led to pass in review and to group together induces us to conclude that the 'Ēden of Genesis, as well as its diluvian Arârât, must be sought in the same parts as the Mêru of the Brâhmanical Indians, and the Airyana-Vaedja and Harâ-Berezaiti of the Mazdean books. This, moreover, is the opinion as regards the terrestrial paradise which is adopted without hesitation by a large number of modern commentators among those who represent the most advanced state of modern science. Even of the very name of 'Ēden vestiges are found in this region. I do not venture, with Anquetil-Duperron, to give a precise geographical meaning to the epithet—radically of Semitic origin as it would seem—*hedenes*, "delightful, full of beatitude," given by the Bundelesh\* to Zarathustra's birthplace, which that book places in Airyana-Vaedja. But it seems to me difficult not to attach a real value to the parallel which M. Renan resolutely establishes between the appellation of 'Ēden and that of the kingdom of Udyâna or of "the Garden,"† near Kashmir, watered by four rivers precisely like those which issue from the paradisiac garden of Genesis. A sacred mountain overlooked this country, and Hiuen-Tshang calls it Mount Lan-po-lo; at a certain date it was regarded as Mêru; the Buddhist pilgrims relate that the tree of life, Kalpataru, grows there, and that on its summit there is a lake, whence a large river issues, and in which resides a dragon. It is true that etymologically, and from a strictly philological point of view, 'Ēden and Udyâna are perfectly distinct; of these two names the one has received a form purely Semitic and significant in that family of languages, the other a form purely Sanscrit and equally significant. But it is the characteristic of those few names belonging to the quite primitive geography of the traditions common to the Aryans and the Semites, and even to other races—names the origin of which goes back to a date far earlier than that at which the two families of Indo-European and Syro-Arabic languages became such as we now study them, and the real etymology of which it would be impossible at the present day to restore—it is the characteristic of those names to reappear both among the Aryans and the Semites, under forms sufficiently similar for comparison to be made with every appearance of

\* Chap. xxxiii.

† On the tradition of the miraculous garden which had given this country its name, see

"E. Kone-Ki," p. 46 et seq.



probability, although these forms have been combined in such a manner as to have a meaning in the languages of both. The most ancient religious traditions and the oldest legends of Brâhmanism are connected with the country of Udyâna, which has had a character not less sacred for the Buddhists, and which has certainly been one of the points at which the paradisiac myths of India have been localized. But this has only been by a shifting southward of the primitive Udyâna or 'Éden, which was at first more to the north, when the inhabitants of that region claimed to possess Mêru in their Nishadha Mountains; whence the companions of Alexander concluded that this was the Mêros of Zeus, where Dionysos was rescued after Semelê had been stricken with a thunderbolt.

It is remarkable that Josephus and the oldest Fathers of the Church were led, by a current of traditions existing in a more or less vague state in their day, and by reasons very different from those which have brought modern science to the same result, to place the earthly paradise of the Biblical narrative to the east of the Semitic possessions, and even beyond, in the neighbourhood of the chain of the Imaüs or the Himâlayas. In order not to extend beyond legitimate bounds this essay, which is well-nigh overcrowded with the facts indispensable to the argument which we are prosecuting, we are compelled to abstain from citing the numerous conjectures put forth by Biblical interpreters of all periods with regard to the situation of the garden of 'Éden, and we shall have to content ourselves with referring the reader to the substantial and complete summaries which have been given in the collections of Winer\* and Herzog.† We will only say that all those of the theories which admit the geographical reality of the paradisiac garden, and which do not consider the description as purely mythical, or suppose, with Luther, that the antediluvian configuration of 'Éden has been overturned and effaced from the surface of the earth by the Deluge, may be reduced to three principal systems, placing 'Éden :—

1. In the extreme north-east, towards the Imaüs, or even still farther off.‡
2. In Armenia, between the sources of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxus, and the Phasis.§
3. In Chaldea, at the point where the Euphrates and the Tigris unite previous to falling into the Persian Gulf.||

\* "Realwörterbuch," on the word *Eden*.

† "Real-Encyclopädie," t. xx. p. 332 et seq. ; "Bibel-Lexicon," t. ii. p. 42 et seq.

‡ This is the system of Josephus, of the Book of Enoch, and of Cosmas Indicopleustês ; it is also the one which was predominant throughout the Middle Ages, along with the cosmographic ideas of Cosmas, which we shall have an opportunity of discussing a little farther on.

§ Nicolas Sanson, Reland, D. Calmet, and Père Romain-Joly, and among modern interpreters Kurtz, Bunsen, Keil, and Von Raumer. M. A. Dillmann observes, with reason, that this system has for it no weighty authority of ancient date. We may consider the opinions of Tuch, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius, who place 'Éden to the west of the Caspian Sea, but make of it a locality more mythical than real, as in some measure constituting varieties of this system.

|| Calvin, E. Morin, Bochart, Huet, Père Brunet, Hopkins, Rask, and Pressel. 'Éden has also been placed :—In the neighbourhood of Damascus, between the Chrysorrhœas and the



## VII.

The description of the garden of 'Eden in Genesis, with all the characteristic features of the marvellous topography of this abode of delight and of the geography of the surrounding region, so similar to that of the Indian Méru and the Iranian Harâ-Berezaiti, most certainly forms one of those primitive traditional documents, anterior to the migration of the Tera'hites into Syria, which the family of Abraham brought with them when they left the banks of the Euphrates, and which the Jehovistic writer has used in his book, preserving with remarkable fidelity their legendary colour, and even, as we shall prove, some peculiarities of composition which belong to a date much earlier than his time, and which had their origin in Chaldea. This description refers to countries and rivers of which no mention is afterwards made in the rest of the Bible, and everything in it, as in other passages from the Jehovistic document which are likewise placed at the commencement of Genesis, is tinged with the symbolic colouring peculiar to the spirit of the first ages, so much so that Philo and Origen, anticipating the opinion of a certain number of modern interpreters, have taken it as allegorical and not real. The garden of delight, which served as the abode of the first human pair before their fall, and where Yahveh Elohim himself "walked in the cool of the day,"\* is conceived on the plan of one of those *paradises* of the Asiatic monarchs, such as the Bible and the ancient Greek writers describe them to us among the Persians, having in the centre the pyramidal cypress, the symbolic and sacred tree. But we cannot find in this analogy an argument in support of the opinion which momentarily found favour with a certain school of interpreters, who looked upon the narratives relating to 'Eden as borrowed by the Jews from the Persians about the time of the Captivity. In fact, if the name of the *paradises* (called *παράδεισοι* by the Greeks since the time of Xenophon) of the Asiatic kings is purely Iranian—the Zend *pairi-daêza*, "a place enclosed with walls," which had become *pardez* in Armenian, *pardés* in Hebrew, *phardaisô* in Syriac, and *firdais* in the Mussulman languages—the type of those gardens, like most of the details of the material civilization of the empires of Nineveh and Persia, derives its origin from the usages of the ancient monarchies of Babylon and Nineveh, as well as the relation of these artificial paradises with the data of the Edenic traditions. In Babylonia and Assyria the terms employed to designate the *paradises* or planted parks attached to the palaces were *kirû* and *ginû*. The first of these Assyrian words, which is invariably used to render the Accadian *giš-sār*, "plantation of trees," is derived from the common Semitic root *kur*, "to dig" (the soil). The second is identical with the Hebrew *gan*,

Orontes (Le Clercq, Père Abram, &c.); in Palestine, towards the sources of the Jordan (Heidegger, Lakemacher, &c.); in Southern Arabia (Jean Herbin and Père Hardouin, whose system has recently been revived with much learning and ingenuity by M. Joseph Halévy).

\* Gen. iii. 8.



*gannáh*, or *ginnáh*, which has yet other parallels in Aramaic, Arabic and Ghez, and which properly signifies an enclosed garden, in contradistinction to *sádeh*, "the open field," "the cultivated plain;"\* a garden of pot-herbs,† of sweet-smelling flowers and shrubs,‡ and especially an orchard or park planted with trees.§ This word, however, is not derived, as has been hitherto supposed, from the Semitic root *gánan*, "to cover, to protect;" it is a derivative of the old Accadian and non-Semitic term *gana*, "enclosed," which the influence of Babylonian agriculture has propagated throughout the Syro-Arabic world. The kings of Judah had their royal garden (*gan-hammelech*)|| at Jerusalem, planned on the model of the *kiri* or *ginl* of the Assyrian monarchs. We see that the Hebrew *gan* and the Assyrian *ginl* have their exact synonym in the Zend *pari-daēza*, which, however, was itself introduced among the Hebrews before the Captivity; for we not only find the word *pardēs* in their books of the Persian epoch, like that of Nehemiah,¶ in which mention is made of the *shomér-hapardēs*, "the keeper of the (king's) forest," but also in older books—like the Canticles,\*\* which speaks of a *pardēs rimmonim*, "orchard of pomegranates;" and Ecclesiastes,†† which associates the plantation of *gannóth* and *pardēsím*. The LXX. were therefore most strictly correct in adopting the word *παράδεισος* as a translation of the Hebrew *gan* or *gannáh*, not only when the garden of 'Éden was meant but also in many other Biblical passages. Their example has been followed, in the designation of the garden of delight planted by the very hand of God, by Symmachus, the Græcus Venetus, the Peshito-Syriac version, and St. Jerome; and in this way the religious sense of the term "paradise" has become established among Christians, whilst among the Iranians *pairi-daēza* is always a profane expression, and the term employed to designate the paradise of Yima is *vara*.‡‡ In the religious sense, in speaking of the earthly Paradise, or the garden of 'Éden, the Arabs frequently use the expression *El-djannatun* or *djannat 'Ednin*.

The use of the word *gan*, employed in the Assyro-Babylonian civilization, instead of the word *pardēs*, borrowed from the Iranians, is consequently a proof that the compilation of the narrative relating to the garden of 'Éden cannot have taken place so late as the Persian period of the Hebrew history, but dates from a considerably earlier time. Moreover, it is with good reason that M. Renan observes that the second chapter of Genesis and the neighbouring chapters "were written previous to the intellectual contact of the Hebrews with the Aryan peoples, and differ widely in colour from the books conceived under Persian influence since the Captivity." It is important here to notice

\* There is the same contrast in Assyrian between *kiriš* and *geru*, *gira*. + Deut. xi. 10.

‡ Cant. iv. 16; vi. 2.

§ Cant. vi. 11; *gan*. Is. i. 29, 30; Ixi. 11; *gannáh*.

|| 2 Kings xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4; lii. 7. Neh. iii. 15.

¶ ii. 8.

\*\* iv. 13.

†† ii. 5.

‡‡ Nevertheless, *ferdās* in Persian is always used in a religious acceptation, as a synonym of *bekesht*, "paradises," and not of *bagh*, "gardens;" but the entirely Arabic form of this word gives rise to the suspicion that it has not been preserved in Mussulman Persia by a national tradition, but has, on the contrary, been reintroduced there with Islamism.



that the whole of the second chapter is taken from the Jehovistic document, the one which criticism is now unanimous in acknowledging as the oldest of the two made use of by the final editor of the Pentateuch, and the one which even those critics who are most inclined to assign too recent a date to the composition of the Biblical books and of the documents inserted therein accept as prior to the Captivity. The narrative of the garden of 'Êden and of the first sin is therefore, even in the state in which we possess it, indisputably one of the most ancient portions of the Pentateuch, and that without prejudice to the probability of the Jehovistic editor having preserved a form of this narrative which had already become fixed and determined long before his time, and had been traditionally preserved from the times of the migration which brought the Tera'hites from Chaldea into Palestine.

There are frequent allusions in the prophets to the garden of 'Êden (*gan-'Êden*),\* to the garden of God (*gan-Elohîm*),† to the garden of Yahveh (*gan-Yahveh*) ‡—a term used also in Genesis by way of comparison in a passage emanating from the same source as the second chapter§—or else to the holy mountain of God (*har qodesh 'Elohîm*) || crowned by this garden. The Book of Proverbs on several occasions employs images of the tree of life (*'ec-hayîm*),¶ and the spring of life (*meqôr-'hayîm*),\*\* which is evidently the spring of the paradisiac garden whence issue the four rivers, like the Gangâ of the Indian Mêru, and the Ardvî-Çûra of the Mazdean Harâ-Berezaiti. This last conclusion appears to me to be rendered inevitable by the deliberately chosen words of Psalm xxxvi. 8, 9, and the way in which the spring of life (*meqôr-'hayîm*) is there assimilated to a river of pleasures (*na 'hal 'édânîm*)—an allusion to the river produced by the holy spring which “went out of 'Êden to water the garden”:††—

“They are satisfied with the abundance of thy house,  
And thou makest them drink of the river of thy pleasures.  
For with thee is the fountain of life:  
In thy light we see light.”

Another proof, and a very decisive one in my opinion, of the high antiquity of the narrative of Genesis concerning 'Êden, and of the knowledge of it possessed by the Hebrews long before the Captivity, is the intention—so clearly proved by Ewald‡‡—to imitate the four Edenic rivers, which predominated in the works of Shelomoh and 'Hizqiyâhû for the distribution of the waters of Jerusalem, which in its turn was considered as the *umbilicus* of the earth,§§ in the double sense of centre of the inhabited regions and source of the rivers. The four streams which watered the town and the foot of its ramparts—one of which was named Gî'hôn,||| like one of the paradisiac rivers—were, as Ewald has shown, reputed to issue, through subterranean communications, from the spring

\* Ezek. xxxvi. 35; Joel ii. 3.

† Ezek. xxviii. 13; xxxi. 8, 9.

‡ Is. li. 3.

§ Gen. xiii. 10.

|| Ezek. xxviii. 14, 16.

¶ Prov. iii. 18; xi. 30; xiii. 12; xv. 4.

\*\* Prov. x. 11; xiii. 14; xiv. 27; xvi. 22.

†† Gen. ii. 10.

‡‡ “Geschichte des Volkes Israel,” 2nd ed., t. iii. pp. 321-328.

§§ Ezek. v. 5.

||| 1 Kings i. 33, 38; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; xxxiii. 14.



of fresh water situated beneath the Temple,\* the sacred source of life and purity, to which the prophets attach a high symbolic value.† Mount Mōriyāh, or the whole of Mount Çiyôn, of which it formed part, was thus for a double reason the holy mountain of God (*har qodesh Elohim*),‡ the *har Yahveh* or *har hâelohim*,§ as the mountain of the Temple (*har bêth Yahveh*,|| *har habbaith*¶), and as a reproduction of the paradisiac *har qodesh Elohim*. Nevertheless I would not venture, as I have done elsewhere rather too boldly, following the lead of Wilford, to assimilate the name of Mōriyāh to that of Mêru, although this latter name is not exclusively Indian, and the Greek myth of the Meropes connects it with the common Aryan source, which would allow us to recognise in it one of those names belonging to the legendary nomenclature of the primitive ages, the special nature of which we have, a little while ago, tried to define by saying that they may be found among peoples belonging to widely-different races with a significant form in the language of each of those peoples, because all the forms in question, which from a strictly philological point of view are radically irreducible, in reality constitute only more or less ingenious combinations intended to give a meaning to traditional appellations, the real origin and signification of which had long been forgotten. A systematic labour of false etymology has given to those names of prehistoric geography, preserved by a stupendously ancient tradition, the appearance of names of Aryan formation among the Aryans, Semitic among the Semites, and so on. Let us remark, however, that the Semitic etymology of the name of Mōriyāh is singularly obscure; that its use in the history of the sacrifice of Yiçe'hâq\*\* as the spot where the act took place, while it is not certain that in this case it originally applied to the same locality where the Temple was afterwards built, gives to it the character of an appellation denoting a place where Yahveh, by preference, establishes his residence and wishes to place the centre of his worship; and, lastly, that in the two Biblical passages in which this name appears it is explained only by a play upon words, which moreover differs in one place from the other, and not by an etymology which has any weight from a linguistic point of view. In Gen. xxii. 14 it is said: *Vayiqrá Abrâhâm schêm hammôqôm hakû Yahveh yiréh*—"And Abraham called the name of that place Yahveh-will-provide"††—which proves that the author assimilated *mōriyāh* to *mare-Yâh*. In 2 Chron. iii. 1 the text has *Behar hammōriyâh asher nîrâh le-David*—"On Mount Mōriyāh which had been shown to David"—whence results the explanation, "shown by Yahveh."

FRANCOIS LENORMANT.

(To be continued).

\* Tacit. Hist., v. 12. Phil. ap. Enseb. Prepar. Evang., ix. 37.

† Joel iii. 18; Ezek. xlvii. 1-12; Zech. xiii. 1; xiv. 8; cf. Apoc. xxii. 1.

‡ Psalm ii. 6; xv. 1; xliii. 3; xlviii. 1. Is. xi. 9; lvi. 7; lvii. 13; lxx. 11. Jer. xxxi. 23. Joel iii. 17. Obad. 16.

§ Gen. xxii. 14. Psalm xxiv. 3. Is. li. 3. Ezek. xxviii. 16. Zech. viii. 3. The same appellation is given to Mount Sinai or Horeb, Ex. iii. 1; iv. 27; xviii. 5; xxiv. 13. Num. x. 33. 1 Kings xix. 8.

|| Is. li. 2.

¶ Jer. xxvi. 18; Mic. iii. 12.

\*\* Gen. xxii. 2.

†† Compare ver. 8 of the same chapter.

## MR. BENCE JONES' ANSWER TO OPPONENTS EXAMINED.

I PURPOSE in the following pages briefly to examine Mr. Bence Jones's "Answer to Opponents." I shall assume that the reader has followed the whole of this controversy, and has read my previous Paper\* as well as Mr Bence Jones's reply.† I shall, therefore, deem it unnecessary to repeat here any of the numerous counts on which Mr. Bence Jones has refused to join issue, and on which, consequently, he has allowed judgment to go by default. I shall not enter on new ground. I shall not extend my remarks beyond the narrow limits which Mr. Bence Jones himself has marked out. Personal recriminations which are not to the point; vague statements which prove nothing; and mere assertions which are entirely worthless; I shall, as far as possible, eschew.

Mr. Bence Jones has frequently stated that the Clonakilty Land League consists of only a few persons without character or influence. I have looked over the roll of its members, and find therein the names of five priests, five out of the nine Town Commissioners of Clonakilty, nearly all the elected Poor-law Guardians of the district, and over 900 other members, shopkeepers and farmers, Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian. Among the first to join the League were the tenants of Mr. Bence Jones, nor did they require any instigation to refuse paying their rack-rents. But did not Father Mulcahy and I draw away Mr. Bence Jones's labourers? I have already shown (page 147) the contradictory allegations made in this matter anent Father Mulcahy. I also gave, on his behalf and on his authority, a distinct denial to the further allegation that he held informal meetings of the labourers. Mr. Bence Jones adduces his proof in page 255. His son saw Father Mulcahy

\* See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for July, 1881, p. 127.

† See *Ibid.*, for August, 1881, p. 246.



with the men in the village, and the windows of the police barrack look on the place! And because a priest speaks to his own parishioners in his own parish, and because the windows of the police barrack look on the place, he must have drawn away the labourers! Excellent logic indeed.

But his logic in this respect regarding me is more excellent still. At first Father Mulcahy was solely charged with having done the deed. No mention was made of me. And indeed it was not easy to do so. No one word said by me, no one act done by me before the labourers left could be adduced to connect me with the matter. And in truth inasmuch as his labourers—with two exceptions, one of them being the only Irish labourer who did *not* leave, who was

“faithful found,  
Among the faithless, faithful only he”—

inasmuch as the other labourers resided in a different parish from that in which I am curate, I did not even know them, and had never spoken one word to any of them on any subject whatever. Nor did I go to Dublin to get money from the Central League for the labourers. I went there, as everyone in Clonakilty knows, to buy books for a Young Men's Literary Society, then formed in the town, and of which I am president. But what need to dwell any further on an allegation supported by special pleading and based on mere conjecture?

Mr. Bence Jones infers that I could make no complaint of his treatment of his labourers. I by no means grant the inference. Within the limits of a short paper I could not speak of everything. His labourers got higher wages than others; but they had to work more hours than others. They were fined for various matters. The rule requiring them to take breakfast before work inflicted cruel hardships upon them. One man, not having time one morning to finish his breakfast, hid away a few hot potatoes in his hat, and is ever since bald. I refer the reader to the *Times* of December 24, 1880, for a fuller account of his treatment of the labourers.

Mr. Bence Jones begins by giving us an abstract of the charges brought against him as a landlord. “The one complaint,” he says, “is that in the last fifteen years I have raised the rents of some.” That may be his reading of my paper. But I understood the complaint to be that he was an exterminating, rack-renting, rent-raising, confiscating landlord, and that he had put a large increase of rent on his farms all round, with two or three exceptions, which I specially noted and explained. “Nothing is said,” he adds, “of my tenants being in poverty and distress.” What about the twenty-eight tenants who left Lisselane and Carrick, and whose land Mr. Bence Jones took up because “they could not live upon it”? Were they in poverty and distress? And as for the tenants still on the estate, why did he not, in response to my challenge (page 144), give one instance of a tenant living *solely* by the farm on which Mr. Bence Jones had fixed the rent, and prospering thereon? Pages 144 and 145 of my article show that Mr. Bence Jones can claim as much credit for those



tenants of his who are wealthy as the Duke of Westminster is entitled to claim on account of the noblemen and gentlemen who pay rent to him for their London mansions.

We are next informed that "by not mentioning that these [the Cloheen] holdings are town parks, Father O'Leary tries to give colour against me, without any just reason, of charging unduly high rents." Now I stated that Cloheen *adjoins* the town of Clonakilty (page 132); that contiguity to a town adds considerably to the value of a holding; and I went on to show how the rents charged by Mr. Bence Jones for the Cloheen farms were far higher than those paid by tenants in Youghal, the Mills, and other townlands as near to the town as Cloheen. Having said that these farms adjoin the town, I can say no more. I certainly cannot call them town parks. They were never so called till 1870. But when town parks were excluded from the provisions of the Land Bill of that year, they increased and multiplied with marvellous rapidity, and have since been discovered throughout Ireland in places where they had never existed before. If, however, all the land surrounding Clonakilty which comes within a circle, formed with the town as centre and the end of Cloheen as radius, is to be regarded as town park, then undoubtedly Clonakilty can claim a pre-eminence over any place in Ireland for the extent of its park, which would give more than an acre to every man, woman, and child in the town.

Ninety-nine hundredths of this land lets at less than 30s. per acre; a few acres within the boundaries of the town, or hard by, bring about 50s. per acre; and a few fields are sub-let to graziers and cattle-dealers, for short periods, at a still higher sum. These rents, which are notably exceptions on other estates, are made the rule on Mr. Bence Jones's; and, on the strength of these few exceptions, he makes the broad, general, unqualified statement that "similar land is let by others as high as £5 per acre."

I need not dwell on the point which he seeks to make by the word "ejectment" in the last paragraph, page 247. He uses the word ejectment three times. I never used it at all. Ejectment has a technical meaning; and strictly speaking applies to a tenant whose holding the landlord seeks to get by process of law. Before 1870, a tenant without lease had no *locus standi* in court, and no legal defence except such as might come from a technical flaw in the landlord's proceedings; and accordingly, when noticed to quit for non-payment of rack-rent or otherwise, he usually went away "of himself." I gave the number who went away from Lisselane, Carrick, and Cloheen; and Mr. Bence Jones, who does not deny the accuracy of the figures given by me, seeks to throw dust in the eyes of his readers, by saying, "they were not ejected."

In page 248, he writes: "I will now take the cases Father O'Leary mentions in order. Happily, the tenants and their farms are still there



to be seen." We have here another instance of the accuracy of Mr. Bence Jones's statements. Out of the nine cases he gives, four of them, Mrs. Dempsey, the O'Driscoll children, Lucey, and Hayes, are no longer "there to be seen." Mr. Bence Jones himself farms the land held by the O'Driscolls, Lucey, and Hayes; and two-thirds of Mrs. Dempsey's farm, having been given up by several tenants in succession, has now lain unoccupied for nearly two years. I shall examine his statements regarding each of these cases.

(1.) Mrs. Dempsey comes first. She held 37 acres of land, at 17s. 6d. per acre. On the death of her father-in-law, Mr. Bence Jones took away 25 acres, charged her £2 per acre for the remaining 12, and by this increase of rent, to the extent of more than 100 per cent., made her pay, as I stated, almost as much rent for 12 as she had previously been paying for 37 acres. Matters stood thus for some years. Mr. Bence Jones subsequently re-let her 20 acres at £2 per acre. He gives three reasons to justify the increase of rent put on Mrs. Dempsey. The first reason is characteristic; it is his *ipse dixit*, "the land was worth it." Second, the farm was near enough to the town to get the benefit of selling the milk. This argument, so often put forward by Mr. Bence Jones to justify the high rents put on his Cloheen farms, is entirely misleading. It is true that new milk sells in the town of Clonakilty, as Mr. Bence Jones tells us in the supplementary preface to his book, for from three-halfpence to twopence per quart. But it is not true that the Cloheen tenants can find a market for all their milk in the town. The population of Clonakilty is about 3,000. Many of the townspeople have cows, and can supply all, and more than all, the milk required. Charles Regan and Denis Hayes are tenants of Mr. Bence Jones in Cloheen, whose farms are much nearer the town than was Mrs. Dempsey's. They would be glad to sell their milk in the town at the current prices. And yet they do not do so, for the plain reason that the supply from other sources still nearer the market far exceeds the limited demand. This is the fallacy which underlies reason two. His third reason is, that Mrs. Dempsey "could have some tillage, and could get £80 by letting the cows to a dairyman, whilst her rent was £64." We have here a known and an unknown quantity, and therefore unknown results. What does he mean by *some tillage*? Why not give precise figures regarding the tillage, as he does regarding the cows? But he chooses to be vague; and of course no one can deal with vague statements. Such are the reasons assigned for raising Mrs. Dempsey's rent 130 per cent., and making her pay nearly four times Griffith's valuation; and if she "got rid of her money" under such circumstances, it must be owing, of course, to the fact that she was "a silly woman."

(2.) Mrs. Brian comes next. She lives in Carrick, where she was visited last year by a young English Liberal M.P., anxious to see a widow



under ejectment for non-payment of rent. Since Mr. Bence Jones became Lord of Carrick, she has seen six of her neighbours, whose rents he adjusted, vanish from the homes of their fathers. Her rent, too, was adjusted, and was made about twice Griffith's valuation. She is admittedly in great distress, and lives in a wretched cabin, which is just opposite Lisselane House, and which is a blot on the lovely vista opening up to the view for miles along the course of the "silver stream." But of course her poverty is not owing to her high rent "but to the habits of herself and her sons."

(3.) Mr. Bence Jones denies that the friends of the O'Driscoll orphans offered to secure their rent. Well, I have it from Mr. Hurley, the rich uncle, who, according to Mr. Bence Jones, brought £30,000 from Australia, that he and another friend made the offer in question to Mr. Bence Jones, in Lisselane House, and were told in reply "that the land could not be left in the hands of orphans."

(4.) The next case is that of Edmond Lucey. I stated that Mr. Bence Jones had no sooner purchased Cashelisky than he sought to raise Lucey's rent from 14s. to £1 per acre. This Mr. Bence Jones admits. I stated, moreover, that this increase of rent was to be regarded only as temporary; and that on Lucey's death a further revaluation would take place, when six shillings more would at least be put on. This important element in the transaction is prudently unnoticed by Mr. Bence Jones. Again and again Lucey offered to take the farm at what he considered the very high rent of £1 per acre, provided he got a lease on those terms. But he refused to have it at an increase of 40 per cent., with a prospective increase of a further 40 per cent. to take place on his death—an event which, as he was then advanced in years, could not be very remote. Mr. Bence Jones says, "he had a son a priest, and thought I dare not go against the priest's father." How Mr. Bence Jones divined Lucey's thoughts, we are not informed, nor do I know. But I do know that the Lucey family, and many others besides the Lucey family, thought then, and think still, that Lucey's chances of coming to a fair arrangement with Mr. Bence Jones were made worse because "he had a son a priest." "Lucey had another farm from me for 31 years." Yes, but he held this farm under lease got from Mr. Bence Jones's predecessor. But did not some one who thought Lucey had injured him pray God for blessings on Mr. Bence Jones for having turned Lucey out? Granted. Surely tenant-farmers as well as others may have personal enemies; but I was not aware that this was ever regarded as a sufficient reason for turning a tenant out.

(5.) I think it quite sufficient to say of the case of John Duggan, that Mr. Bence Jones frequently saw the condition of Duggan's cabin; that Mr. Bence Jones, by the exorbitant rents put on tenants whose leases expire, prevented Duggan from building a good house; and that now the Land Bill has passed, the assessment of "the



honest value" of the farm will not lie altogether with Mr. Bence Jones.

(6.) Mr. Bence Jones gives three paragraphs to the case of Patrick Hennessy. In the first paragraph he again asserts that Hennessy's improvements were not worth £700. Surely reiteration of assertion is not proof; and it certainly does not meet my contention, which was, that if Hennessy's improvements were to be valued at all, they ought to be valued by a disinterested party. Regarding the statements in the next paragraph that "good work will last three times as long as bad," and that "outrageous claims for compensation are sure to be always given against the landlord," it suffices to say that the first is rather vague, the second rather questionable, and neither very pertinent. We are informed in the third paragraph how it was that Hennessy, on the expiration of his lease in 1875, took a lease of sixty acres for the same rent which he had previously been paying for 130 acres. Mr. Bence Jones "decided that it was best for them both to take away the 70 acres." So Germany decided that it was best for them both—France and herself—to take away Alsace and Lorraine; and so, too, Russia decided that it was best for them both—Roumania and herself—to take away Bessarabia. Nor will the reader fail to note one remark made by Hennessy at the conference where everything passed off so pleasantly, "Now they tould yer honour I was going to give ye trouble. Have I done so?" We are not informed what trouble Hennessy *could* give. Mr. Bence Jones again claims credit for Hennessy's prosperity. Hennessy was completely independent of Mr. Bence Jones before 1875, when the lease of one of his farms fell in. It was before 1875 that he gave the dowers to his daughters, and spent a large sum in the education of his son. He had ever thriven before 1875. From 1875 to 1880 he got on in such wise that Mr. Bence Jones, writing to the *Times* last December, spoke of him as being *shaky*. Since December, however, a good many things have occurred. Mr. Bence Jones's power is not what it was. When the lease of Hennessy's second farm expires in 1883, it will not be for Mr. Bence Jones solely to "decide what is best for them both." The circumstances under which the lease of 1875 was given will be scrutinized by an impartial tribunal. Therefore, Hennessy's prospects are looking bright once more; and, consequently, his son, like the Northern Farmer, was enabled to marry "where money was."

(7.) The seventh case—marked as the eighth by a typographical error—is that of Sam Kingston. Mr. Bence Jones conveys the impression that I quoted Sam Kingston as a poor, oppressed tenant. I did no such thing. I mentioned him as one among many instances I adduced to show that Mr. Bence Jones's tenants paid far higher rents than their neighbours. In page 144 I specially mentioned him as a man who was rich because he held a beautiful farm under Lord Bandon. Sam pays Mr. Bence Jones £118 rent for a farm valued by Griffith at £50. He has a dairy



on it; and, being a bachelor, lives sometimes with a brother, and sometimes with a niece residing on Lord Shannon's estate. His profit, he told me, rarely ever exceeded thirty pounds, and was often much lower; and this profit includes the interest on the £200 or £300 capital required to work the farm. "My wants," he said to me, "are few. I live on simple fare, do not indulge in costly dress, have been all my life strictly temperate, and yet the profits of my Cloheen farm would scarcely support me. But to bring up a family on it would be out of the question." These are Sam's words; and even Mr. Bence Jones must regard his evidence as unexceptionable, for he tells us that he and Sam are "the best of friends."

(8.) I quoted the case of Hayes, of Carrick, simply to illustrate what a tenant's chances at law would be against Mr. Bence Jones. We are accordingly treated to a long story about robbery and rape, and learn how, when age and infirmities had come on poor Hayes, and when his sons had treated him badly, Mr. Bence Jones came to the rescue, by "rescuing the farm"—that is, by evicting him—and by *forcing* on a compromise when the County Court judge had given him compensation for disturbance!

(9.) The last case is that of the Walshes. A statement made by Mr. Bence Jones anent my account of this case, supplies the readers of the *CONTEMPORARY* with yet another instance of his accuracy in matters of fact. He writes: "Unluckily Father O'Leary asserts that the farm was hired just before the famine; while the truth is, it was more than fifteen years earlier." I made no such assertion. I wrote (page 140) that the Walshes held for *half a century* a farm valued by Griffith at £35; and I take it that half a century deducted from 1881 will correspond with a period fifteen years before the famine. But the road made through Walsh's farm "does not occupy five acres," as I stated, "nor half that quantity. That, too, is a pure fiction." My statement regarding the road was made on what I believed to be excellent authority. I have since got the farm surveyed by Mr. Coghlan, of Kilbrittain, a surveyor well known in the district. His figures, which are before me as I write, give 58 acres as the gross extent of the farm, and 4 acres, 28 perches, as the quantity taken up by the roads; so that, whilst Mr. Bence Jones speaks of Walsh's 58 acres, Walsh in reality has not 54. So much for the pure fiction. But the road is "worth to the farm much more than the land lost." This is the hardest, unkindest cut of all. In Ireland all the county cess is levied off the tenants, and none off the landlord; and accordingly the tenant has to pay for making the road, has to pay for keeping the road in repair, has to pay for the land taken up by the road the same rent which he had been paying when it yielded him corn and hay; and is then, forsooth, to be told, as Dan Walsh is now told, that a road made under such circumstances adds to the value of the farm, and is therefore a reason justifying an increase



of rent! Another kindred reason is given. Let Walsh, by the butter of each of his eight cows, make £2 per year more than he has been heretofore making, and he will have no difficulty in paying the increase of £16 per year which Mr. Bence Jones has demanded. Only let the frog puff himself out, and he will be as big as the bullock!

I now come to his reply to the arguments drawn by me from the results of his balance-sheet. And, indeed, this reply is eminently characteristic. His favourite flowers of rhetoric are strewn here with lavish profusion. I am charged with "thorough unscrupulousness," and "foolish ignorance," and "stoutly asserting that he does not make what he says he does make," and "knowing nothing about accounts," nor "about the principle on which accounts have been kept." And yet what need of all this eloquence, and all this melodramatic rage? If the figures given by me for rent and for interest be incorrect, why does he not say so, and why does he not give the correct figures? But he has done neither one nor the other.

The drift of my argument was clear. A lets a piece of land to B at £1 per year. After some years he takes up the farm himself, and, in order to work it, sells a ten-pound share which was paying him five per cent. or ten shillings per year. At the end of a twelvemonth A finds that he has made 28 shillings for rent and interest. In this case A's farming proved in reality to be a losing transaction. But what avails it to be told that A made 28 shillings for rent and interest, unless we know how much is to be allowed for the interest. So, too, in Mr. Bence Jones's case. He is ever parading the amount realized by him for rent and interest; but he will not give the amount which the interest represents, "leaving each person to divide the profit between rent and interest, in such proportions as he judges right" (page 253). It is unnecessary to say more.

Mr. Bence Jones writes, page 252, "Once before, he—Father O'Leary—stated that I claimed the balance I show as rent." I never made such a statement. I wrote to Mr. Bence Jones to ask him where and when did I make it. He could not say. In page 139 I objected to the use of the word *clear*, which, from the context in which it appeared, in the supplementary preface to his work, was calculated to convey an erroneous impression. Not only did I not say that he claimed the results of his balance-sheet for rent; but, on the contrary, my argument rested wholly on the fact that these results represented rent *and* interest.

"I assert that nothing has been done, or left undone, that the best landlords in the three kingdoms are in the habit of doing for their tenants" (page 254). Well, I take up the *Land-agents' Record*, of last Saturday, August 13, and find in it the following:

"At a dinner given at the Turk's Hotel, Durham, to the Durham tenants of the Marquis of Bute, Mr. Thomas Armstrong, the Agent, said that the Marquis

had reduced the rents for a period of not less than three years, and was willing to make improvements on his property by drainage and new buildings, *without any charge for interest upon the outlay*: and if the period of three years was not sufficient, would continue the reduction for a further period."

This is a type of what nearly all English and some Irish landlords are in the habit of doing. But, with the exception of one quarter's rent in the famine of '47, when the people were dying by the wayside, Mr. Bence Jones has made no reduction whatever in the rents, and has made, with the few exceptions mentioned in page 145, no dwellings or drains for which he has not charged interest on outlay. He has, however, given the tenants confidence by "making them pay their rents regularly," and by taking care that not a shilling *beyond* the rent—the highest rent which "in his opinion the land was worth," the rent "which made constant exertion compulsory"—by taking care "that not a shilling beyond this rent should be paid." Surely Mr. Bence Jones might have got another title for his book; he might have called it, "An Easy Way to be a Good Landlord."

"My books will show that the rents were paid with thorough regularity for forty years, which would have been impossible if unduly high." What about the tenants whose land Mr. Bence Jones "took up because they could not live upon it?" I gave the number of such tenants: and I leave Mr. Bence Jones to reconcile both statements.

"Whether written by him or not, those who know the man and his education and antecedents can judge for themselves." I assure Mr. Bence Jones that I appreciate the compliment which he unwittingly pays me. Without any personal acquaintance with me, without having ever spoken one word to me, without knowing anything of my career in school or in college, he undertook to tell the world that I was an "ignorant man:" and to support that contention, he now gives us this new theory evolved from the depths of his moral consciousness, unsupported by even an iota of evidence, and absolutely and entirely untrue.

He writes, page 253:—"Many of my present tenants hold land that I drained," and "I charged tenants for whom I drained five per cent. on the outlay." Does not this exactly bear out the truth of what I wrote, page 145: "Mr. Bence Jones has caused draining to be done on the tenants' farms at the tenants' expense?" Why then is it put forward in a paragraph commencing with the observation, "I must only deny a few more untrue assertions," and made appear as if it were a contradiction, whereas, in truth, it is a confirmation, of something stated by me?

In the same page he writes: "Father O'Leary asserted that I made little or no improvements for tenants." Well, in page 139 the reader will find that I allowed "£100 a year for his expenditure on tenants' farms," though I knew that this was too high a figure.



In the same page also we are informed that, though he "drained for himself and the tenants indiscriminately," he kept entirely to himself the money borrowed by him from the Board of Works. Surely his explanation makes the case worse than I put it. He got money for his draining from the Board of Works for about three per cent. His tenants got money from him for their draining at five per cent. If a tenant got £100 from the Board of Works, £5 per year would in thirty-five years have paid up the entire sum, principal and interest. If a tenant borrowed £100 from Mr. Bence Jones, £5 per year for thirty-five years would leave the principal still due. The £5 per year would "go on for ever." So that, whilst Mr. Bence Jones was making drains "for himself and the tenants indiscriminately," he was borrowing money for making his own draining at three per cent., and lending money to the tenants for making their draining at five per cent. : and was thus a wiser man than I, in my foolish ignorance, had given him credit for being. However, I now give him full credit for his wisdom in the transaction ; a transaction which was carried out, no doubt, "in a true business-like way."

He seeks to make a point against me by stating "that Maulrour was not purchased by him; that it was inherited from his father." Well, the tenants of Maulrour had leases when their lands were purchased by the Jones family; those leases are still unexpired; and accordingly they are among the few tenants of whom I said (page 135) that I should take no account; because, "whether their rents were high or low, Mr. Bence Jones was not responsible for them." We are also informed that Monteen cost him *much more* than twenty years' purchase. I stated that it cost him *about* twenty years' purchase. He tells us that he had to pay off a heavy charge on it, which added three years' purchase to the cost. Why does not Mr. Bence Jones give precise figures for the first cost of Monteen, as he does regarding the heavy charge which was on it? If he did, we could then judge what difference there is between my statement that it cost *about* twenty years' purchase, and Mr. Bence Jones's statement that it cost him *much more*.

I have now done with Mr. Bence Jones. I shall not enter into a discussion of the motives which have influenced me in writing of him and his doings. He tells us, indeed, that my motives are bad and unworthy, and that my one object was to annoy and injure him: but the reflection that he has imputed unworthy motives to the *Standard* correspondent, to the *New York Herald* correspondent, and to "Mr. Gladstone and the chief members of the present Cabinet"—this reflection, and the consciousness of my own rectitude of purpose, enable me to bear the imputation with composure. Neither shall I notice his irrelevant dissertation on the character of the Catholic Church; and when he plaintively asks how long, after his Boycotting, can Europe tolerate

aims, I have only to say that if he chooses to pose in ridiculous  
des that is his own affair. I have examined every statement in his  
deserving of notice. Lord Macaulay tells us that there are two  
s of authors—those who read extensively on a certain subject  
se they intend to write on it, and those who write about a certain  
t because they have read extensively on it. So, too, it may be  
hat some persons give an answer because they have an answer to  
and others give an answer because they are expected to give it.  
now from the opening passage of his reply that Mr. Bence Jones  
laced himself in the latter category, and it is for the unbiassed  
r to say with what result?

JOHN O'LEARY.



## ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY.

THE fate that has brought into the same year of remembrance the names of Thomas Carlyle and of Arthur Stanley has something almost epigrammatic in its sharpness of antithesis. It would be difficult to imagine, I believe it would be impossible to discover, a more striking illustration of the difference of moral colouring which makes the life of one man at times so unintelligible to another. That contrast between the atmosphere of storm or lurid gloom, and then again of mysterious starlight, and the cheerful, explicit, unobtrusive daylight views which are recalled respectively by the two names, is not explicable by any reference to outward circumstances. Arthur Stanley's was a life of untroubled prosperity. But the presence or absence of the poor and incomplete thing we call prosperity does not account for differences such as these. It lies far deeper, in that original constitution of the nature which is rather the cause than the result of anything outward. It is the influence of natural disposition which gives their colouring to the accidents of life; and, so far as the two things can be separated, we know more of a man's fate from his character than of his character from his fate. The life just closed was indeed happy in that complete balance and adjustment of both, the lack of which has shipwrecked many a life of promise, and in following its main incidents we watch the opportunities successively designed, it would seem, to develop every capacity, and set all impulse in connection with the machinery which should work out its happiest result. At his first start in life he was granted the pure and lively satisfaction of erecting an imperishable memorial to one whom he loved and honoured, and the sense of power which he must then have gained has not been belied by any subsequent effort, though it could, in the nature of things, hardly be again so satisfactorily shown forth. His

literary life may be called a long one, if we compare the years of its activity with those of any contemporary; and in that long career, though he has taken his share in controversy, I know not that he has said one word by which any reasonable human being—I might almost say any human being—could feel himself, for one moment, aggrieved or wounded. I cannot say that his works will be the refuge of any heavy-laden spirit. One who is crushed by the awful burdens and perplexities of this life must look elsewhere for any direct help towards escape from them. But even those who know the anguish of doubt must often remember with gratitude the genial influence which beckons them into a region remote from their perplexities, and find in this temporary oblivion, which perhaps a deeper thinker could not have afforded, the best preparation for a hopeful return to these dark problems. We paint an enviable career when we describe one thus gifted. His spirit must have always felt itself at home in its surroundings. The bitterest pains of life must have been unknown to him—estrangement, indignant severance, and remorse were experiences he could hardly have tasted; and even that cup of sorrow, spared to no heart so loving as his, was not deeply drained by him till life was far advanced, and its full bitterness must have been tempered by a sense that “the time was short,” though he knew not how short. And with all these materials of happiness, as well as more outward and vulgar ones which do not quite count for nothing in any life, there was in him none of the hard prosaic outwardness which one is apt to associate with the idea of prosperity. Indeed (if the impression that remains from a very short and slender intercourse may be blended with that derived from other sources), there was something about the slight, shadowy form, the delicate face, and the quaint endearing helplessness associated with it, that cannot be given in any word other than *pathetic*, however little the external aspect of his life corresponds with such an epithet. And though I do not suppose his was specially a sympathetic nature, there were moments when his reverent wordless compassion soothed the heart as wise utterances perhaps could not have done; and the last words he said to me—“It is a mistake ever to try to disturb in a mourner that natural feeling, ‘Look and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow’”—appeared to come from a heart that had learnt deeply of the precious lore of sorrow. It is not a lesson that could ever have been taught by a selfish grief. Nor is there any atmosphere, alas! in which selfishness is so soon detected as in that of sorrow. It is not, indeed, very common that affections so firmly anchored as his, should take so wide a range; the happy home did not, with him, shut in the warmth of which it was the focus. No one could say of him, “*il aimait, comme l’on aime.*” The distractions of an over-full life on the one hand, the separation of half the globe on the other, did not produce that gradual slackening of a once close friendship which a common pursuit and a near neighbourhood sometimes fail to avert; and when



the bond which reached round half the world was snapped by death, the sorrow seemed as though his hand was still warm with the last pressure which was a matter of far-off memory. This glow of a loving nature is not felt by those alone who entered into personal relation with him. It is perceptible in every word he ever wrote. To this warmth of heart his writings owe their refreshing, cordial influence; this makes his histories resemble biographies in their vivid personal interest; and to this, in a large degree (of course the interest of its subject also enters largely into the matter), it is owing that his great biography has the second place in popular estimate. A far inferior subject to that which he has set on his sunny canvas would possess an irresistible attraction, painted in hues so warm and yet distinct as those which he has bestowed on the portrait of Dr. Arnold.

Those who felt the genial influence of this sweet nature seem to me to have been affected by it in a way not very unusual in the moment of loss. They mistake the intensity of an impression for its many-sidedness. There are times when the inadequacy of words comes home to us so forcibly, that we catch up false ones in our dissatisfaction with the true. This irrational tribute to a beloved life should not be nicely scrutinised, but we blur the peculiar charm of a nature when we insist that it had every other. How much of the delightfulness of a strongly idiosyncratic character depends on the little oddities that must be forgotten if we would make it the subject of an absolutely catholic eulogy! I vividly recall the first mention of Arthur Stanley from the lips of one whose description gathered up all characteristic traits, and accentuated them with the graphic force of a certain piquant exaggeration. The little caricature, which cannot, after the lapse of thirty years, be recalled without a smile, gave the impression of a refreshing frankness and brusquerie more accordant with that left by a subsequent meeting, than the eulogies on his dignity and grace, which express doubtless an equally warm appreciation. His special attraction, from a social point of view, was his unique simplicity. We seem forced to commemorate it even in mentioning him. However suitable was his position as Dean of the great Abbey in which he took so lively an interest, it is impossible to speak of him now in any other way, than as Arthur Stanley. At times it seemed as if his position as a Church dignitary took to himself the aspect of a certain masquerade. I remember well the half-comic air with which he said, "I should so much have liked to ask the Pope his opinions about himself" (in recounting an interview with him, if I remember right), and there was something inexpressibly engaging in the playfulness with which he added, "I can't quite fancy thinking myself infallible;" and then came a humorous little pause, as if he was just asking himself whether, after all, that might not be compassed, and he concluded much more decidedly, "But certainly I can't conceive thinking all the Deans of Westminster infallible." To speak of simplicity as his great characteristic, is to put into another form



what has been happily expressed by Mr. Llewellyn Davies, in his funeral sermon, as the "original innocence" of his character. The preacher meant, I presume, to describe in these words that rare degree of blamelessness by which it is converted, in its impression on the mind, from a negative to a positive fact. It is something much more rare than it sounds. "A blameless life" seems a poor thing, partly because we use the word so loosely; every one is so apt to be accredited with it who has done no flagrant wrong. But absolute purity has the same beauty in the spiritual as in the material world. A rock pool would lose half its beauty with the crystal brine which encloses its spreading fronds and opening tentacles, even if they could remain unchanged by the subtraction of their environment; and in the same manner all the positive qualities of a nature absolutely free from vanity or worldliness, have a certain peculiar beauty which they owe to the transparency of their medium. Arthur Stanley joined the simplicity of a child of five years old to the cultivation of a greyhaired man and the goodness of a pure woman. It is a pity—though it is a very natural temptation—to spoil the uniqueness of impression thus produced by insisting that he had also qualities which, in the mysterious correlation of our moral growth, and the imperfection of our being, at its present stage, are not altogether consistent with those which were so eminently exhibited in him.

But it is time to turn from his social aspect, to the position which he held before the eye of the public. And it is impossible to regard him from this point of view without considering the attitude and the character of that section of the Church which, in my view, was most completely represented by him. We shall, in my opinion, give most distinctness to the body which is called the Broad Church, if we connect it with Stanley's imperishable contribution to our literature, and consider its dawn as announced by the object of his biography, and its twilight closed by the biographer. Dr. Arnold seems to me to have been the first Broad Churchman, and Dr. Stanley the last. It may be disputed that he closes the series perhaps, but I can hardly imagine two opinions as to the fact that he formed its most typical member. And yet it is not from this point of view, possibly, that his friends will regard him most readily. A strong and intelligible objection to speaking of the Broad Church as a party is felt by many persons. They see that, while all such party names are more or less misleading, there does exist in the other two parties of the Church a bond of cohesion which in this residuary legatee of opposite convictions is entirely wanting. The Sacramental system is a great idea, true or false, and so is the direct influence of the Holy Spirit on the human soul. But what can we say that the Broad Churchman believes, as the High Churchman believes in the virtue of the Sacraments, as the Low Churchman believes in the importance of Conversion? Nothing, if we take a strictly logical point of view, but what every Christian believes, and I may now almost say,



every Theist. And, of course, if conviction is so vague, and only negation definite, the bond must consist in a common disbelief—a bond that does not bind. Of all parties we feel in some degree, and of this party we feel in a very great degree, that when we speak of the men who compose them as forming one body, we are under the influence of that same law of perspective which may from a distant hill unite into an apparently single edifice the churches of two or three scattered villages, separated by many a weary mile. Under the ranks of the Broad Church have been reckoned men who would feel themselves separated by more mutual divergence than that between them and many members of the other two Church parties. Hardly any man is further separated from another than he who has rejected less of any traditional system from him who has rejected more of it; for it is not so difficult to be just to a foe as to an ally who seems to compromise the cause. And then, again, if we quit a narrowly logical point of view, and group men by the moral colouring of their convictions, the Broad Church may still seem an inappropriate name for the men we speak of. If, on the one hand, it ascribes fictitious unity to a scattered body of thinkers, on the other (it may be urged), it appears as a fallacious concession to an insignificant party in the Church of a name due to the Church of England itself. A Church stamped by a peculiar reverence for the past, yet originating with a Reformation, is necessarily a broad Church, and those who might be chosen as its best representatives seem to us also to set forth very forcibly the spirit we aim at describing. Bishop Butler, if he were not too strong an individuality to be ranged under any division of Church parties, might well be regarded as the greatest of Broad Churchmen; and his great work contains in germ all that tendency to find the same law in things earthly and heavenly which gives the Broad Church their power. In some sense, indeed, the Broad Church is older than the Anglican Church; it had its representative in the Reformation; and the antagonism which Erasmus excited in Luther appears to me a striking illustration of what I have said of the recoil with which a leader abjures the alliance of one who, seen from afar, would appear to belong to the same group, and who was actually fighting under the same banner. The Church of England would have been a peculiarly appropriate home for such a mind as Erasmus; and the reader will remember how another scholar of the Renaissance—Caszubon—as he is presented to us in Mr. Pattison's masterly portrait, finds himself for the first time at home in its neighbourhood for much the same reason, indeed, that Stanley (though he was not a great scholar) found himself at home in its bosom. If such men as Erasmus were Broad Churchmen, it may be thought that the name is too wide for a party in the Church of our day. If any interpretation less catholic, less positive, than would include them, is put upon it, we should have to concede that it would be too narrow to mark out that body which found its typical instance in Arthur Stanley.



I answer such objections as these when I take up that historical point of view which was characteristic of the man I am endeavouring to commemorate. As a matter of fact there existed in the Church of our day a body of men who were rather Christians than Churchmen, but who did also prize the bond of the Church, and who protested against the narrowing influences which High and Low Churchmen alike would impose on its scope; and there was a definite moral tone about them, which comes out clearly when we compare them with their predecessors, or their successors. They were all concerned, more or less, to vindicate the sacredness of things secular, to reclaim "the world" from the shadow of Godlessness, to break down the barrier that both the other parties in the Church set up around a particular part of life, and spread the sacred influences they would confine within its limits over the whole. The spirit which their teaching embodied had always existed in the Church of England, as a strong tendency. And then, again, in our own day, this spirit is present in some sense—that is, the thing it asserts is denied by no one who makes any pretension to the character of a thinker. But any assertion whatever is a totally different thing according as it is or is not a protest. Words lose their meaning when they express what nobody denies. It is not necessarily that everybody then believes what before only a few people believed. It is, in this case at all events, that the meaning of a protest departs with the belief that called it forth. The men I think of reclaimed the whole of life for an influence that was already accepted as ruling a part of life; they never addressed themselves to the question whether the belief in its existence might not be a delusion. When the great question of the day is, what proof is there that this influence exists at all?—when even those who believe in it most firmly cannot take it for granted in those whom they address, their meaning is gone. The Evangelical, looking for an especial operation of the Holy Spirit, disentangled from all outward influences, was tempted to ignore or disbelieve that influence which is common. The High Churchman declaring an outward channel of God's grace, equally marked off from all natural opportunities of attaining it, and especially insisting on the dangers of all those natural instincts and impulses which it did not directly evolve, was tempted to look down on secular life in much the same spirit, though in a different manner. And so far as the men here contemplated have taught that the influence which the High Church party find in the Sacraments, which the Low Church party find in the power that turns men from evil to God, covers the whole of life, so far they have been the bringers of a new Gospel to their countrymen. He who has made another human being feel "the Lord was in this place, and I knew it not," has surely fulfilled the mission of an Evangelist. But all his power depends on the previous conception of the reality of that which he desires to extend. "There is no insurmountable barrier between the sacred and



the secular," may mean either "everything is divine," or "nothing is divine." They would have said (those who embodied what I think was the characteristic truth of their party)—"A part of life has been stamped with an especial sanctity, to bear witness that the whole is sacred. One history is avowedly the record of God's dealings with mankind, to show us that in a true sense all history is so. One day is set apart for God's service, in a special sense, to remind us that all days are to be so devoted in a broader sense. One man is announced as *the* Son of God to make us remember that every man is *a* son of God." This is no mere negative truth; it is as large an addition to positive belief as the spirit of man can receive.

But it must not be forgotten that, seen from without, this message takes a very different aspect. Those who declare "Such and such an influence is not *exclusively* there," will always seem to those who do not agree with them, to deny that it is there at all. There is a deeply rooted instinct in our nature, recorded in all history, by which we are constantly apt to confuse reality and limitation. If the Spirit of God is not shut in by obvious and unquestionable barriers, it will seem to many that the only proof of its operation is taken away from us. To declare that it is everywhere will seem much the same as to deny that it is anywhere. This truth, indeed, is brought home to us in a hundred homely instances: the saying, "what is everybody's business is nobody's business," records the conviction in its least questionable shape; and when we are reminded that such an association belongs to the imperfection of humanity, and can have no reference to an *infinite* power, we are still unable to forget the force of all human analogies, and the degree in which it has pleased God to mould our experience of His dealings with us on those of our fellow men. When these facts are borne in mind, it will not be difficult to understand how the Broad Church, obvious and unquestionable as are many of their utterances, still took to the outer world the aspect of heretics, both for attraction and repulsion. Those who denied the limitation of Divine grace would obviously appear, to a large body of believers, to deny its existence.

This suspicion of heresy which marked off the different members of the party of whom I consider Arthur Stanley a typical example, was not wholly escaped by himself. In what light it is to be regarded depends on the reader's point of view. There is a striking passage in one part of Mr. Froude's History (to which, as to every other citation, I here refer necessarily only from memory) in which he contrasts the historic and the contemporary view of heresy—to the one side the baleful weed whose extirpation is the first demand of the husbandman; and whose presence therefore is the signal for vigilant destruction; the other, the welcome blade, bringing promise of the rich harvest. We could hardly carry on the contrast in our own day. The view with which we regard the heresies of our forefathers, I may say broadly



is the view with which we regard our own. Heresy has become an attraction, a promise, a savour of originality, an attestation of thought. Still we must not forget the great limitations under which this is true. It is truer to-day than it was yesterday: it will be yet more exclusively true to-morrow; but in looking back ever so little we must not forget the opposite truth, if we would be just to the men we speak of, and appreciate a courage the occasion for which has so rapidly died away. I know of nothing in Stanley's life—of very little in any life—that impresses me with so much admiration as his speech in defence of Colenso, made in Convocation. One would imagine Dean Stanley had as little sympathy with Dr. Colenso as with any man that ever lived. They had treated the same subject-matter from totally opposite points of view, and nothing in a general way is so separating. Yet he stood up and told his reverend brethren that they were attacking "in the unfriended and the absent" opinions which they dared not attack in "the well-friended and the present;" he reminded them that all the offence which they found in the work of an obscure, friendless man, the common object of attack to theologians, dilettanti, and littérateurs, was present in the popular History given to the world by a prosperous, successful Church dignitary, the courted member of Society, the man of family and the friend of princes. We can hardly fancy such an allusion from one who was not absolutely free from every taint of vanity or worldliness. And though to an absolutely simple nature it is comparatively easy to speak the truth about self as about everything else, still it seems to me that as much chivalry as simplicity was needed to throw the defence of an absent heretic into the form which it took here. I cite the speech, however, not only for its proof of these qualities, though it is these which give it interest, but as illustrating what I have said as to the flavour of heresy. When Stanley told the members of Convocation that they could not and they dared not attack him for the views of Jewish history for which they wished to turn Colenso out of the Church, he marked an important stage in the history of the Church. Heresy might still be persecuted in the obscure and unbefriended, but the very same views held by a man of social position, bade defiance to all attack. But while as an offence it could not be noted, as an attraction it was still potent. It still remained a bond between those whom it characterized. It still gave a certain interest to their works over and above the intrinsic merit there contained, so that they have a certain common colouring, and seen from afar fall into a common group. Is it judging hastily to say it is so no longer? I do not mean to imply that the majority of the clergy look with less disfavour on heterodoxy than they did, or that their interpretation of the Church formularies would be much changed from what it was. But that general support which gives orthodoxy its meaning has changed its object. It has gone over from the world of theology to the world of physical



science. In this region the importance of "right opinion" is felt so strongly, that it is not felt very strongly anywhere else. And in the domain of the Church, therefore, heresy has become a merely internal question. Arthur Stanley's life, among its many other points of interest, has that of being the last which belonged to the old state of things. There are thoughtful liberals in the Church of England, as there are elsewhere, but they no longer form a party. And there are also bold and speculative intellects, who can subject the sacred documents of their Church to a critical analysis, and come to conclusions which their predecessors would have thought startling, while they yet remain within its fold; and it is impossible to say that its formularies exclude them, for they were not framed with a view to any such questions as they have mooted. But whether they be thought right, or whether they be thought wrong; whether their position in the Church be thought honest or dishonest; whether they be felt liberators or robbers, no one, we think, will feel that there is any longer a question of their being heretics. They may be attacked in religious newspapers, and it may be felt by every one that their position as religious teachers is unnatural, but the associations belonging to heterodoxy attach to them no longer.

All the characteristics touched on as belonging to the set of men of whom Stanley is here regarded as the latest, might be found in him, by friend or foe. What has been said of its merely negative character might be urged, in a hostile spirit, against a very small part of his utterances, and its strength is visible in all that is most characteristic of him. His was a truly catholic spirit. And perhaps there is nothing which, in our day, may more fitly be described as "the last infirmity of noble minds"—a description which wonderfully changes its meaning from age to age—than that distortion of the catholic spirit, which refuses to recognize the watershed of good and evil. If we are never to recognize in a human being the soldier of a different banner from that which claims our loyalty, Christianity loses its meaning. It is impossible to say there is *nothing* of the spirit which forbids this recognition in him; but I do not think any one who had so much of the real tolerance ever had so little of the false. An enemy might doubtless discover passages from his lips or his pen which seemed to fit themselves to a vague, colourless dilution of that reality for which men have died. But these passages are characteristic of him only so far as they show that even the longing for peace which fills the loving heart, even the aspiration after catholicity which sways the active intellect, may at times lead astray. Memories of the look with which he broke the bread and poured the wine for those who were to partake of that feast no more till they tasted of it in the Father's kingdom—of the tones in which, beside the open grave, he committed to its embrace the mortal relics of that spirit which his upward gaze seemed to follow—forbid the thought that his inmost being expressed



itself in any utterance which abjured the strait gate and narrow way, or surrendered the world of the unseen to the jurisdiction of mere opinion, according to that fashion of the day which a few of his words might seem to favour. Indeed, I believe it was his very remoteness from such a school which made it possible that he should seem for a moment to sympathize with them. His faith was like the filial trust of the child on its mother's knee, which knows not the meaning of doubt. All his writings are suffused by the colouring of this silent, peaceful trust, though no word from his pen is aimed at inspiring it—it seems always taken for granted, like the clear daylight, which is given not to see but to see by. But the faith thus unquestionably present, however deep, was not definite; and the judgment which should assign Arthur Stanley's influence to the merely negative school of our day has some plausibility, though it is entirely unjust.

On its strong side, on the other hand, he embodies it as fully as any man that ever lived. No one ever more consistently turned to the search for whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are lovely, through their various disguises. The sentence which most gathers up all that is at once elevating and expansive in his writing is the assertion (in his volume on the Eastern Church) that the Father's house, as it has many mansions, so it has many entrances. The words seem to me an expansion of the text they cite especially characteristic of, and yet from another point of view especially needed by our generation. It was only very rarely that Stanley ever fell into that distortion of wise hopefulness which confuses variety of access with indefiniteness of enclosure. Wherever he found warm human sympathy, wherever was to be discovered any appreciation of human character, there he saw a portal to the Father's house. And even where there was nothing that could be so definitely claimed as a promise of the higher life as this, there was something very beautiful in the way he always contrived to discover excellence in the most unpopular or distasteful of expression or achievement. A trifling reminiscence has always dwelt with me as exhibiting this quality with wonderful sweetness and grace. He had been speaking of the French sculptor who illustrated his lecture by pointing out a great number of anatomical faults in some celebrated equestrian statue, all of which were avoided in a horse carved by himself, and then, under the influence of irresistible admiration, was forced to conclude, "*Et cependant cette mauvaise bête vit, et la mienne est morte.*" Shortly afterwards, the conversation turned upon the work of Renan, whose "St. Paul" was then a new work. Nothing touching any characteristic view of Renan's could have been otherwise than extremely repugnant to those in whose hearing the little dialogue took place; and it was not without a certain anxiety that I heard him single out for praise Renan's ingenious personal sketch of the Apostle. "It is wonderful," he said, "how much he has collected, from different parts of the



Epistles, which bears on his personal history. It was not new to me; he has mentioned nothing that had not caught my attention; but when I compare my sketch with his" (in his volume on the Corinthians, I suppose) "I always feel '*cette mauvais bête vit, et la mienne est morte.*'" I know not how far the impression the speech made upon me was shared by others; but something in this singling out one whose name was then a signal for expressions of disgust or contempt among almost all those whose opinion Stanley valued, as affording an instance of superiority to himself, has always remained as a very touching expression of the qualities which those who knew him well doubtless saw exhibited in much more striking and memorable instances. Perhaps the incommunicable recollections of look and voice, and that impression of entire sincerity which these, far more than words, convey, are what give the recollection its chief value; yet it may stand as a suggestion of something that will surely recall to those who loved him what was eminently characteristic of his breadth of sympathy, and his readiness to identify himself with whatever was unpopular.

A catholic spirit is always an historical spirit, and a large part of Stanley's value to his time lay in his strong historic interests. The Church of England would always offer a congenial home to the mind that seeks to preserve continuity of an historic progress, to keep links with the past unbroken, and reduce any protest against its drift to a minimum. And those minds who agree in this desire, if they differ in all beside, are not at one in an insignificant matter, or one that has no bearing on the spiritual life. For history is in an important sense the revelation of the will of God, and though I think this sense has been sometimes exaggerated, yet assuredly we shall lose a large part of the teaching which this world furnishes as to His purpose if we suppose that the events of national life throw no light on our appointed discipline as His children, however much this may be obscured by strange clouds, under the shadow of which we must confess that we can discern nothing. And Stanley's historic feeling, which was one great root of his interest in a Church which embodies so much reverence for the past as the Church of England does, was also, in some degree, a link with that party among us which scorns all Churches.

It is extremely interesting to trace this connection with what is called the philosophy of his time; and it does not appear to us quite an obvious one. We are accustomed every day to see it assumed that when the genesis of any belief has been unfolded, the belief itself is refuted; necessary truth, for instance, is explained away, when we are told that it means *inherited* truth. Stanley would have no sympathy whatever with that view; perhaps he could hardly have understood it. But he did himself give it practically a certain adhesion in his intense interest in that part of Christian life which belonged to the historic expression of spiritual truth. He could write of Christian institution



we are told, and yet absolutely ignore those great transcendent facts which Christian institutions imply and symbolically express. The fact was that his interest in their outward development took the place of any penetrating inquiry into their inner meaning. He embodied that interest in development, which is the great characteristic fact of our day, as it concerns itself with the life of the Church. He took his stand on that point of view whence that life is seen unfolding itself in successive events; and its animating spirit, as independent of all manifestations of time, was to him no object of intellectual contemplation.

It cannot be denied that his view of history was in some sense an external one. There is something outward in a perfectly healthy nature.

"By no disturbance in his soul,  
Or strong compunction in him wrought;"

—forced to look within, his interest dwelt most readily on the unfolding of the rich and many-coloured pageant of national life, and on the outward world as the scene of that pageant. So far as the words suggest anything shallow, anything rootless, they would be most misleading. In an unfavourable sense, nothing could be more inapplicable to him than the epithet external, for he was the simplest and most unworldly of men. But he was external, in the sense that he dwelt in the world of event, of "pleasant pictures," of moving life and incident. Perhaps no kind of character is so much opposed to the theological spirit as this. For no two minds are so much separated as those who are forced to use the same words with a totally different meaning. What the theologian means by truth, is apt to conceal from him that what the historian means by truth is a reality; and though not quite to the same extent, the converse is also true. A man is a good historian in proportion as he learns to look on events with a certain impartiality of interest. I do not mean that the historian must lay aside indignation or admiration; if we did, the very name of Arthur Stanley would prove the most effective refutation of such a doctrine. But still for the historian the one thing needful is reverence for fact. This and this happened; it had therefore its roots in the past; these are what we have to deal with. Nothing is so difficult as to combine this spirit with any strong theological prepossessions. It is extremely difficult to ascertain what did happen if we begin by strong convictions as to what ought to have happened. No deaf person, it is said, who has any power of hearing words, can learn to decipher the movements of the lips. The apparent aid of one sense makes the other helpless. We would not put the contrast of the theological and historical spirit so absolutely, of course, but something of the same kind is true here. I will again make the rash attempt to convey, through the mere record, an impression in which, as it was made on eye and ear, this contrast of the historic and the



theological mind came out in a very definite and characteristic manner, in a little dialogue between two men who might be regarded as the respective embodiment of each—Stanley and Macleod Campbell. Some allusion having been made to Faraday's religion (I think it was), Stanley turned to Campbell for information as to the obscure sect to which he belonged, and it was interesting to observe their different notions of what information about a sect should be. Mr. Campbell set forth at some length, in his slow, careful accents, the *tenets* of the little body of worshippers, a matter in which evidently Stanley felt not much interest. He wanted to be told the date and native place of the heresiarch, to fix him on the map and chronological table—points which, on the other hand, Mr. Campbell thought so little germane to the matter that it was rather difficult to get him to take in that this was what was wanted. Nothing was needed to the incident but a larger scale to make it the typical exhibition of the antagonism between the pure thinker and the historian.

In speaking of Stanley's as the historic mind, we explain the position of the ecclesiastic quite as much as that of the contributor to literature. His strong adhesion to the ideal of an Established Church, it has been well said, is a tribute to his veneration for the secular party to that alliance. He could not bear the thought of cutting adrift the Church of England from the life of the nation. He could not contemplate the body which bears witness to its spiritual life denuded of some uniform of official life, and deprived of a position on the ground of secular interests. To him Disestablishment took the aspect of a surrender of all that was the source of healthy life; an exchange of a wide, clear outlook, for something narrow and petty; a giving up of the broad judicial views of statesmen for the prejudices of squabbling priests. I recall somewhere in his writings the obvious assertion that the Church of England, if liberated from the control of the State, would immediately fall into at least three parties, and the statement seems regarded by him as an argument against such a separation. Of course, no opinion on the question itself is expressed here, but surely the *heterogeneity* of the Church of England is no argument for its continuance. I cannot help fancying that Stanley thought it was. He was so much impressed by its historic significance, that he was blinded to its spiritual disadvantage. He felt much as the dweller in some ancestral mansion, who protests against the change which would increase its internal convenience at the price of its interest as a record of the past. I do not mean that Stanley looked upon theologic truth as one might look on the convenience of a well-proportioned room. But his mind, prepossessed by the importance of historic truth, was apt, I must repeat, to feel as if that were the only truth. And the protest in favour of this kind of truth, from a Churchman, seems to me so valuable that, for my own part, I am glad it should be exhibited, even in an exaggerated form, if that is to be the only way of making it generally impressive. Woe to the Church



where the aspiration after a pure creed discards the guidance and the warning of history! The illusion that such a guidance and warning is in fact a hindrance, resembles that which, as Kant so beautifully says, "the bird might feel who deemed the atmosphere a hindrance to the flight which it supports, and yearned to spread her wings where no air should oppose their stroke." If Stanley dwelt too exclusively on this truth, he did not feel it too strongly. And the Church's need of dwelling on it seems to me measured by the fact that no one now remains to express it from the same point of view.

His historic *interests* are unquestionable. But perhaps there are some who will demur to the description of him as a type of the historic *spirit*. It has been said that, in dealing with the history of the Chosen People, he has somewhat failed in the duty of a historian; that it is not easy from his narrative to make out what he believed to have actually happened. If all history must be critical, the censure is just. When it is said—as it was said at the time his first volume on the Jewish Church appeared, in comparing it with the almost contemporaneous work of Dr. Colenso—that this is the way history ought to be written, then it is a valid rejoinder, that this kind of history sets before the reader no definite view of the event as an actual fact, as compared with the event as it became a conception of later ages, and a powerful influence in the history of those who so regarded it. But surely a history of that which has taken its place as a great picture of national development *is* history in a very important sense. It would be a very great loss if it were supposed to be the only history; if, as Stanley's unwise eulogists at that time implied, this ideal should be set up as the canon of what every one should propose to himself who deals with the narrative of the events which enshrine the most sacred part of a nation's life. Still, when we have guarded ourselves against this error, we are at liberty to urge that history, written from the point of view of a warm, simple, human sympathy, accepting men's convictions about events as in some sense no less important than events, and bringing by the aid of a lively imagination a picture of this part of the past before his reader's eye, so vivid and human as to remain impressed on their memory—is not superseded by, nor does it supersede the work of, a Niebuhr or a Mommsen, a Milman or a Keim. And this kind of history is not a poor or shallow thing, though no doubt we are driven to somewhat external words when we describe the impression made by it upon the mind. It is true that in dealing with important events—as, for instance, in the account of the Council of Nice—what Stanley gives is a lively succession of images, a vivid rememberable account of an interesting event, together with the sense that it was an event of first-rate importance, rather than any contribution to the knowledge of the issues it involved. I must again repeat, he deals with the aspects of life. But is it not a gain to be prepared for ecclesiastical



history by vivid pictures of its events? Is it a small benefit to be made to believe in their reality? The critical historian would lose his best ally in the vivid, sympathetic narrator, who forces us to realize that the transactions he analyses were real. With such a loss all history would be deprived of its illustrations.

The same kind of criticism which finds Stanley's histories unhistorical, is led to question the value of what may be considered as his main contribution to English Literature. His *Life of Arnold*, it has been hinted, is no contribution towards any understanding of the actual literal past. He has given the world such a portrait of his master as Vandyke gave of Charles I. If it be thereby understood that some part of the charm of that biography is due to the spirit of the biographer, a wise admirer of Stanley will rather demand the meaning of the concession than refuse to make it. Whence came the impression of Stanley's master which Stanley has transferred to his many readers? If it was no record of experience, of what was it the result? Assuredly not of any such courtly feeling as might transmit flattery of a king of England to a world of spectators. Dr. Arnold impressed one of his pupils in a manner that has transmitted itself in a biography that Englishmen, we believe, will never cease to peruse; and those who refuse to regard it as a record of the truth only accept the onus of some other explanation of an ideal that is certainly vivid, individual, and consistent. I would not dispute the contention that a very different picture of its object might be painted with equal claim on the reader's attention. Nay, I would concede that the interest of the biography might have been increased if it had contained more record of the struggle and the defeat that (unless this life was unlike all other lives) must have formed a considerable portion of its experience. But I would ask again, if the vivid transmission of a moral impression is not a contribution to history? The aspect of a life on the minds of those it has kindled with a generous flame is no small part of its biography. Another picture may have been possible from the point of view of a critic. But it would not stamp with falsehood that picture which has no origin but the shape of real life on the one hand, or the colouring of an admiration created by experience on the other. How large a scope Stanley was himself inclined to allow to a variety of view respecting his master was attested by a remark he once made about the very different portrait (so at least it has been called) given to the world by Mr. Hughes. About the time when "*Tom Brown*" had revived many recollections of Rugby life, and there was some question as to the truth of a representation which seemed to trace the so-called school of "*muscular Christianity*" to the influence of Dr. Arnold, he was asked if he did not think it strange that both Arnold's spiritual progeny, as the muscular Christians were then considered, and his son according to the flesh, should stand in so little obvious relation with his own teaching. (A remark, by-the-by, which I give simply as drawing forth his



reply, for it now seems to me not a sensible one.) As for Matthew Arnold's doctrine, Stanley fully agreed with the speaker—much more than, I think, the truth warranted. But as to "Tom Brown" and the muscular Christians, he expressed an emphatic dissent from the implied opinion that the view there given of Dr. Arnold's influence was at variance with his own. "I have done my best to give a good picture of Arnold," he said. "I do not know that I could make it any better. But this I would say, if any one feels he must choose between my picture and Mr. Hughes's, then I would say without hesitation, let him take 'Tom Brown.'" The remark was interesting for many reasons, but not least as a concession that his own picture of Arnold must have been consciously a part of the truth. But what a tribute we have to the faithfulness of what is given, when its incompleteness is, by its own author, discerned so clearly! Perhaps there was an incompleteness which he could not so well discern; it may be that the picture would have been more accurate had there been a background of storm, which the sunny nature of the painter disqualified him from supplying. But it cannot be said that a portrait is untrue, because it bears witness to the limitations of the painter. The gain of distinctness, probably, is more than the loss of completeness.

The party which took its rise with Arnold is, in our own day, lost in its own predominance. We have all felt, probably, at some time of our lives, the strange and subtle change by which some difference of *degree* has suddenly become difference of *kind*. A relation, we have felt, has been long changing, we knew not whither it was tending. Day by day some mysterious influence seems at work, perplexing and entangling the bonds which bind our soul to another. At last we wake up suddenly to the discovery that those bonds are loosed. We find ourselves suddenly two, and looking back we see that in fact it has long been so, though we perceived it not. So is it, I think, with the spirit of free inquiry within the Church. The pressure from without is gone which gave it cohesion. It exists in individuals, but there is no longer any bond between them. If this view be true, Stanley, who was happy in so much beside, was not less happy "in the opportunity of his death." Had he lived to old age he must have survived that influence of which we have chosen him as the representative. He had not much to say—we think none of his school had—to a world which finds its intellectual keynote in the study of Physical Science. His mind was altogether humane and historic, and when the primacy of study went over, as in our day it has done, from the study of men to the study of things, his influence lost its proper field. While it lasted it was always pure, elevating, and soothing, and few men could turn a backward glance on a finished life and find less to regret or condemn. The summons (we have heard) was not altogether welcome to him; the few recorded utterances of his death-bed imply



a wish, slight but real, to return to life. But the declaration, at a time when death was very near, "I am satisfied," might seem (if it be possible to dwell on death-bed utterances without exaggeration) a foretaste of that review which was so soon to be granted him from a higher station. It was not this poor life which satisfied him. It was the hope, larger than all his happy memories, the common possession of which reduces to insignificance the interval between a life of defeat and failure, and one so blest as his.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

## THE INDUSTRIAL TYPE OF SOCIETY.\*

HAVING nearly always to defend themselves against external enemies, while they have to carry on internally the processes of sustentation, societies, as remarked in the last chapter, habitually present us with mixtures of the structures adapted to these diverse ends. Disentanglement is not easy. According as either structure predominates it ramifies through the other; instance the fact that where the militant type is much developed, the worker, ordinarily a slave,<sup>1</sup> is no more a free agent than the soldier; while, where the industrial type is much developed, the soldier, volunteering on specified terms, acquires, in so far, the position of a free worker. In the one case the system of status, proper to the fighting part, pervades the working part; while in the other the system of contract, proper to the working part, affects the fighting part. Especially does the organization adapted to war obscure that adapted to industry. While, as we have seen, the militant type, as theoretically constructed, is so far displayed in many societies as to leave no doubt about its essential nature, the industrial type has its traits so hidden by those of the still-dominant militant type, that its ideal form is nowhere more than very partially exemplified. Saying thus much to exclude expectations which cannot be fulfilled, it will be well, before proceeding, also to exclude probable misconceptions.

In the first place, industrialism must not be confounded with industriousness. Though the members of an industrially-organized society are habitually industrious, and are, indeed, when the society is a

\* The references to authorities quoted in this article in common with those in the preceding one, will be given in the volume of which they are to form parts. Allusions made to matters not before the reader, must be understood as consequent on the continuity of the articles with writings already published.



developed one, obliged to be so ; yet it must not be assumed that the industrially-organized society is one in which, of necessity, much work is done. Where the society is small, and its habitat so favourable that life may be comfortably maintained with but little exertion, the social relations which characterize the industrial type may co-exist with but very moderate productive activities. It is not the diligence of its members which constitutes the society an industrial one in the sense here intended, but the form of cooperation under which their labours, small or great in amount, are carried on. This distinction will be best understood on observing that, conversely, there may be, and often is, great industry in societies framed on the militant type. In ancient Egypt there was an immense labouring population, and a large supply of commodities, numerous in their kinds, produced by it. Still more did ancient Peru exhibit a vast community purely militant in its structure, the members of which worked unceasingly. We are here concerned, then, not with the quantity of labour, but with the mode of organization of the labourers. A regiment of soldiers can be set to construct earth-works ; another to cut down wood ; another to bring in water ; but they are not thereby reduced for the time being to an industrial society. The united individuals, doing these several things under command, and having no private claims to the products, are, though industriously occupied, not industrially organized. And the same holds throughout the militant society as a whole, in proportion as the regimentation of it approaches completeness.

The industrial type of society, properly so called, must also be distinguished from a type very likely to be confounded with it—the type, namely, in which the component individuals, while exclusively engaged in production and distribution, are under a regulation such as that advocated by socialists and communists. For this, too, involves in another form the principle of compulsory cooperation. Directly or indirectly, individuals are to be prevented from severally and independently occupying themselves as they please ; are to be prevented from competing with one another in supplying goods for money ; are to be prevented from hiring themselves out as they think fit. There can be no artificial system for regulating labour which does not interfere with the natural system. To such extent as men are debarred from making whatever engagements they like, they are to that extent working under dictation. No matter in what way the controlling agency is constituted, it stands towards those controlled in the same relation as does the controlling agency of a militant society. And how truly the *régime* which those who declaim against competition would establish, is thus characterized, we see both in the fact that substantially communistic forms of organization existed in early societies which were predominantly warlike, and in the fact that at the present time communistic projects chiefly originate among, and are most favoured by, the more warlike societies.



A further preliminary explanation may be needful. The structures proper to the industrial type of society must not be looked for in distinct forms when they first appear. Contrariwise, we must expect them to begin in vague unsettled forms. Arising, as they do, by modification of pre-existing structures, they are necessarily long in losing all trace of these. For example, transition from the state in which the labourer, owned like a beast, is maintained that he may work exclusively for his master's benefit, to the condition in which he is completely detached from master, soil, and locality, and free to work anywhere and for anyone, is through gradations. Again, the change from the arrangement proper to militancy, under which subject persons receive, in addition to maintenance, occasional presents, to the arrangement under which, in place of both, they receive fixed wages, or salaries, or fees, goes on slowly and unobtrusively. Once more, it is observable that the process of exchange, originally indefinite, has become definite only where industrialism is considerably developed. Barter did not begin with a distinct intention of giving one thing for another thing equivalent in value, but it began by making a present and receiving a present in return; and even now in the East there continue traces of this primitive transaction. In Cairo, the purchase of articles from a shopkeeper is preceded by his offer of coffee and cigarettes; and during the negotiation which ends in the engagement of a *dahabeah*, the dragoman brings gifts and expects to receive them. Add to which that there exists under such conditions none of that definite equivalence which characterizes exchange among ourselves: prices are not fixed, but vary widely with every fresh transaction. So that throughout our interpretations we must keep in view the truth, that the structures and functions proper to the industrial type distinguish themselves but gradually from those proper to the militant type.

Having thus prepared the way, let us now consider what are, *à priori*, the traits of that social organization which, entirely unfitted for carrying on defence against external enemies, is exclusively fitted for maintaining the life of the society by subserving the lives of its units. As before, in treating of the militant type, so here, in treating of the industrial type, we will consider first the ideal form.

While corporate action is the primary requirement in a society which has to preserve itself in presence of hostile societies, conversely, in the absence of hostile societies, corporate action is no longer the primary requirement.

The continued existence of a society implies, first, that it shall not be destroyed bodily by foreign foes, and implies, second, that it shall not be destroyed in detail by failure of its members to support and propagate themselves. If danger of destruction from the first cause ceases, there remains only danger of destruction from the second cause. Sustentation of the society will now be achieved by the self-sustentation and multiplication of its units. If his own welfare and the welfare of



his offspring is fully achieved by each, the welfare of the society is by implication achieved. Very little corporate activity is now required. Each man may maintain himself by labour, may exchange his products for the products of others, may give aid and receive payment, may enter into this or that combination for carrying on an undertaking, small or great, without the direction of the society as a whole. The remaining end to be achieved by public action is to keep private actions within due bounds; and the amount of public action needed for this becomes small in proportion as private actions become duly self-bounded.

So that whereas in the militant type the demand for corporate action is intrinsic, such demand for corporate action as continues in the industrial type is mainly extrinsic—is called for by those aggressive traits of human nature which chronic warfare has fostered, and may gradually diminish as, under enduring peaceful life, these decrease.

In a society organized for militant action, the individuality of each member has to be so subordinated in life, liberty, and property, that he is largely, or completely, *owned* by the State; but in a society industrially organized, no such subordination of the individual is called for. There remain no occasions on which he is required to risk his life while destroying the lives of others; he is not forced to leave his occupation and submit to a commanding officer; and there ceases to be any need that he should surrender for public purposes whatever property may be demanded of him.

Under the industrial *régime* the citizen's individuality, instead of being sacrificed by the society, has to be defended by the society: the defence of his individuality becomes the society's essential duty. That after external protection is no longer called for, internal protection must become the cardinal function of the State, and that effectual discharge of this function must be a predominant trait of the industrial type, may be readily shown.

For it is clear that, other things equal, a society in which life, liberty, and property are secure, and all interests justly regarded, must prosper more than one in which they are not; and, consequently, among competing industrial societies, there must be a gradual replacing of those in which personal rights are imperfectly maintained by those in which they are perfectly maintained. So that by survival of the fittest must be produced a social type in which individual claims, considered sacred, are trenched on by the State no further than is requisite to pay the cost of maintaining them, or rather of arbitrating among them. For the aggressiveness of Nature fostered by militancy having died out, the corporate function becomes that of deciding between those conflicting claims, the equitable adjustment of which is not obvious to the persons concerned.

With the absence of need for that corporate action by which the efforts of the whole society may be utilized for war, there goes the absence of need for a despotic controlling agency.



Not only is such an agency unnecessary, but it cannot exist. For since, as we see, it is an essential requirement of the industrial type, that the individuality of each man shall have the fullest play consistent with the like play of other men's individualities, despotic control, showing itself, as it must, by otherwise restricting men's individualities, is necessarily excluded. Indeed, by his mere presence an autocratic ruler is an aggressor on citizens: actually or potentially exercising power not given by them, he in so far restrains their wills more than they would be restrained by mutual limitation merely.

Such control as is required under the industrial type can be exercised only by an appointed agency for ascertaining and executing the average will; and a representative agency is the one best fitted for doing this.

Unless the activities of all are homogeneous in kind, which they cannot be in a developed society with its elaborate division of labour, there arises a need for conciliation of divergent interests; and, to the end of ensuring an equitable adjustment, each interest must be enabled duly to express itself. It is, indeed, supposable that the appointed agency should be a single individual. But no such single individual could arbitrate justly among numerous classes variously occupied, and numerous groups variously localized, without hearing evidence: from each there would need to come representatives setting forth its claims. Hence the choice would lie between two systems, under one of which the representatives privately and separately stated their cases to an arbitrator, on whose single judgment decisions depended; and under the other, of which these representatives stated their cases in one another's presence, while judgments were openly determined by the general *consensus*. Without insisting on the fact that a fair balancing of class-interests is more likely to be effected by this last form of representation than by the first, it is sufficient to remark that this last form is more congruous with the nature of the industrial type; since men's individualities are in the smallest degree trenched upon. Citizens who, appointing a single ruler for a prescribed time, may have a majority of their wills traversed by his during this time, surrender their individualities in a greater degree than do those who, from their local groups, depute a number of rulers; since these, speaking and acting under public inspection and mutually restrained, habitually express the wills of the majority.

The corporate life of the society being no longer in danger, and the remaining business of Government being that of maintaining the conditions requisite for the highest individual life, there comes the question—What are these conditions?

Already they have been implied as comprehended under the administration of justice; but so vaguely is the meaning of this phrase commonly conceived, that a more specific statement must be made. Justice, then, as here to be understood, means preservation of the normal



connections between acts and results—the obtainment by each of as much benefit as his efforts are equivalent to: no more and no less. Living and working within the restraints imposed by one another's presence, justice requires that individuals shall severally take the consequences of their conduct, neither increased nor decreased. The superior shall have the good of his superiority; and the inferior the evil of his inferiority. A veto is therefore put on all public action which abstracts from some men part of the advantages they have earned, and awards to other men advantages they have not earned.

That from the developed industrial type of society there are excluded all forms of communistic distribution, the inevitable trait of which is that they tend to equalize the lives of good and bad, idle and diligent, is readily proved. For when, the struggle for existence between societies by war having ceased, there remains only the industrial struggle for existence, the final survival and spread must be on the part of those societies which produce the largest number of the best individuals—individuals best adapted to their life in the industrial state. Suppose two societies, otherwise equal, in one of which the superior are allowed to retain, for their own benefit and the benefit of their offspring, the entire proceeds of their labour; but in the other of which the superior have taken from them part of these proceeds for the benefit of the inferior and their offspring. Evidently the superior will thrive and multiply more in the first than in the second. A greater number of the best children will be reared in the first, and eventually it will outgrow the second.\*

Otherwise regarded, this system, under which the efforts of each bring neither more nor less than their natural returns, is the system of contract.

We have seen that the *régime* of status is in all ways proper to the militant type. It is the concomitant of that graduated subordination by which the combined action of a fighting body is achieved, and which must pervade the fighting society at large to ensure its corporate action. Under this *régime*, the relation between labour and produce is traversed by authority. As in the army, the food, clothing, &c., received by each soldier are not direct returns for work done, but are arbitrarily apportioned, while duties are arbitrarily enforced; so, throughout the rest of the militant society, the superior dictates the labour and assigns such share of the return as he pleases. But as, with declining militancy and growing industrialism, the power and range of authority decrease and uncontrolled action increases, the relation of contract becomes general; and in the fully-developed industrial type it becomes universal.

\* It must not be inferred that private and voluntary aid to the inferior is negatived, but only public and enforced aid. Whatever effects the sympathies of the better for the worse spontaneously produce, cannot, of course, be interfered with; and will, on the whole, be beneficial. For while, on the average, the better will not ordinarily carry their philanthropic efforts so far as to impede their own multiplication, they will carry them far enough to mitigate the ill-fortunes of the worse without enabling them to multiply.



Under this universal relation of contract when equitably administered, there arises that adjustment of benefit to effort which the arrangements of the industrial society have to achieve. If each, as producer, distributor, manager, adviser, teacher, or aider of other kind, obtains from his fellows such payment for his service as its value, determined by the demand, warrants; then there results that correct apportioning of reward to merit which ensures the prosperity of the superior.

Again changing the point of view, we see that whereas public control in the militant type is both positively regulative and negatively regulative, in the industrial type it is negatively regulative only. To the slave, to the soldier, or to other member of a community organized for war, authority says—"Thou shalt do this; thou shalt not do that." But to the member of the industrial community, authority gives only one of these orders—"Thou shalt not do that."

For people who, carrying on their private transactions by voluntary cooperation, also voluntarily cooperate to form and support a governmental agency, are, by implication, people who authorize it to impose on their respective activities only those restraints which they are all interested in maintaining—the restraints which check aggressions. Omitting criminals (who under the assumed conditions must be, if not a vanishing quantity, still very few), each citizen, while not wishing to invade others' spheres of action, will wish to preserve uninvaded his own sphere of action, and to retain whatever benefits are achieved within it. The very motive which prompts all to unite in upholding a public protector of their individualities, will also prompt them to unite in preventing any interference with their individualities beyond that required for this end.

Hence it follows that while, in the militant type, regimentation in the army is paralleled by centralized administration throughout the society at large; in the industrial type, administration, becoming decentralized, is at the same time narrowed in its range. Nearly all public organizations, save that for administering justice, necessarily disappear; since they have the common character that they either aggress on the citizen by dictating his actions, or by taking from him more property than is needful for protecting him, or by both. Those who are forced to send their children to this or that school, those who have, directly or indirectly, to help in supporting a State-priesthood, those from whom rates are demanded that parish officers may administer public charity, those who are taxed to provide gratis reading for people who will not save money for library subscriptions, those whose businesses are carried on under regulation by inspectors, those who have to pay the cost of State science-and-art teaching, State emigration, &c., all have their individualities trenched upon; either by compelling them to do what they would not spontaneously do, or by taking away money which else would have furthered their private ends. Coercive arrangements of such kinds, consistent with the militant type, are inconsistent with the industrial type.



With the relatively narrow range of public organizations, there goes, in the industrial type, a relatively wide range of private organizations: the spheres left vacant by the one being filled by the other.

Several influences conspire to produce this trait. Those motives which, in the absence of that subordination necessitated by war, make citizens unite in asserting their individualities, subject only to mutual limitations, are motives which make them unite in resisting any interference with their freedom to form such private combinations as do not involve aggression. Moreover, beginning with exchanges of goods and services under agreements between individuals, the principle of voluntary cooperation is simply carried out in a larger way by any incorporated body of individuals who contract with one another for jointly pursuing this or that business or function. And yet again, there is entire congruity between the representative constitutions of such private combinations and that representative constitution of the public combination which we see is proper to the industrial type: the same law of organization pervades the society in general and in detail. So that an inevitable trait of the industrial type is the multiplicity and heterogeneity of associations, religious, commercial, professional, philanthropic, and social, of all sizes.

Two indirectly-resulting traits of the industrial type must be added. The first is its relative plasticity.

So long as corporate action is necessitated for national self-preservation—so long as, to effect combined defence or offence, there is maintained that graduated subordination which ties all inferiors to superiors, as the soldier is tied to his officer—so long as there is maintained the relation of status which tends to fix men in the positions they are severally born to; there is insured a comparative rigidity of social organization. But with the cessation of those needs that initiate and preserve the militant type of structure, and with the establishment of contract as the universal relation under which efforts are combined for mutual advantage, social organization loses its rigidity. No longer determined by the principle of inheritance, places and occupations are now determined by the principle of efficiency; and changes of structure follow when men, not bound to prescribed functions, acquire the functions for which they have proved themselves most fit. Easily modified in its arrangements, the industrial type of society is therefore one which adapts itself with facility to new requirements.

The other incidental result to be named is a tendency towards loss of economic autonomy.

While hostile relations with adjacent societies continue, each society has to be productively self-sufficing; but with the establishment of peaceful relations this need for self-sufficingness ceases. As the local divisions composing one of our great nations had, while they were at feud, each to produce for itself almost everything it required, but now, permanently at peace with one another, have become so far mutually.



dependent that no one of them can satisfy its wants without aid from the rest: so the great nations themselves, at present forced in large measure to maintain their economic autonomies, will become less forced to do this as war decreases, and will gradually become necessary to one another. While, on the one hand, the facilities possessed by each for certain kinds of production, will render exchange mutually advantageous; on the other hand, the citizens of each will, under the industrial *régime*, tolerate no such restraints on their individualities as are implied by interdicts on exchange.

With the spread of the industrial type, therefore, the tendency is towards the breaking down of the divisions between nationalities, and the running through them of a common organization: if not under a single government, then under a federation of governments.

Such being the constitution of the industrial type of society to be inferred from its requirements, we have now to inquire what evidence actual societies furnish that approach towards this constitution accompanies the progress of industrialism.

As, during the peopling of the Earth, the struggle for existence among societies, from small hordes up to great nations, has been nearly everywhere going on; it is, as before said, not to be expected that we should readily find examples of the social type appropriate to an exclusively industrial life. Ancient records join the journals of the day in proving that thus far no civilized or semi-civilized nation has fallen into circumstances making needless all social structures for resisting aggression; and from every region travellers' accounts bring evidence that almost universally among the uncivilized, hostilities between tribes are chronic. Still, a few examples exist which show, with tolerable clearness, the outline of the industrial type in its rudimentary form—the form which it assumes where culture has made but little progress. We will consider these cases first; and then proceed to disentangle the traits distinctive of the industrial type as exhibited by large nations which have become predominantly industrial.

Among the Indian hills there are many tribes belonging to different races, but alike in their partially-nomadic habits. Mostly agricultural, their common practice is to cultivate a patch of ground while it yields average crops, and when it is exhausted to go elsewhere and repeat the process. They have fled before invading races, and have here and there found localities in which they are able to carry on their peaceful occupations unmolested: the absence of molestation being, in some cases, due to their ability to live in a malarious atmosphere which is fatal to the Aryan races. Already, under other heads, I have referred to the Bodo and to the Dhimáls as wholly unmilitary, as having but nominal head men, as being without slaves or social grades, and as aiding one another in their heavier undertakings; to the Todas, who, leading tranquil lives, are “without any of those bonds of union which man in general is induced to form from a sense of danger,” and who settle their



disputes by arbitration or by a council of five ; to the Mishmies as being unwarlike, as having but nominal chiefs, and as administering justice by an assembly ; and I have joined with these the case of a people remote in locality and race, the ancient Pueblos of North America, who, sheltering in their walled villages and fighting only when invaded, similarly united with their habitual industrial life a free form of government : " the governor and his council are [were] annually elected by the people." Here I may add sundry kindred examples. As described in the Indian Government Report for 1869-70, " the ' white Karens ' are of a mild and peaceful disposition. . . . their chiefs are regarded as patriarchs, who have little more than nominal authority ;" or, as said of them by Lieut. McMahon, " they possess neither laws nor dominant authority." Instance, again, the " fascinating " Lepchas—not industrious, but yet industrial in the sense that their social relations are of the non-militant type. Though I find nothing specific said about the system under which they live in their temporary villages ; yet the facts told us sufficiently imply its uncoercive character. They have no castes ; " family and political feuds are alike unheard of amongst them ;" " they are averse to soldiering ;" they prefer taking refuge in the jungle and living on wild food " to enduring any injustice or harsh treatment"—traits which negative ordinary political control. Take next the " quiet, unoffensive " Santáls, who, though they fight if need be with infatuated bravery to resist aggression, are essentially unaggressive. These people " are industrious cultivators, and enjoy their existence unfettered by caste." Though, having become tributaries, there habitually exists in each village a head appointed by the Indian Government to be responsible for the tribute, &c., yet the nature of their indigenous government remains sufficiently clear : while there is a patriarch who is honoured, but who rarely interferes, " every village has its council place . . . where the committee assemble and discuss the affairs of the village and its inhabitants. All petty disputes, both of a civil and criminal nature, are settled there." What little is told us of tribes living in the Shervaroy Hills is, so far as it goes, to like effect. Speaking generally of them, Shortt says they " are essentially a timid and harmless people, addicted chiefly to pastoral and agricultural pursuits ;" and more specifically describing one division of them, he says " they lead peaceable lives among themselves, and any dispute that may arise is usually settled by arbitration." Then, to show that these social traits are not peculiar to any one variety of man, but are dependent on conditions, may be recalled the before-named instance of the Papuan Arafuras, who, without any divisions of rank or any hereditary chieftainship, live in harmony, controlled only by the decisions of their assembled elders. In all which cases we may discern the leading traits above indicated as proper to societies not impelled to corporate action by war. Strong centralized control not being required, such government as exists is exercised by a council informally approved—a rude representative



government; class distinctions do not exist, or are but faintly indicated—the relation of status is absent; whatever transactions take place between individuals are by agreement; and the function which the ruling body has to perform is substantially limited to protecting private life by settling such disputes as arise, and inflicting mild punishments for small offences.

Difficulties meet us when, turning to civilized societies, we seek in them for the traits of the industrial type. Consolidated and organized as they have all been by wars actively carried on throughout the earlier periods of their existence, and mostly continued down to comparatively recent times; and having simultaneously been developing within themselves organizations for producing and distributing commodities, which have little by little become contrasted with those proper to militant activities; the two are everywhere presented so mingled that clear separation of the first from the last is, as said at the outset, scarcely practicable. Radically opposed, however, as is compulsory cooperation, the organizing principle of the militant type, to voluntary cooperation, the organizing principle of the industrial type, we may, by observing the decline of institutions exhibiting the one, recognize, by implication, the growth of institutions exhibiting the other. Hence if, in passing from the first states of civilized nations, in which war is the business of life, to states in which hostilities are but occasional, we simultaneously pass to states in which the ownership of the individual by his society is not so constantly and strenuously enforced, in which the subjection of rank to rank is mitigated, in which political rule is no longer autocratic, in which the regulation of citizens' lives is diminished in range and rigour, while the protection of them is increased; we are, by implication, shown the traits of a developing industrial type. Comparisons of several kinds disclose results which unite in verifying this truth.

Take first the broad contrast between the early condition of the more civilized European nations at large and their later condition. Setting out from the dissolution of the Roman empire, we observe that for many centuries during which conflicts were effecting consolidations, and dissolutions, and re-consolidations in endless variety, such energies as were not directly devoted to war were devoted to little else than supporting the organizations which carried on war: the working part of each community did not exist for its own sake, but for the sake of the fighting part. While militancy was thus high and industrialism undeveloped, the reign of superior strength, continually being established by societies one over another, was equally displayed within each society. From slaves and serfs, through vassals of different grades up to dukes and kings, there was an enforced subordination by which the individualities of all were greatly restricted. And at the same time that, to carry on external aggression or resistance, the ruling power in each group sacrificed the personal claims of its members, the function of defending its members from one another was in but small degree discharged by it:



they were left to defend themselves. If with these traits of European societies in mediæval times we compare their traits in modern times, we see the following essential differences. First, with the formation of nations covering large areas, the perpetual wars within each area have ceased; and though the wars which from time to time occur are on larger scales, they are less frequent, and they are no longer the business of all freemen. Second, there has grown up in each country a relatively large population which carries on production and distribution for its own benefit; so that whereas of old the working part existed for the benefit of the fighting part, now the fighting part exists mainly for the benefit of the working part—exists ostensibly to protect it in the quiet pursuit of its ends. Third, the system of status, having under some of its forms disappeared, and under others become greatly mitigated, has been almost universally replaced by the system of contract. Only among those who, by choice or by conscription, are incorporated in the militant organization, does the system of status in its primitive rigour still hold so long as they remain in this organization. Fourth, with this decrease of compulsory cooperation and increase of voluntary cooperation, there have diminished or ceased many minor restraints over individual actions. Men are less tied to their localities than they were; they are not obliged to profess certain religious opinions; they are less debarred from expressing their political views; they no longer have their dresses and modes of living dictated to them; they are comparatively little restrained from forming private combinations and holding meetings for one or other purpose—political, religious, social. Fifth, while the individualities of citizens are less aggressed upon by public agency, they are more protected by public agency against aggression. Instead of a *régime* under which individuals rectified their private wrongs by force as well as they could, or else bribed the ruler, general or local, to use his power in their behalf, there has come a *régime* under which, while much less self-protection is required, a chief function of the ruling power and its agents is to administer justice. In all ways, then, we are shown that, with this relative decrease of militancy and relative increase of industrialism, there has been a change from a social order, in which individuals exist for the benefit of the State, to a social order in which the State exists for the benefit of individuals.

When, instead of contrasting early European communities at large with European communities at large as they now exist, we contrast the one in which industrial development has been less impeded by militancy with those in which it has been more impeded by militancy, parallel results are apparent. Between our own society and continental societies, as for example France, the differences which have gradually arisen may be cited in illustration. After the conquering Normans had spread over England, there was established here a much greater subordination of local rulers to the general ruler than existed elsewhere; and, as a result, there was not nearly so much internal



dissension. Says Hallam, speaking of this period, "we read very little of private wars in England." Though from time to time there were rebellions, and under Stephen a serious one, and though there were occasional fights between nobles; yet, for some hundred and fifty years, up to the time of King John, the subjection maintained secured comparative order. Further, it is to be noted that such general wars as occurred were mostly carried on abroad: descents on our coasts were few and unimportant, and conflicts with Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, entailed but few intrusions on English soil. Consequently, there was a relatively small hindrance to industrial life and the growth of social forms appropriate to it. Meanwhile the condition of France was widely different. During this period and long after, besides wars with England (mostly fought out on French soil) and wars with other countries, there were going on everywhere local wars. From the tenth to the fourteenth century, perpetual fights between suzerains and their vassals occurred, as well as fights of vassals with one another. Not until towards the middle of the fourteenth century did the king begin greatly to predominate over the nobles; and only in the fifteenth century was there established a supreme ruler strong enough to prevent the quarrels of local rulers. How great was the consequent repression of industrial development may be inferred from the exaggerated language of an old writer, who says of this period during which the final struggle of monarchy with feudalism was going on, that "agriculture, traffic, and all the mechanical arts ceased." Such being the contrast between the small degree in which industrial life was impeded by war in England and the great degree in which it was impeded by war in France, let us ask—What were the political contrasts which arose? The first fact to be noted is that in the middle of the thirteenth century there began in England a mitigation of villainage, by limitation of labour-services and commutation of them for money, and that in the fourteenth century the transformation of a servile into a free population had in great measure taken place; while in France, as in other continental countries, the old condition survived and became worse. As Mr. Freeman says of this period—"in England villainage was on the whole dying out, while in many other countries it was getting harder and harder." Besides this spreading substitution of contract for status, which, taking place first in the industrial centres, the towns, afterwards went on in the rural districts, there was going on an analogous enfranchisement of the noble class: the enforced military obligations of vassals were more and more replaced by money payments or scutages, so that by King John's time, the fighting services of the upper class had been to a great extent compounded for, like the labour services of the lower class. After diminished restraints over persons, there came diminished invasions of property. By the Charter, arbitrary tallages on towns and non-military king's tenants were checked; and while the aggressive actions of the State were thus decreased, its protective



actions were extended: provisions were made that justice should be neither sold, delayed, nor denied. All which changes were towards those social arrangements which we see characterize the industrial type. Then, in the next place, we have the subsequently-occurring rise of a representative government; which, as shown in a preceding chapter by another line of inquiry, is at once the product of industrial growth and the form proper to the industrial type. But in France none of these changes took place. Villainage, remaining unmitigated, continued to comparatively late times; compounding for military obligation of vassal to suzerain was less general; and when there arose tendencies towards the establishment of an assembly expressing the popular will, they proved abortive. Detailed comparisons of subsequent periods and their changes would detain us too long: it must suffice to indicate the leading facts. Beginning with the date at which, under the influences just indicated, parliamentary government was finally established in England, we find that for a century and a half, down to the Wars of the Roses, the internal disturbances were few and unimportant compared with those which took place in France; while at the same time (remembering that the wars between England and France, habitually taking place on French soil, affected the state of France more than that of England) we note that France carried on serious wars with Flanders, Castille, and Navarre, besides the struggle with Burgundy: the result being that while in England popular power, as expressed by the House of Commons, became settled and increased, such power as the States-General had acquired in France dwindled away. Not forgetting that by the Wars of the Roses, lasting over thirty years, there was initiated a return towards absolutism; let us contemplate the contrasts which subsequently arose. For a century and a half after these civil conflicts ended, there were but few and trivial breaches of internal peace, while such wars as went on with foreign powers, not numerous, took place as usual out of England; and during this period the retrograde movement which the Wars of the Roses set up was reversed, and popular power greatly increased; so that, in the words of Mr. Bagehot, "the slavish parliament of Henry VIII. grew into the murmuring parliament of Queen Elizabeth, the mutinous parliament of James I., and the rebellious parliament of Charles I." Meanwhile France, during the first third of this period, had been engaged in almost continuous external wars with Italy, Spain, and Austria; while during the remaining two-thirds, it suffered from almost continuous internal wars, religious, and political: the accompanying result being that, notwithstanding resistances from time to time made, the monarch became increasingly despotic. To make fully manifest the different social types that had been evolved under these different conditions we have to compare not only the respective political constitutions but also the respective systems of social control. Observe what these were at the time when there commenced the reaction which ended



in the French Revolution. In harmony with the theory of the militant type, that the individual is, in life, liberty, and property, owned by the State, there had come to be enunciated, if not acted upon, the doctrine that the monarch was the universal proprietor; and the burdens he imposed on landowners were so grievous, that some of them preferred abandoning their estates to paying. Then besides the taking of property by the State, there was the taking of labour. One-fourth of the working days of the year went as *corvées*, due to the king, and in part to the feudal lord. Such liberties as were allowed had to be paid for again and again: the municipal privileges of towns being seven times in twenty-eight years withdrawn and resold to them. Military services of nobles and people were imperative to whatever extent the king demanded; and conscripts were drilled under the lash. At the same time that the subjection of the individual to the State was pushed to such an extreme by exactions of money and services, that the impoverished people cut the grain while it was green, ate grass, and died of starvation in millions, the State did little to guard their persons and homes. Contemporary writers enlarge on the multitudinous highway robberies, burglaries, assassinations, and torturings of people, to discover their hoards; herds of vagabonds, levying blackmail, roamed about, and when, as a remedy, penalties were imposed, innocent persons denounced as vagabonds were sent to prison without evidence. There was no personal security either against the ruler or against powerful enemies. In Paris there were some thirty prisons where untried and unsentenced people might be incarcerated; and the "brigandage of justice" annually cost suitors forty to sixty millions of francs. While the State, aggressing on citizens to such extremes, thus failed to protect them against one another, it was active in regulating their private lives and labours. Religion was dictated to the extent that Protestants were imprisoned, sent to the galleys, or whipped, and their ministers hanged. The quantity of salt (on which there was a heavy tax) to be consumed by each person was prescribed; as were also the modes of its use. Industry of every kind was supervised. Certain crops were prohibited; and vines grown on soils considered unfit were destroyed. The wheat that might be bought at market was limited to two bushels; and sales took place in presence of dragoons. Manufacturers were regulated in their processes and products to the extent that there was destruction of improved appliances and goods not made according to law, as well as penalties upon inventors. Regulations succeeded one another so rapidly that amid their multiplicity, government agents found it difficult to carry them out; and with the increasing official orders came increasing swarms of public functionaries. Turning now to England at the same period, we see that along with progress towards the industrial type of political structure, carried to the extent that the House of Commons had become the predominant power, there had gone on a progress towards the accompanying social system. Though the subjection of the individual to the State was considerably



greater than now, it was far less than in France. His private rights were not sacrificed in the same unscrupulous way; and he was not in danger of a *lettre de cachet*. Though justice was very imperfectly administered, still it was not administered so wretchedly: there was a fair amount of personal security, and aggressions on property were kept within bounds. The disabilities of Protestant dissenters were diminished early in the century, and, later on, those of Catholics. Considerable freedom of the press was acquired, showing itself in the discussion of political questions as well as in the publication of parliamentary debates; and, about the same time, there came free speech in public meetings. While thus the State aggressed upon the individual less and protected him more, it interfered to a smaller extent with his daily transactions. Though there was much regulation of commerce and industry, yet it was pushed to no such extreme as that which in France subjected agriculturists, manufacturers, and merchants to an army of officials who directed their acts at every turn. In brief, the contrast between our state and that of France was such as to excite the surprise and admiration of various French writers of the time; from whom Mr. Buckle quotes numerous passages showing this.

Most significant of all, however, are the changes in England itself, first retrogressive and then progressive, that occurred during the war period which extended from 1775 to 1815, and during the subsequent period of peace. At the end of the last century and the beginning of this, reversion towards ownership of the individual by the society had gone a long way. "To statesmen, the State, as a unit, was all in all, and it is really difficult to find any evidence that the people were thought of at all, except in the relation of obedience." "The Government regarded the people with little other view than as a taxable and soldier-yielding mass." While the militant part of the community had greatly developed, the industrial part had approached towards the condition of a permanent commissariat. By conscription and by press-gangs, was carried to a relatively vast extent that sacrifice of the citizen in life and liberty which war entails; and the claims to property were trenched upon by merciless taxation, weighing down the middle classes so grievously that they had greatly to lower their rate of living, while the people at large were so distressed (partly, no doubt, by bad harvests) that "hundreds ate nettles and other weeds." With these major aggressions upon the individual by the State, went numerous minor aggressions. Irresponsible agents of the executive were empowered to suppress public meetings and seize their leaders: death being the punishment for those who did not disperse when ordered. Libraries and news-rooms could not be opened without license; and it was penal to lend books without permission. There were "strenuous attempts made to silence the press;" and booksellers dared not publish works by obnoxious authors. "Spies were paid, witnesses were suborned, juries packed, and the *Habeas Corpus* Act being constantly suspended, the Crown had the power of imprisoning without inquiry and without limit



tation." While the Government taxed and coerced and restrained the citizen to this extent, its protection of him was inefficient. It is true that the penal code was made more extensive and more severe: the definition of treason was enlarged, and many transgressions were made capital which were not capital before; so that there was "a vast and absurd variety of offences for which men and women were sentenced to death by the score:" there was "a devilish levity in dealing with human life." But at the same time there was not increase, but rather decrease, of security. As says Mr. Pike, in his "History of Crime in England," "it became apparent that the greater the strain of the conflict the greater is the danger of a reaction towards violence and lawlessness."

Turn now to the opposite picture. After recovery from the prostration which prolonged wars had left, and the dying away of those social perturbations caused by impoverishment, there began a revival of traits proper to the industrial type. Coercion of the citizen by the State decreased in various ways. Voluntary enlistment replaced compulsory military service; and there disappeared some minor restraints over personal freedom, as instance the repeal of laws which forbade artisans to travel where they pleased, and which interdicted trades-unions. With these manifestations of greater respect for personal freedom may be joined those shown in the amelioration of the penal code: the public whipping of females being first abolished, then the long list of capital offences being reduced until there finally remained but one, and eventually the pillory and imprisonment for debt being abolished. Such penalties on religious independence as remained disappeared; first by removal of those directed against Protestant Dissenters, and then of those which weighed on the Catholics, and then of some which told specially against Quakers and Jews. By the Parliamentary Reform Bill and the Municipal Reform Bill, vast numbers were removed from the subject classes to the governing classes. Interferences with the business transactions of citizens were diminished by allowing free trade in bullion, by permitting joint-stock banks, by abolishing multitudinous restrictions on the importation of commodities: leaving, eventually, but few which pay duty. And while by these and kindred changes, such as the removal of restraining burdens on the press, impediments to the free action of the citizens were decreased, the protective action of the State was increased. By a greatly-improved police system, by county courts, and so forth, personal safety and claims to property were better secured.

Not to elaborate the argument further by adding the case of the United States, which repeats with minor differences the same relations of phenomena, the evidence given adequately supports the proposition laid down. Amid all the complexities and perturbations, comparisons show us with sufficient clearness that in actually-existing societies those traits which we inferred must distinguish the industrial type, show themselves clearly in proportion as the social activities are predominantly characterized by exchange of services under agreement.



As in the last chapter we noted the traits of character proper to the members of a society which is habitually at war; so here we have to note the traits of character proper to the members of a society occupied exclusively in peaceful pursuits. Already in delineating the rudiments of the industrial type of social structure as exhibited in certain small groups of unwarlike peoples, some indications of the accompanying personal qualities have been given; but it will be well now to emphasize these and add to them, before observing the kindred personal qualities in the more advanced industrial communities.\*

Absence of a centralized coercive rule, implying as it does feeble political restraints exercised by the society over its units, is accompanied by a strong sense of individual freedom, and a determination to maintain it. The amiable Bodo and Dhimals, as we have seen, resist "injunctions injudiciously urged with dogged obstinacy."<sup>1</sup> The peaceful Lepchas "undergo great privations rather than submit to oppression or injustice."<sup>2</sup> The "simple-minded Santál" has a "strong natural sense of justice, and should any attempt be made to coerce him, he flies the country."<sup>3</sup> And so of a tribe not before mentioned, the Jakuns of the South Malayan Peninsula, who, described as "entirely inoffensive," personally brave but peaceful, and as under no control but that of popularly appointed heads who settle their disputes, are also described as "extremely proud:" the so-called pride being exemplified by the statement that their remarkably good qualities "induced several persons to make attempts to domesticate them, but such essays have generally ended in the Jakuns' disappearance on the slightest coercion."<sup>4</sup>

With a strong sense of their own claims, these unwarlike men display unusual respect for the claims of others. This is shown in the first place by the rarity of personal collisions among them. Hodgson says that the Bodo and the Dhimals are "void of all violence towards their own people or towards their neighbours."<sup>5</sup> Of the peaceful tribes of the Neilgherry Hills, Colonel Ochterlony writes, "drunkenness and violence are unknown amongst them."<sup>6</sup> Campbell remarks of the Lepchas, that "they rarely quarrel among themselves."<sup>7</sup> The Jakuns, too, "have very seldom quarrels among themselves;" and such disputes as arise are settled by their popularly chosen heads "without fighting or malice."<sup>8</sup> And similarly the Arafuras "live in peace and brotherly love with one another."<sup>9</sup> Further, in the accounts of these peoples we read nothing about the *lex talionis*. In the absence of hostilities with adjacent groups there does not exist within each group that "sacred duty of

\* Though, as already explained, the references to authorities have been reserved until the final publication of these chapters, yet, as the facts quoted in the succeeding paragraphs are such as will excite surprise, or, it may be, doubt, I think it well to here give at once the means of verification. <sup>1</sup> Hodgson in *Jour. Asiatic Socy., Bengal*, xviii. 746. <sup>2</sup> Campbell in *Jour. Ethno. Socy.*, for July, 1869. <sup>3</sup> Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal," i. 209; Sherville in *Jour. As. Socy.*, xi. 554. <sup>4</sup> Rev. P. Favre in *Jour. of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 266-7. <sup>5</sup> Hodgson in *Jour. As. Socy.*, xviii. 746. <sup>6</sup> Col. Ochterlony, "Memoir of Survey of the N. H.," p. 69. <sup>7</sup> Campbell in *Jour. Ethno. Socy.*, for July, 1869. <sup>8</sup> Rev. P. Favre in *Jour. In. Arch.*, ii. 266. <sup>9</sup> Earl's trans. of Kolff's "Voyages of the Domga," p. 161. <sup>10</sup> Campbell in *Jour. Ethno. Socy.* of July, 1869. <sup>11</sup> Hooker's "Himalayan Journals," i. 175-6. <sup>12</sup> Hunter's



blood-revenge" universally recognized in militant tribes and nations. Still more significantly, we find evidence of the opposite doctrine and practice. Says Campbell of the Lepchas—"they are singularly forgiving of injuries . . . making mutual amends and concessions."<sup>10</sup>

Naturally, with respect for others' individualities thus shown, goes respect for their claims to property. Already, in the preliminary chapter, I have quoted testimonies to the great honesty of the Bodo and the Dhimal, the Lepchas, the Santals, the Todas, and other peoples kindred in their form of social life; and here I may add further ones. Of the Lepchas, Hooker says, "in all my dealings with these people, they proved scrupulously honest."<sup>11</sup> "Among the pure Santals," writes Hunter, "crime and criminal officers are unknown;"<sup>12</sup> while of the Hos, belonging to the same group as the Santals, Dalton says, "a reflection on a man's honesty or veracity may be sufficient to send him to self-destruction."<sup>13</sup> In like manner Shortt testifies that "the Todas, as a body, have never been convicted of heinous crimes of any kind;"<sup>14</sup> and concerning other peaceful tribes of the Shervaroy Hills, he states that "crime of a serious nature is unknown amongst them."<sup>15</sup> Again, of the Jakuns we read that "they are never known to steal anything, not even the most insignificant trifle."<sup>16</sup> And so of certain natives of Malacca, who "are naturally of a commercial turn," Jukes writes—"no part of the world is freer from crime than the district of Malacca:" "a few petty cases of assault, or of disputes about property . . . are all that occur."<sup>17</sup>

Thus free from the coercive rule which warlike activities necessitate, and without that sentiment which makes the needful subordination possible—thus maintaining their own claims while respecting the like claims of others—thus devoid of the vengeful feelings which aggressions without and within the tribe generate; these peoples, instead of the bloodthirstiness, the cruelty, the selfish trampling upon inferiors, characterizing militant tribes and societies, display, in unusual degrees, the humane sentiments. Insisting on their amiable qualities, Hodgson describes the Bodo and the Dhimal as being "almost entirely free from such as are unamiable."<sup>18</sup> Remarking that, "while courteous and hospitable, he is firm and free from cringing," Hunter tells us of the Santal that he thinks "uncharitable men" will suffer after death.<sup>19</sup> Saying that the Lepchas are "ever foremost in the forest or on the bleak mountain, and ever ready to help, to carry, to encamp, collect, or cook," Hooker adds, "they cheer on the traveller by their unostentatious zeal in his service;" and he also adds that "a present is divided

<sup>10</sup> *Annals of R. B.*, i. 217. <sup>11</sup> Dalton's "Des. Ethnol.," p. 206. <sup>12</sup> Shortt's "Hill Ranges of S. S. India," pt. i. 9. <sup>13</sup> Ditto, pt. ii. 7-8. <sup>14</sup> Favre in *Jour. In. Arch.*, ii. 266. <sup>15</sup> Jukes' "Voyage of H.M.S. Fly," i. 219-20. <sup>16</sup> Hodgson in *Jour. As. Socy.*, xviii. 745. <sup>17</sup> Hunter "Ann. of R. B.," i. 209-10. <sup>18</sup> Hooker's "Him. Jour.," i. 175-6; 129-30. <sup>19</sup> Favre in *Jour. In. Arch.*, ii. 266. <sup>20</sup> Earl's "Kolff," 164. <sup>21</sup> Hooker's "Him. Jour.," i. 134. <sup>22</sup> Hunter's "Ann. of R. B.," 208. <sup>23</sup> Hodgson in *Jour. As. Socy.*, xvii. 708. <sup>24</sup> Hunter's "Ann. of R. B.," i. 217. <sup>25</sup> Hodgson's "Essays," i. 150. <sup>26</sup> *Jour. Ethn. Socy.*, vii. 241.



equally among many, without a syllable of discontent or grudging look or word."<sup>20</sup> Of the Jakuns, too, Favre tells us that "they are generally kind, affable, inclined to gratitude and to beneficence;" their tendency being not to ask favours but to confer them.<sup>21</sup> And then of the peaceful Arafuras we learn from Kolff that—

"They have a very excusable ambition to gain the name of rich men, by paying the debts of their poorer fellow villagers. The officer [M. Bik] whom I quoted above related to me a very striking instance of this. At Affara he was present at the election of the village chief, two individuals aspiring to the station of Orang Tua. The people chose the elder of the two, which greatly afflicted the other, but he soon afterwards expressed himself satisfied with the choice the people had made, and said to M. Bik, who had been sent there on a commission, 'What reason have I to grieve? Whether I am Orang Tua or not, I still have it in my power to assist my fellow villagers.' Several old men agreed to this, apparently to comfort him. Thus the only use they make of their riches is to employ it in settling differences."<sup>22</sup>

With these superiorities of the social relations in permanently peaceful tribes, go superiorities of their domestic relations. As I have before pointed out, while the status of women is habitually very low in tribes given to war and in more advanced militant societies, it is habitually very high in these primitive peaceful societies. The Bodo and the Dhimáls, the Kocch, the Santáls, the Lepchas, are monogamic, as were also the Pueblos; and along with their monogamy habitually goes a superior sexual morality. Of the Lepchas Hooker says—"the females are generally chaste, and the marriage tie is strictly kept."<sup>23</sup> Among the Santáls "unchastity is almost unknown," and "divorce is rare."<sup>24</sup> By the Bodo and the Dhimáls "polygamy, concubinage, and adultery are not tolerated:" "chastity is prized in man and woman, married and unmarried."<sup>25</sup> Further it is to be noted that, among these peoples, the behaviour to women is extremely good. "The Santál treats the female members of his family with respect;"<sup>26</sup> the Bodo and the Dhimáls "treat their wives and daughters with confidence and kindness: they are free from all out-door work whatever."<sup>27</sup> And even among the Todas, low as are the forms of their sexual relations, "the wives are treated by their husbands with marked respect and attention."<sup>28</sup> Moreover, we are told concerning sundry of these unwarlike people that the status of children is also high; and there is none of that distinction of treatment between boys and girls which characterizes militant tribes.\*

\* In a "Symposium" published in the *Nineteenth Century* for April and May, 1877, was discussed "the influence upon morality of a decline in religious belief:" the question eventually raised being whether morality can exist without religion. Not much difficulty in answering this question will be felt by those who, from the conduct of these rude tribes, turn to that of Europeans during the Christian era, with its innumerable and immeasurable public and private atrocities, its bloody aggressive wars, its ceaseless family vendettas, its bandit barons and fighting bishops, its massacres, political and religious, its torturings and burnings, its all-pervading crime from the assassinations of and by kings down to the lyings and petty thefts of slaves and serfs. Nor do the contrasts between our own conduct at the present time and the conduct of these so-called savages leave us in doubt concerning the right answer. When, after reading police reports, criminal assize proceedings, accounts



Of course on turning to civilized peoples to observe the form of individual character which accompanies the industrial form of society, we encounter the difficulty that the personal traits proper to industrialism are, like the social traits, mingled with those proper to militancy. It is manifestly thus with ourselves. A nation which, besides its occasional serious wars, is continually carrying on small wars with uncivilized tribes—a nation which is mainly ruled in Parliament and through the press by men whose school-discipline led them during six days in the

of fraudulent bankruptcies, &c., which, in our journals, accompany advertisements of sermons and reports of religious meetings, we learn that the "amiable" Bodo and Dhimals, who are so "honest and truthful," "have no word for God, for soul, for heaven, for hell" (though they have ancestor-worship and some derivative beliefs), we find ourselves unable to recognize the alleged connection. If, side by side with narratives of bank frauds, railway jobbings, turf chicaneries, &c., among people who are anxious that the House of Commons should preserve its theism untainted, we place descriptions of the "fascinating" Lepchas, who are so "wonderfully honest," but who "profess no religion, though acknowledging the existence of good and bad spirits" (to the latter of whom only they pay any attention), we do not see our way to accepting the dogma which our theologians think so obviously true; nor will acceptance of it be made easier when we add the description of the conscientious Santal, who "never thinks of making money by a stranger," and "feels pained if payment is pressed upon him" for food offered; but concerning whom we are told that "of a supreme and beneficent God the Santal has no conception." Admission of the doctrine that right conduct depends on theological conviction becomes difficult on reading that the Veddahs, who are "almost devoid of any sentiment of religion" and have no idea "of a Supreme Being," nevertheless "think it perfectly inconceivable that any person should ever take that which does not belong to him, or strike his fellow, or say anything that is untrue." After finding that among the select of the select who profess our established creed, the standard of truthfulness is such that the statement of a minister concerning Cabinet transactions is distinctly falsified by the statement of a seceding minister; and after then recalling the marvellous veracity of these godless Bodo and Dhimals, Lepchas, and other peaceful tribes having kindred beliefs, going to such extent that an imputation of falsehood is enough to make one of the Hos destroy himself; we fail to see that in the absence of a theistic belief there can be no regard for truth. When, in a weekly journal specially representing the university culture shared in by our priests, we find a lament over the moral degradation shown in our treatment of the Boers—when we are held degraded because we have not slaughtered them for successfully resisting our trespasses—when we see that the "sacred duty of blood revenge," which the cannibal savage insists upon, is insisted upon by those to whom the Christian religion was daily taught throughout their education; and when, from contemplating this fact, we pass to the fact that the unreligious Lepchas "are singularly forgiving of injuries," the assumed relation between humanity and theism appears anything but congruous with the evidence. If with the ambitions of our church-going citizens, who (not always in very honourable ways) strive to get fortunes that they may make great displays, and gratify themselves by thinking that at death they will "cut up well," we compare the ambitions of the Arafuras, among whom wealth is desired that its possessor may pay the debts of poorer men and settle differences; we are obliged to reject the assumption that "brotherly love" can exist only as a consequence of divine injunctions, with promised rewards and threatened punishments; for of these Arafuras we read that, "of the immortality of the soul they have not the least conception. To all my inquiries on this subject they answered, 'No Arafura has ever returned to us after death, therefore we know nothing of a future state, and this is the first time we have heard of it.' Their idea was, when you are dead there is an end of you. Neither have they any notion of the creation of the world. They only answered, 'None of us were aware of this, we have never heard anything about it, and therefore do not know who has done it all.'" That which the facts show us is that, so far as men's moral states are concerned, theory is almost nothing and practice is almost everything. No matter how high their nominal creed, nations given to political burglaries, to get "scientific frontiers" and the like, will have among their members many who "annex" others' goods for their own convenience; and with the organized crime of aggressive war, will go criminality in the behaviour of one citizen to another. Conversely, as these uncultivated tribes prove, no matter how devoid they are of religious beliefs, those who, generation after generation remaining unmolested, inflict no injuries upon others, have their altruistic sentiments fostered by the sympathetic intercourse of a peaceful daily life, and display the resulting virtues. We need teaching that it is impossible to join injustice and brutality abroad with justice and humanity at home. What a pity these Heathens cannot be induced to send missionaries among the Christians!



week to take Achilles for their hero, and on the seventh to admire Christ—a nation which at its public dinners habitually toasts its army and navy before toasting its legislative bodies; has not so far emerged out of militancy that we can expect either the institutions or the personal characters proper to industrialism to be shown with clearness. In independence, in honesty, in truthfulness, in humanity, its citizens are not likely to be the equals of the uncultured but peaceful peoples above described. All we may anticipate is an approach to these moral characteristics appropriate to a state undisturbed by international hostilities; and this we find.

In the first place, with progress of the *régime* of contract has come growth of independence. Daily exchange of services under agreement, involving at once the maintenance of personal claims and respect for the claims of others, has fostered a normal self-assertion and consequent resistance to unauthorized power. The facts that the word "independence" in its modern sense was not in use among us before the middle of the last century, and that on the Continent independence is less markedly displayed, suggest the connection between this trait and a developing industrialism. The trait is shown in the multitudinousness of religious sects, in the divisions of political parties, and, in minor ways, by the absence of those "schools" in art, philosophy, &c., which, among continental peoples, are formed by the submission of disciples to an adopted master. That in England men show, more than elsewhere, a jealousy of dictation and a determination to act as they think fit, will not, I think, be disputed.

The diminished subordination to authority, which is the obverse of this independence, of course implies decrease of loyalty. Worship of the monarch, at no time with us reaching to the height it did in France early in the last century, or in Russia down to recent times, has now changed into a respect depending very much on the monarch's personal character. Our days witness no such extreme servilities of expression as were used by ecclesiastics in the dedication of the Bible to King James, nor any such exaggerated adulations as those addressed to George III. by the House of Lords. The doctrine of divine right has long since died away: belief in an indwelling supernatural power (implied by the touching for king's evil, &c.) is named as a curiosity of the past; and the monarchical institution has come to be defended on grounds of expediency. So great has been the decrease of this sentiment which, under the militant *régime*, attaches subject to ruler, that now-a-days the conviction commonly expressed is that, should the throne be occupied by a Charles II. or a George IV., there would probably result a republic. And this change of feeling is shown in the attitude towards the Government as a whole. For not only are there many who dispute the authority of the State in respect of sundry matters besides religious beliefs, but there are some who passively resist what they consider unjust exercises of its authority, and pay fines or go to prison rather than submit.



As this last fact implies, along with decrease of loyalty has gone decrease of faith, not in monarchs only but in governments. Such belief in royal omnipotence as existed in ancient Egypt, where the power of the ruler was supposed to extend to the other world, as it is even now supposed to do in China, has had no parallel in the West; but still, among European peoples in past times, that confidence in the soldier-king essential to the militant type, displayed itself among other ways in exaggerated conceptions of his ability to cure evils, achieve benefits, and arrange things as he willed. If we compare present opinion among ourselves with opinion in early days, we find a decline in these credulous expectations. Though, during the late retrograde movement towards militancy, State-power has been invoked for various ends, and faith in it has increased; yet, up to the commencement of this reaction, a great change had taken place in the other direction. After the repudiation of a State-enforced creed, there came a denial of the State's capacity for determining religious truth, and a growing movement to relieve it from the function of religious teaching, held to be alike needless and injurious. Long ago it had ceased to be thought that Government could do any good by regulating people's food, clothing, and domestic habits; and over the multitudinous processes carried on by producers and distributors, constituting immensely the larger part of our social activities, we no longer believe that legislative dictation is beneficial. Moreover, every newspaper, by its criticisms on the acts of Ministers and the conduct of the House of Commons, betrays the diminished faith of citizens in their rulers. Nor is it only by contrasts between past and present among ourselves that we are shown this trait of a more developed industrial state. It is shown by kindred contrasts between opinion here and opinion abroad. The speculations of social reformers in France and in Germany prove that the hope for benefits to be achieved by State-agency, is far higher with them than with us.

Along with decrease of loyalty and concomitant decrease of faith in the powers of governments, has gone decrease of patriotism—patriotism, that is, under its original form. To fight "for king and country" is an ambition which now-a-days occupies but a small space in men's minds; and though there is among us a majority whose sentiment is represented by the exclamation—"Our country, right or wrong!" yet there are large numbers whose desire for human welfare at large so far overrides their desire for national prestige, that they object to sacrificing the first to the last. The spirit of self-criticism, which in sundry respects leads us to make unfavourable comparisons between ourselves and continental nations, leads us more than heretofore to blame ourselves for wrong conduct to other peoples. The denunciations uttered by many on our dealings with the Afghans, the Zulus, and the Boers, show that there is a large amount of the feeling reprobated by the "Jingo" class as unpatriotic.

That adaptation of individual nature to social needs, which, in the militant state, makes men glory in war and despise peaceful pursuits, has



partially brought about among us a converse adjustment of the sentiments. The occupation of the soldier has ceased to be so much honoured, and that of the civilian is more honoured. During the forty years' peace, the popular sentiment became such that "soldiering" was spoken of contemptuously; and those who enlisted, habitually the idle and the dissolute, were commonly regarded as having completed their disgrace. Similarly in America before the late civil war, such small military gatherings and exercises as from time to time occurred excited general ridicule. Meanwhile we see that labours, bodily and mental, useful to self and others, have come to be not only honourable but in a considerable degree imperative. In America the adverse comments on one who does nothing, almost force him into some active pursuit; and among ourselves the respect for industrial life has become such that men of high rank put their sons into business.

While, as we saw, the compulsory cooperation proper to militancy forbids, or greatly discourages, individual initiative, the voluntary cooperation which distinguishes industrialism gives free scope to individual initiative, and develops it by letting enterprise bring its normal advantages. Those who are successfully original in idea and act, prospering and multiplying in greater degrees than others, produce, in course of time, a general type of nature ready to undertake new things. The speculative tendencies of English and American capitalists, and the extent to which large undertakings, both at home and abroad, are carried out by them, sufficiently indicate this trait of character. Though, along with considerable qualification of militancy by industrialism on the Continent, there has occurred there, too, an extension of private enterprise; yet the fact that while many towns in France and Germany have been supplied with gas and water by English companies, there is in England but little of kindred achievement by foreign companies, shows that among the more industrially-modified English, individual initiative is more decided.

There is evidence that the decline of international hostilities, accompanying, as it does, the decline of hostilities between families and between individuals, is followed by a weakening of revengeful sentiments. This is implied by the fact that in our country the more serious of these private wars early ceased, leaving only the less serious in the form of duels, which also have at length ceased: their cessation coinciding with the recent great development of industrial life—a fact with which may be joined the fact that in the more militant societies, France and Germany, they have not ceased. So much among ourselves has the authority of the *lex talionis* waned, that a man whose actions are known to be prompted by the wish for vengeance on one who has injured him, is reprobated rather than applauded.

With decrease of the aggressiveness shown in acts of violence and consequent acts of retaliation, has gone decrease of the aggressiveness shown in criminal acts at large. That this change has been a concomi-



tant of the change from a more militant to a more industrial state, cannot be doubted by one who studies the history of crime in England. Says Mr. Pike, in his work on that subject, "the close connection between the military spirit and those actions which are now legally defined to be crimes has been pointed out, again and again, in the course of this history." If we compare a past age in which the effects of hostile activities had been less qualified by the effects of peaceful activities than they have been in our own age, we see a marked contrast in respect of the numbers and kinds of offences against person and property. We have no longer any English buccancers; wreckers have ceased to be heard of; and travellers do not now prepare themselves to meet highwaymen. Moreover, that flagitiousness of the governing agencies themselves, which was shown by the venality of Ministers and members of Parliament, and by the corrupt administration of justice, has disappeared. With decreasing amount of crime has come increasing reprobation of crime. Biographies of pirate captains, suffused with admiration of their courage, no longer find a place in our literature; and the sneaking kindness for "gentlemen of the road" is, in our days, but rarely displayed. Many as are the transgressions which our journals report, they have greatly diminished; and though in trading transactions there is much dishonesty (chiefly of the indirect sort), it needs but to read Defoe's "English Tradesman" to see how marked has been the improvement since his time. Nor must we forget that the change of character which has brought a decrease of unjust actions has brought an increase of beneficent actions; as seen in paying for slave emancipation, in nursing the wounded soldiers of our fighting neighbours, in philanthropic efforts of countless kinds.

As with the militant type, then, so with the industrial type, three lines of evidence converge to show us its essential nature. Let us set down briefly the several results, that we may observe the correspondences among them.

On considering what must be the traits of a society organized exclusively for carrying on internal activities, so as most efficiently to subserve the lives of citizens, we find them to be these. A corporate action subordinating individual actions, by uniting them in joint effort, is no longer requisite. Contrariwise, such corporate action as remains has for its end to guard individual actions against all interferences not necessarily entailed by mutual limitation: the type of society in which this function is best discharged being that which must survive, since it is that of which the members will most prosper. Excluding, as the requirements of the industrial type do, a despotic controlling agency, they imply, as the only congruous agency for achieving such corporate action as is needed, one formed of representatives who serve to express the aggregate will. The function of this controlling agency, generally defined as that of administering justice, is more specially defined as that of seeing that each citizen gains neither more nor less of benefit than his



activities normally bring; and there is thus excluded all public action involving any artificial distribution of benefits. The *régime* of status proper to militancy having disappeared, the *régime* of contract which replaces it has to be universally enforced; and this negatives interferences between efforts and results by arbitrary apportionment. Otherwise regarded, the industrial type is distinguished from the militant type as being not both positively regulative and negatively regulative, but as being negatively regulative only. With this restricted sphere for corporate action comes an increased sphere for individual action; and from that voluntary cooperation which is the fundamental principle of the type, arise multitudinous private combinations, akin in their structures to the public combination of the society which includes them. Indirectly it results that a society of the industrial type is distinguished by plasticity; and also that it tends to lose its economic autonomy, and to coalesce with adjacent societies.

The question next considered was, whether these traits of the industrial type as arrived at by deduction are inductively verified; and we found that in actual societies they are visible more or less clearly in proportion as industrialism is more or less developed. Glancing at those small groups of uncultured people who, wholly unwarlike, display the industrial type in its rudimentary form, we went on to compare the structures of European nations at large in early days of chronic militancy, with their structures in modern days characterized by progressing industrialism; and we saw the differences to be of the kind implied. We next compared two of these societies, France and England, which were once in kindred states, but of which the one has had its industrial life much more repressed by its militant life than the other; and it became manifest that the contrasts which, age after age, arose between their institutions, were such as answer to the hypothesis. Lastly, limiting ourselves to England itself, and first noting how recession from such traits of the industrial type as had shown themselves, occurred during a long war-period, we observed how, during the subsequent long peace beginning in 1815, there were numerous and decided approaches to that social structure which we concluded must accompany developed industrialism.

We then inquired what type of individual nature accompanies the industrial type of society; with a view of seeing whether, from the character of the unit as well as from the character of the aggregate, confirmation is to be derived. Certain uncultured peoples, whose lives are passed in peaceful occupations, proved to be distinguished by independence, resistance to coercion, honesty, truthfulness, forgivingness, kindness. On contrasting the characters of our ancestors during more warlike periods with our own characters, we see that, with an increasing ratio of industrialism to militancy, have come a rising independence, a less-marked loyalty, a smaller faith in governments, and a more qualified patriotism; and while, by enterprising action, by diminished faith in

authority, by resistance to irresponsible power, there has been shown a strengthening assertion of individuality, there has accompanied it a growing regard for the individualities of others, as implied by the diminution of aggressions upon them and the multiplication of efforts for their welfare.

To prevent misapprehension, it seems needful, before closing, to explain that these traits are to be regarded less as the immediate results of industrialism than as the remote results of non-militancy. It is not so much that a social life passed in peaceful occupations is positively moralizing, as that a social life occupied in war is positively demoralizing. Sacrifice of others to self is in the one incidental only ; while in the other it is necessary. Such aggressive egoism as accompanies the industrial life is extrinsic ; whereas the aggressive egoism of the militant life is intrinsic. Though very generally unsympathetic, the exchange of services under agreement is now, to a considerable extent, and may be wholly, carried on with a due regard to the claims of others—may be constantly accompanied by a sense of benefit given as well as benefit received ; but the slaying of antagonists, the burning of their houses, the appropriation of their territory, cannot but be accompanied by vivid consciousness of injury done them, and a consequent brutalizing effect on the feelings—an effect wrought, not on soldiers only, but on those who employ them and contemplate their deeds with pleasure. This last form of social life, therefore, inevitably deadens the sympathies and generates a state of mind which prompts crimes of trespass ; while the first form, allowing the sympathies free play, if it does not directly exercise them, favours the growth of altruistic sentiments and the resulting virtues.

HERBERT SPENCER.



## SCOTTISH, SHETLANDIC, AND GERMANIC WATER TALES.

### PART III.—(*Conclusion.*)

A CAREFUL comparison of myths clearly proves that, among some of the Teutonic tribes, there once was, as among other nations, a doctrine of the rise and origin of the surface of the earth—nay, of the origin of life in general—from Water, and from the germs contained in water.

After a cruder fetish worship among primitive races, usually a higher worship of Nature follows, whose founders had obtained some knowledge or dim foreboding—however insufficient, paltry, and vague—of the forces that are active in the Universe. Out of this partial insight into the physical forces working around us, there arises the influence of a narrow circle of “wise men” who, however, soon consider it advantageous to themselves to conceal, as an esoteric science, that which they have learnt or discovered. They then give to the mass of the people only poetical tales which hide knowledge under imagery. In course of time this tale-treasure becomes altogether dis severed from the domain of scientific investigation into the doings of Nature. An unbridled imagination adds more and more grotesque productions of fancy to the poetized scientific or philosophical lore, until the original meaning of the myth is utterly lost. Meanwhile, the “wise men” become changed into scheming hierarchs who impose spiritual and mental fetters upon the multitude, from which they themselves keep free.

Upon the whole, the Germanic tribes had no elaborate priestly institutions. In the North it was mostly the father of the family who presided over the religious rites of his sib, or of his kith and kin. The inquiry into the contents both of the Vanic and the Asic systems of faith does not, therefore, fill us with the aversion to priestly tyranny and obscurantism which we experience when dealing with some of the hierarchic systems among other ancient nations. No hemlock was

forced upon the Teutonic disbeliever; no stake raised for the heretic from the Asa faith. Through the sagas we learn that many a doughty warrior had fallen away from the established creed, only trusting to his own strength, and not invoking Thor, Odin, or Freyr. But no persecution lay in wait for him on that account.

Before speaking of the remnants of the Vana religion on German ground, let us now first take a glance at the indications contained on that subject in the Northern Scriptures.

Like the Hindoo of old, the Vana-worshipping section of the Teutonic race adored the fertilizing waters which come down from the great Ether Ocean of the Sky, as well as the rippling brooks and rivers and the tumultuous waves which traverse and surround the earth. It sounds like the distant echo of Himalayan recollections of an Aryan tribe when, in the first Eddic lay of Helgi the Hunding-Slayer, we read that—

It was in days of yore,  
Holy Waters ran  
That to Helgi,  
Borghild gave birth

when eagles sang,  
from the Heavenly Hills,  
the great of heart,  
in Bralund.

In the same song we meet with Oegir's (the sea-god's) "terrible daughter who the chieftains' ships would o'erwhelm;" together with Ran, the destroying sea-goddess and wife of Oegir. The ships themselves are in the skald's language represented as prancing steeds. The tumultuous wave is personified under the image of "Kolga's sister," one of the daughters of those Titanic rulers of the deep. Oegir and Ran, and their race, do not, however, form part of the Vana circle; they are of Thursar or Giant origin—that is, they are personifications of the untutored elementary forces. The name of Oegir signifies "Terror." His cognomen Hler, and some myths connected with him, show him to have been a Ruler of Death and of the Nether World; which is all the more easily to be understood when we remember that one of the oldest Aryan words for sea (*mare*; German, *Meer*; Old English, *mere*) means Death or Destruction.\* Ran's name denotes the Robbing Goddess. As the receiver of the drowned, she becomes a Titanic reflex or counterpart of Hel, the Mistress of the Nether World.

So much for these elementary Giant figures of the Sea.

## II.

A sweeter, winsome character belongs to those water-deities whom we know, from the Edda, to have been of the Vaenir race. They are Niörd, the Nereus of the North, whose very name reminds us of the Greek sea-god; his son Freyr, the German Fro—a God of Peace, Fertility, and Love; and Niörd's daughter Freyja, the Teutonic

\* Sanskrit and Zend, *mara* = death; Persian, *meru* = desert. The Latin *mors*, the Old Norse *mordh*, German *Mord*, English murder, are considered to be of the same root, meaning "destruction." Compare "The Myths of the Sea and The River of Death," by C. F. Keary, in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for October, 1879.



Venus. Niörd was the kindly ruler of the navigable sea, a fisherman's god and a benevolent deity who conferred riches upon those that appealed to him. And it is remarkable that the riches he can confer are of a double kind—namely, landed property as well as movables.\* This detail at once brings out the character of the Vaenir as protectors of Agriculture, as deities of an intermediate realm in which Water and Land touch each other. Curiously enough, the Hindoo also had the idea of "the sea containing all kinds of riches."† No doubt we have here the lingering echo of an ancient cosmogony which looks upon water as the point of departure of all things.

Niörd, who in sailor's fashion, true to the Aphrodisian nature of water-deities, was a much-married god, had most probably for his first consort Nerthus (formerly misread Hertha), that German goddess of whom Tacitus‡ reports that she was worshipped in common, on an island of the sea, by the Reudigni, the Aviones, the Angles, the Varins (Warings?), the Eudoses, the Suardones (Swordmen?), and the Nuithons—German tribes from whom, we may say, the English people have sprung in the main.

Etymologically the names of Niörd and Nerthus§ perhaps point to the nourishing character of both water and earth. To join Water and Land in a marital union of deities, is certainly a suggestive and likely idea from the point of view of the philosophical meaning of a Nature-worship myth. Poseidon, too, was once joined to Demeter, whose name signifies the Mother Earth; and his stormy or violent love-suit also was of a passing kind, even as the union between Niörd and Nerthus must have been. It is as if the fertilizing contact of the water with the land, and the foam spurting up to the shore, had been condensed, in the Germanic as in the Hellenic myth, into divine figures.

The great sanctuary of Nerthus was in all likelihood in the present German island of Rügen, which has its name from the Rugians, an eminently Vana-worshipping tribe.

"On an island of the sea"—Tacitus says||—"there is a sacred grove, and in it there stands a chariot, covered with a cloth. Only the priest is allowed to touch it; he perceives when the Goddess dwells in her fane, and he conducts her, full of devotion, on her chariot which is drawn by heifers. Then begins a period of joyousness and festivity, wherever the Goddess condescends to make her entry and to reside. Nobody then goes to war; no man takes up arms;

\* Gylfaginning, 23.

† See note to Carey and Marshman's translation of the Rāmāyana, I., 4, p. 82.

‡ *Germania*; 40:—" . . . in commune Nerthum, id est: Terram Matrem, colunt."

§ Quitzmann ("Die heidnische Religion der Baiwaren") looks upon Nerthus as identical with the Northern Jörd, with whom Odin procreated Thor, and who appears as a Saxon goddess under the name of Hera. He points out that *ero*, in the Wessobrunn Prayer, means the Earth. If this derivation is correct, the "N" sound in Niörd and Nerthus, as well as in the Nikudr, Neck, Nöggel and Nix names, would seem to me to indicate Water; so that Niörd (N-Jörd) and Nerthus (N-Jerthus) might perhaps be word-forms already ground down by long use, in which Water and Earth would be combined.

|| *Germ.*, 40.

every sword is hidden. That is the only time when peace and quietness are known and esteemed, until the priest brings back the Goddess, who has been satiated of the communication with mortals, to her sanctuary. There the chariot and the garment and, if you can believe it, the Goddess herself are bathed in a secluded lake. The slaves who have served on the occasion are at once swallowed by the lake. A secret awe and a holy darkness surrounds that which, if once it is seen, entails death upon the beholder."

An Eleusinian mystery thus enveloped that German Mother Earth whose sanctuary was in an ocean island, and who herself, as well as her chariot, was bathed in the sea, by way of religious ceremony. Her cow-drawn car reminds us of the original meaning of the name of the older Greek Earth-Goddess Gaia (Cow), whose name has close affinity with the German word *Gau* (in Franconian dialect, *Gai*), meaning country-district, or land. The land, the earth, like the cloud of Heaven, was to primitive races the nourishing Cow. Cow images and symbols, therefore, abound everywhere in early times; of which Dr. Schliemann's extraordinary discoveries are among the most striking proofs.

The mystery surrounding the Nerthus cult, the joyful mirth which accompanied its great annual festival, indicate an Aphroditean connection which clearly comes out in Niörd's offspring. Freyr and Freyja were deities representing Fertility and Love. There is, to my knowledge, in the mythology of nations, no more impressive, but at the same time no more wildly passion-torn poem, representing divine amorous adventure, than the Eddic Song of Skirnir's Journey, in which Gerda, herself apparently a virgin Earth-Goddess, is wooed by the God of Love, Freyr. They are to meet after nine nights (evidently the nine wintry months of the North, during which the earth is frost-bound), when she will receive the sunny-faced Freyr on a secluded forest-path. He scarcely can brook the length of this delay. "Often," he says, "a month to me has seemed less than half a night of longing."

Undoubtedly, the difficulties which the Vana God has to overcome in regard to Gerda, are symbolical of the long "love's labour" which the upper Cloud-, Water-, and Solar World has to use in order to penetrate and to fertilize the benumbed or obstinate soil of the earth.

The German Nerthus cult must have had its centre in the Baltic, in the same way that Heligoland, the Holy Island in the German Ocean, was the sanctuary of Forseti, or Fosite, the Teutonic God of Justice, whose name signifies the Fore-sitter, or presiding judge. Now, in Rügen—so it is reported in Grimm's Folk Tales—a lake exists, called the Black Lake, or the Burg See, Castle Lake. Near it is a mighty earth wall. Within this wall—the tale goes—in olden times the Devil was worshipped; and for his service a Virgin was kept. When he was weary of the Virgin, the priests led her to the Black Lake, and drowned her.

Clearly, this is the later Christianized echo of the old heathen worship recorded by Tacitus.



The Baltic shores, where the worship of Nerthus was prominent, were originally inhabited by Suevian tribes who only later wandered southwards, giving Swabia its present name. Ptolemaeus still calls the Baltic the Suevian Sea. Now it is certainly remarkable, and apparent from various vestiges, that both the Swabians and their neighbours the Bavarians—among which latter there is a strong admixture of those Rugians who gave Rügen its name—must have been among the most persistent Vana worshippers. In Swabian folk-lore we meet with the Wild Huntsman, who replaced Odin, under the name of Neck; which is a Nix or Water-God's name. This Neck has a stallion that "has been fetched from the sea:" an extraordinary idea for an inland-dwelling people, and only explainable from the water worship to which the Swabians were once devoted, when inhabiting the shores of the Baltic. On their part, the Bavarians, in their folk tales, speak to this day of a sea-old woman (*meer-altes Weiblein*), or woman coëval with the sea, who on a two-wheeled chariot every year drives through the lands. After her procession is over, the chariot, it is said, is fastened in the lake with a golden chain.

How very much, again, like the report of Tacitus!

Of a section of the Suevians the same Roman writer relates in a somewhat obscure manner, that they sacrifice to Isis, whose symbol was a *liburna*, or light boat. The boat often occurs as an Aphroditean symbol, which would fit in with the Nerthus cult. Of the Danubian Swabians a later record says that they were special worshippers of "Isis," the Egyptian Mother Earth to whom cows were sacred. This, too, can only mean that they worshipped, as their chief goddess, a divine being which, in Roman opinion, had many points of contact with Isis; and this is, no doubt, true of Nerthus.

Remarkably enough, a Bavarian chronicler of the fifteenth-century speaks of a mythical personage, "Frau Eisen"—who is also mentioned by Fischart, the great German humorist of the sixteenth-century—and in whom we seem to recognise an ancient Germanic deity whose name could easily be converted, by an insufficiently informed Roman writer, into "Isis." This is all the more probable because a "Fisherman Ise" also occurs in old German tales. Of Frau Eisen the tale went that, after the death of her father, she came to King Schwab (Suevian, Swabian), teaching him many kinds of arts, chiefly the peaceful occupations, such as the sowing and grinding of corn, baking, spinning, sewing and weaving; and that, therefore, she was held by the people to be a holy woman. "Everything," says Simrock, "points to the worship of a maternal goddess who, whilst favouring agriculture and navigation, and being a protector of Love and Marriage, was apt to teach also the occupations of peace."

Thus the so-called Isis of the Suevians, who came to King Schwab as Frau Eisen, may well have been, under another name, the Vana Goddess whom the Baltic Suevians once adored; whose consort was the



fisherman's god Niörd ; and in whose daughter, Freia, all the qualities attributed to her exactly recur.

## III.

Among the Vana worshippers, the marriage between brother and sister was once allowed—a custom which the adherents of the Asa creed spurned. It was with a great deal of trouble that this reprehensible habit, which turns up in classic mythology and among many primitive races, was got rid of among the heathen Bavarians. Ecclesiastical history of the time of Pope Gregory II. furnishes evidence of the difficulties that had to be overcome; so deeply rooted was the popular view among that particular tribe.

This custom of marriage between the nearest blood relatives seems to me in itself a proof of the higher age of the Vana creed, as compared with the Asa religion. And as old systems of faith die hard, we find that in Sweden, long after Odin had “thrown his spear over all the people”<sup>\*</sup>—that is, accomplished the triumph of his own doctrines over the Vana religion—Vana worship nevertheless still remained in much force. Hence we can understand that the marriage between brother and sister was not easy to eradicate among the Bavarians, who in a considerable degree had sprung from Herulian, Rugian, Gothic tribes that once dwelt on the southern and northern shores of the Baltic. Down to the eighth century that Vanic custom practically lingered among the Bavarians. But it does not appear among any other German tribes.

Of names of persons and places, in connection with this older creed, Quitzmänn has collected a considerable number. If Asmund, Aslaug, Oswald, &c., point to the Asa religion—even as Christian, Christopher, Christlieb have reference to the Christian creed—the Vana religion, in the same way, comes up in the old German male names Wanilo, Wanito, Waning (exactly so Freyr was called in the Scandinavian North; meaning, Vana offspring), Wanker, Wanolf, Wanperht, Wanpald (bold like a Vana; for, in spite of the gentleness otherwise characterising the Vaenir, they are called “skilful in battle” in the Eddat), Anawan, Engilwan, Eliwan, &c. Of female names, there are Wanheid, Wanhild, Wanita, Wanpurg, &c. Of names of places, Wannenbach, Wanimstorf, Wandelhausen, Wännerstorf, Wamprechtesdorf, &c.

In Osnabrück, in north-western Germany, which has its name (“Asa Bridge”) from the Asa gods, we come upon the designation of February as Wannemond, Vana Month—a month of that festivity and joyousness which was peculiar to the Freia, Fro, and Vana worship in general. In the Netherlands we hear of a nocturnal Queen of Ghosts, Wannc-Thekla, who may have replaced Freia; for Freia, too, was not

<sup>\*</sup> Völuspá, 28.

† Ibid.



only a Water, Sun, and Love Goddess, but also a ruler of the Dead and a Nocturnal Rideress.\*

But the stronger traces of the Vana religion have been preserved on South German (Swabian and Bavarian) soil. The tales about "Frau Wana" and the "Katzen-Wanen" belong to this circle of myths.

According to the tale current in the Upper Palatinate of Bavaria, the Wanen are heathens hailing from a person that had been enchanted by the Evil One into a Wana, or tom-cat, and propagating themselves by intercourse with the human race. Often, these Wanes appear in cat shape. If a Wane is recognised as such, in spite of his human form, and addressed by his name as "Wana," or "Wanalusch," or "Devil's Wana," he at once changes into a cat and flies for ever. In the Twelfth Nights, the Wanes hold a great mystic festival. Altogether they are in close connection with the witches. It will be remembered that the Twelfth Nights were the time when the Vanic Freyr, or Fro, made his yearly procession, and when joyousness and Yule peace were the rule everywhere.

Why should, however, the Wanes of the Upper Palatinate of Bavaria, who are described as heathens, be converted into cats?

A team of cats drew the Vanic Freyja of the Northmen. Among the Scandinavians and among the Germans, Freyja, Freia-Holda, or Frau Holle, makes the weather. Her brother, Freyr, "rules over rain and sunshine and all growth on the earth, and he is to be appealed to for fruitfulness and peace."† Water and light, rain and sun, are under the auspices of the divine Vanic pair of brother and sister. Every ancient cosmogony seeks to explain the origin of things from its own point of view, though different cosmogonies put different elements, or forces of Nature, into the foreground. Now, the conception of the Sun as a cat is one that may be traced back into the dimmest antiquity.

In the Egyptian Book of the Dead, which was already of immense antiquity at the time of the twelfth dynasty, the Great Cat ("*Mau*") is mentioned, which in an ancient gloss, anterior to the twelfth dynasty, is explained as the symbol of the Sun, or rather as the Sun-God himself. "There can be no mistake," says M. P. Le Page Renouf, "as to the identity of the animal, for the picture of it is found in numberless copies of the Ritual." There was a custom among the Egyptians to drive away the Typhon, the representative of the evil forces of Nature—for instance, the scorching wind—by means of a rattle adorned with a cat's head. The sacredness of the cat among the dwellers near the Nile is well known. Every museum of mummies proves it. Bubastis, too, the daughter of that Isis which resembled our Nerthus, was represented with a cat's head.

Now, the glowing cat's eye typified the Sun, or also the Moon. Here we have the thread of poetical or mythological connection

\* Compare the Younger Edda and the Hyndla Song.

† "Gylfi's Incantation," 24.



between the cat and the solar or lunar goddesses, and the employment of those symbols of beneficent orbs of heaven for driving away evil forces of Nature. As the sun and weather deities are often, at the same time, erotic deities, a double connection is constituted. This explains the German proverb, "*Wer die Katzen gern hat, hat bei Weibern Glück,*" and other sayings, referring to marriage in connection with cats, to whom in popular belief a great deal of amorousness is ascribed.

Freyja's team, in all probability, was at first composed of lynxes, before the cat had been introduced into the North. The lynx has his name from the light; his shining eye, therefore, symbolized the sun. The custom in northern England to destroy kittens born in May (the German *Wonne-mond*, or Love month, originally dedicated to Freia) because it is supposed that if they were allowed to attain cathood they would invariably prove "dirty and worthless," evidently arises from an ancient heathen Germanic view having been converted into its very opposite by the introduction of Christianity. In the same way, Friday—Freyja's Day—is in many parts of this country still held to be an unlucky day for marriage. Yet, in some districts, Freyja's day is still recognized as the best day for marriage—especially in Scotland, where according to the Registrar-General, nearly a half of all the marriages (namely, 43·3 per cent.) are celebrated on that day.\*

As far as China—consequently also among the Turanian races—we meet with the cat symbol in the sense of a weather protection. A wooden cat put on the gable-end of the roof is considered to keep watch and to ward off unpropitious influences.† So did wooden horses' heads—a symbol of the great weather-god Woden, or Odin—among the Saxons of old. On the homesteads of Westphalian peasants these horse symbols may still be seen to-day.

Thus there are connecting links to be found with the Bavarian tale of the Cat Wanes as far as Africa and Asia.‡ The degeneration of the Bavarian tale from the old Vana religion which once battled with the Asa religion, is apparent at a first glance. The devilled, demonialized *Katzen Wanen* arose in the same way as the hellish Wild Chace, or *Wüthende Heer*, arose from the ghostly nocturnal cavalcade of Wodan, the Leader of the Dead, into Walhalla. And in Austria the Wild Chace is still led by Wote or Wode; in Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania by Wod; in Sweden by Oden!

\* Report of the Registrar-General, accompanying the Census returns for 1871.

† "Folk-lore of China," by N. B. Dennys.

‡ In reply to my question as to whether *vana*, in the sense of "water," is to be found in Finnic, Chinese, or other so-called Turanian languages, Mr. Louis Podhorszky, the Magyar linguist, and corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy (author of the "Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Magyarischen Sprache, genetisch aus chinesischen Wurzeln und Stämmen erklärt"), says, with a reference to Morrison's "Chinese Dictionary," Part II., that the word-signs 11552 and 11586—both read, *Wan*—mean "eddy," and "a hollow curve in the shore where the water forms a bay; a safe place for boats or ships to anchor." A third sign, which is read *Wan* and *Yüan*, also means "eddy" or whirlpool. The statement is supported by Mr. Fung Yee, of the Chinese Legation in London. In the second essay I have expressed the opinion that this concurrence between Aryan, Ugrian, and other languages, may be explained on onomatopoeic grounds.



## IV.

If Grimm, in spite of the Vana custom of marriage between brother and sister, refuses believing that Niörd and Nerthus, whose names are of such significant symphony, were blood relations, and had for their issue Freyr and Freyja, whose names similarly harmonize, the great explorer and re-constructor of Teutonic mythology is, in my opinion, certainly in error on this point.

Loki's bad tongue need not be looked upon as the best evidence; yet, nothing shows that he said mere untruth in the lay of Oegir's Banquet (36). He there distinctly charges Niörd with being the father of Freyr through connection with his own sister. Strangely enough, the name of the consort of Nerthus is wanting in Tacitus. In the Norse sources, the name of the mother of Freyr and Freyja is similarly wanting. It is as if the Asa religion had wished to draw a veil over an occurrence which, after Niörd had come with his children as a hostage to Asgard, formed a delicate affair for the mixed creed which now arose—an affair as little to be touched upon as possible.

In the Edda, the name of Nerthus is lost. Altogether, the family relations of Niörd are described there in a very contradictory manner. In the Lay of Skirnir's Journey, Skadi, the consort of Niörd since his reception among the Aesir, calls Freyr "our son." No doubt, this might be interpreted in the sense of Freyr having been an offspring from a previous marriage. In the Younger Edda it is said that Niörd pre-created Freyr and Freyja, after Skadi had left him. But no mother is mentioned. . . . These contradictions seem to confirm the assertions of the evil-tongued Loki. Certain it is that Niörd, when he was received among the Aesir, had to dissolve a previous marriage with a sister; such a bond of union being forbidden in Asgard.

If Loki could be believed, Niörd, the father, nevertheless continued holding the same views and following kindred practices as before.\* But when we consider that at the great divine brawl in the banquet hall of the Sea-God "the ale served itself by its own doing;" that the iced beaker of mead incessantly went round; and that Bragi, the patron of the bards, drunk with ale, was on the point of rising against Loki, whom Heimdall, on his part, attacked with these words:—

Drunk thou art, Loki!	Thou drankst away thy wits!
Why dost thou not leave off, Loki?	
For drunkenness	makes men such dolts
That they babble nothing but drivel;—	

if we consider this whole discreditable scene, there is no need of absolutely judging Niörd's moral ideas from what was said during so tremendous a row. It has even been assumed that the Eddic poem in question is a later Christianizing satire upon the Aesir.

At all events, the marriage between the Giant's daughter, Skadi, and Niörd "with the beautiful feet," the much-married and somewhat

\* Oegir's Banquet, 33, 36.



slippery god, who seems to have looked upon the marital bond with a seaman's eye, did not turn out a happy one. Skadi means Harm,\* or Scathing. There was incompatibility of temper or tastes, eventually leading to separation. She longed for her father's rocky dwelling in Thunder Home (Thrymheim). He was only happy in his native element. At last they made a compromise, stipulating an alternate sojourn of nine nights in the mountains, and nine in Niörd's place, Noatun—that is, the Skipper's Town. But the arrangement would not hold good. When the Sea-God came back from the hills, he piteously sang :—

I am weary of the hills ;	not long was I there :
Only nine nights.	
The howling of the wolves	seemed hideous to me,
As against the song of the swans,	

Skadi answered :—

No sleep did I get,	at the shores of the sea,
Through the shrill cries of the	birds ;
There I was awakened	from over the water,
Every morn by the mew.	

At last, Skadi went back, probably in a huff, to her father's Giant stronghold. Henceforth Niörd remained in Noatun. The Wave and the Rock could not agree. They clashed, like foes, in meeting ; therefore, they separated. This is, in natural philosophy, the meaning of the ill-assorted marriage, or impossible union between the Vanic Water-God and the Titan's daughter from the thundery wolf's-clough.

#### V.

From the Edda we see how close the contest had been between the Water Cult and the Fire Religion ; for, after the compromise had been effected, the Aesir also had to give one from their own circle as a hostage to the dwellers in Vana Home. This was Hoenir, the brother of Odin.

The trilogy of Gods who, in the Scandinavian creed, created or rather shaped, the first human pair—Ask and Embla (Ash and Elm)—from figures standing with wood-like immobility on the sea-shore, into whom they instilled life, was composed of Odin, Hoenir, and Lodur. They represent Air, Water, and Fire. Thus, even as the Væmir sent a water-god (Niörd)† to Asgard, so the Aesir gave a similar deity (Hoenir) to Vana-heim : the best proof how great a significance, in cosmogonic philosophy, was attributed to Water even in the Asa religion, as established by the compromise before alluded to. Of Hoenir we read in the Song of the Prophetess that it was he who gave mind, that is, power of reasoning, to the first human pair ; whilst Odin, the Ruler of the Air, breathed the soul into them ; and Lodur,‡ the God of the Blazing Flames,

\* Compare the German *Schaden* ; English, *scat* ; *scathe*.

† Niörd's and Nereus' names make us think of the Greek *νᾶρός* and *νηρός* = liquid, wet ; Sanskrit and Zend, *nara* and *nira* = water. From the Persian, Mallet also quotes *neriman* = an aquatic man. I mention this, without giving up the previous surmise that in the names of Niörd and Nerthus there is, possibly, a junction of words combining Water and Earth.

‡ Comp. German, *Lohe*, and *lodern*.



gave them life, blood, and blooming colour. The Asic Water-God thus appears as the source of human reason.

Creation doctrine, which seek in water the origin of things, are naturally inclined to trace from the same source the inner reason of all things and the germ of all beings; in other words, to find in the flood the well-head of wisdom, the spring of the human intellect, the deeper understanding of the All. Such views we meet with among the Hindoo and the Greeks, as well as among the Teutons. But it is highly remarkable that even in the Asa creed, which originally took Light or Fire to be the enlivening beginning of things, a Water-God is looked upon as the Maker of the human mind. The explanation, I believe, is to be sought for in the powerful influence, or taint, which the Asa religion received from the Vana Creed.

In Asgard, the children of the water-god Niörd—Freyr and Freyja—soon rose to the highest rank. They belong to the circle of the twelve upper deities who symbolize the twelve months, or the zodiac; similar to the twelve chief deities of the Hindoo, the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks. So high was the position of these originally Vanic deities in the Norse Cloud-Castle, whither they came, at first, as hostages from foes of the Asa creed, that Niörd, in answer to Loki's unmentionable sneer at the treatment he (Niörd) had received from the daughters of Hymir, could proudly exclaim:

For that harm I've been solaced,	since I was sent
From afar as a hostage to the Gods,	
That I have a son	whom no one hates,
And who is held to be the first of the Aesir.	

And Tyr, the Norse Mars, gives witness for this statement, for he says:—

Freyr is the best of all	whom the Rainbow Bridge
Bears to the High Hall.	
No maid he makes weep,	no wife of man;
From fetters he frees all.*	

In the Icelandic text: "*Freyr er bestr.*" So, also, in the song of Pindar: "Water is the best;" or "the source of all things," in the Homeric epic. These sayings are but later echoes of Vedic views.

How deeply the water-deities influenced the daily life of our Northern kinsmen, may be seen from one of the strongest oaths once in use in Scandinavia and Iceland:—"So help me Freyr and Niörd, and the almighty As!" (Odin, or Thor). Two water-deities are here put in the divine trinity; and they are put first! Certainly a sufficient sign that in the North, the Asa creed had been powerfully modified by the Vana religion. In the same way, in Roman Catholicism, the Christian doctrine was largely modified by heathen Roman and other customs, well as by Germanic mythology; the image of the Madonna being in many cases a transparent transfiguration of Venus or Freia. In the Asa system the Vana Gods even preserved their distinctive names and

\* Oegir's Banquet, 35, 37.



many of their qualities. In so far, the Norse creed represents a multi-coloured mosaic, to which Freyr and Freyja contribute some of the most dazzling hues.

These water-born deities of Love not only remind us of the wave-born Goddess who landed in Cyprus, and under whose feet flowers sprouted up, whilst the exulting earth broke forth into a cry of rapt delight. They also lead our thoughts back to the wave-risen Indian Cupid, Kama, who has a fish on a red ground for his symbol;\* and to those nymphs beaming with youth and beauty who dwell in Indra's Heaven, the Apsaras—which means, they who “move in the water” (*ap*)—whose countless hosts originally represented the vapours drawn upwards to the sun in the shape of silvery cloudlets. Similarly, Freyja's figure, in its nature-myth aspect, probably arose at first from such delicate, snow-white formations of the sky. She once was a Cloud Rideress and a Swan Virgin—that is, a silvery cloud sailing along like a swan. As a Leader of Valkyrs, she still stood at the head of a host of Shield Maidens, one of whom, in the North, was called Mist—a name pointing to the cloudy vapours of the sky.

The rain-giving Air Ocean and the waters of the earth were, as already remarked, to the observing mind of primitive races no contrasts. Hence water-nymphs dwell in the Indian Heaven, even as Freyr and Freyja, together with their father, the Teutonic Neptune, dwelt high up in Asgard.

Having referred, by way of comparison, to the countless hosts of the blissful Apsaras, or Naiads, in Indra's Paradise, whose yearning resembles that of the Germanic Nixes, I may add a remark about the much-debated, still unsolved question as to the derivation of the Anglo-Saxon word *Nëorxenavang*—that is, Paradise. Other forms are *nërxena-*, *neirxena-*, *nërcsa-*, *nëorcsna-vang*. There is no doubt that *vang* means “field” or “garden;” as in *Folk-vang* (the Garden of Folk or Men), the heavenly abode of Freyja. In Old High German, Paradise is rendered by *wünnigarto*, or *wunnisamazfeld*—that is, Garden or Field of Joy; or by *zart-karto*, Garden of Delight. Grimm,† therefore, thinks that *nëorxa* may mean “joy,” and he rejects the explanation from *në-veorc*, which would make Paradise a place of inactivity or laziness. For my part, I should not wonder if *Nëorxena-vang* had an etymological connection with the fairy abode of the Nix race, of Niörd's crew, who, like the Apsaras, originally were located in the Cloud-Sea above, and who, as water-deities, pre-eminently represent, like the Vaenir, the feelings of love, joy, or *Wonne*.

In this way, on Teutonic ground, we come upon a similar idea as in Indian mythology. Remembering the materialistic views of all primitive races, it is simple enough that they should connect the life-giving principle with a “wet beginning of things”—that the Naiads,

\* “Works of Sir William Jones,” xiii. p. 236.

† “Deutsche Grammatik,” i. 268.



or Flosshildes, of the heavenly waters and the earth became Aphrodites, and that Niörd's son, Freyr, represented the fertility of Nature and of the human race by a well-known symbol in the temple at Upsala.

## VI.

In Vedic, Iranian, Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Germanic, and other creation-tales, Water is generally mentioned as the original element, the generative fluid ; or, in enumerating the things that came out of the Void, Water is at any rate placed first. The clay-tablet found by Mr. George Smith calls Water and the Sea "the producing mother of all":\*—

1. When above were not raised the Heavens :
2. and below on the earth a plant had not grown up ;
3. the abyss also had not broken open their boundaries :
4. The chaos (or water) Tiamat (the Sea) was the producing mother of the whole of them,
5. Those waters at the beginning were ordained ; but
6. a tree had not grown, a flower had not unfolded.
7. When the Gods had not sprung up, any one of them ;
8. a plant had not grown, and order did not exist. . . .

Here, the Water, the Sea, is again the biogenetic beginning of things. In Genesis, too, "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In Solomon's Temple, there was "a molten sea," ten cubits from the one brim to the other—a sea which stood upon twelve oxen or steers ; "three looking toward the North, and three looking toward the West, and three looking toward the South, and three looking toward the East : and the sea was set above upon them, and all their hinder parts were inward." Does this not remind us of the Germanic and other Water-Bulls ? And is not the duodecimal number that of the zodiacal deities in so many ancient creeds ?

In its great cosmogonic lay the Edda speaks of the "sea and the waves" before "the Earth and the Heavens above." It would be easy to show from many passages of old creeds and philosophical systems, that everything was conceived to have risen from an original flood, and that everything moves as in a flood. The flight of phenomena is contained in the saying of the Hellenic thinker : "Everything flows" (*Πάντα ρέει*). Such a notion rapidly leads to the idea that in Water—in spite, or rather on account, of its mobility—the true essence of the Universe is to be found.

The ceaseless movement of the fluid suggested to early man some spiritual quality. The never-resting course of water ; its babbling and murmuring as a well and a brook ; its often changing, but always harmonic voice, whether it splashes along as a stream, or rushes from the steep rock wall, or resounds and roars as a sea-wave—this incessant series of animated movements, this always varying scale of attractive sounds, was conceived to be a quality indicating a soul and a spirit.

\* "The Chaldean Account of Genesis," by George Smith. I have some other translations of the above passages before me—for instance, that of Mr. Fox Talbot ; but on the main point they agree.

Indeed, *Gischt* (water-spume) and *Geist* (spirit, or mind) are, in German, of close linguistic connection.

The unfathomable depth of the sea, the dark origin of wells, had for primitive races a weird attraction. With astonishment men saw the objects of Nature reflected in water, as if water were able to hold the Universe. The inquiring human mind sought behind such mirroring a solution of the great riddle of the world. In the Unknowable or the Unknown an uncanny secret is always supposed to dwell, by which everything might be explained, if the veil could only be lifted. The mystery of Being, the explanation of the totality of the phenomena, were therefore sought for in the bottom of the water, from which everything was thought to have been evolved; whence each form was held to have risen; which was assumed to constitute the eyes of the world—namely, lakes and rivers; and into which everything receded by way of reflection.

Now, if water contained the germs of all development, the other idea easily suggested itself, that in the fluid the Future, the things to come, were to be fathomed; and thus we are led at once to the conception of prophetic Water-Deities.

There are, however, simpler points of view, leading to the same idea. For agricultural nations the opening of the sluices of heaven, and the flood-mark of rivers, are objects of continual concern and observation. To seafaring tribes the varying aspect of the waves points to changes in the weather, which may bring them good luck or destruction. Everywhere, water is therefore a source of important knowledge, from which welfare or harm depends. From this to worship there is but a step among primitive races.

#### VII.

The Eddic views, strongly marked as they are with a character of their own, in many ways touch upon the Greek views.

Okeanos, who locked the world in his embrace as with a girdle of waves, and who was regarded as the father of rivers and brooks, is often described as a God from whom all life and all created things have sprung. He was second in importance only to Zeus. The notion of water being the source of knowledge we get in Proteus, who is a God of prophecy. Whoever could fetter him when he lay asleep, about noontide, and hinder him from escaping in the various forms he was able to assume, got as his reward valuable predictions of the Future and all kinds of wise rede. Proteus' daughter is the omniscient Eidothea; her very name shows her deep knowledge. So also Glaukos, whom Okeanos had rendered immortal, became a foreteller of the things to come, after having entered the companionship of the sea-gods. From his lips flowed infallible oracles. His own future and fate, it is true, he was not able to foresee and to avert. In this there remained a trace of his former human status.



In Nereus, again, we come upon water as the symbol of deep knowledge. Hesiod calls him "the true, unerring, infallible God." To Nereus, too, the power of divination was attributed. His wife bears the significant name Doris (the Giver), which may point to the quality of the sea as a giver of food, but which can also be interpreted in the larger cosmogonic sense. Again, Thetis, the sea-goddess and daughter of Nereus and Doris, appears in Homer as a wise deity. In Homer, too, Okeanos is called the father of all beings:—

. . . nay, even Okeanos' potent waves—  
Of that stream which gave birth to all and power of living.\*

In Sophokles† we find Pan, the God of Nature, whose name signifies the All, called the "sea-driven" deity (Ἀλιπλάγκτος)—as if the Universe were resting on the Water. The philosophy of Thales describes water as the essence of things. Aristoteles thinks this is synonymous with the old doctrine, that Okeanos and his consort, Thetys, are the procreators of everything. The name of Thetys is explained by Platon as "the flowing water," or "the well." All deities, according to an Orphic verse, arose from the water. The Gods swore by the Styx, as the Oldest and the Most Venerable.

I would scarcely have entered upon these illustrations, were it not so unusual to conceive the figures of the Teutonic Pantheon in the same philosophical sense. Yet, in spite of the strongly-marked differences between Germanic and Greek deities and views, a great many parallels could be drawn, which show the systems of faith of the two kindred Aryan races to have been built upon a similar basis of thought at a time when Teutons and Hellenes were yet more closely akin.‡

Yggdrasil, the great Teutonic World Tree, which represents the Universe, stands with its roots near three wells or lakes, one of which evidently symbolizes the very source of all Being. On one of these sheets of water the Norns, or Sisters of Fate, dwell. Of them it is said that "in deep foreknowledge they travel over the Sea of Ages":—

They laid the lots;	they ruled the life,
To the sons of men	their fate foretelling.§

Another Fountain of Knowledge near the World Tree is Mimir's Well. In it, the remembrance of all things past—the remembrance of the Origin of the World, ay of the Gods, as well as of the human race—lies hidden. Odin himself once went to Mimir to get a draught from this well of wisdom, when he gave one of his eyes in pledge. Therefore, All-Father is a one-eyed God. The one eye may be explained as the sun-orb, while the other given in pledge might be the moon. The descent of one of the divine eyes into the depths of the water, there to derive wisdom, shows, however, how largely a doctrine similar to that of Thales made its imprint upon the Asa creed. Mimir's name signifies

\* "Iliad," xiv. 245.

† "Ajax," 703.

‡ I will discuss on another occasion the recent theories of Bugge and Bang, which, however, have already been partly disposed of by Mr. Werner Hahn.

§ "Vafthrúdnismál," 48.

remembrance, or stored-up thought. It is linguistically of the same root as the Greek and Latin words meaning remembrance.\* The collective Intellect of the Universe is assumed to be resting in Mimir's Bourn.

In accordance with the conception of water as the element out of which all physical forms, and therefore all the mind embodied in them, has been developed, the Vana-Gods are pre-eminently called "wise." In the dark rhapsodic language of Odin's Raven Spell-song—the first verse of which describes, by single words, the character of the divine, semi-divine, and human circles of existence—the Vana-Gods are represented as the embodiment of knowledge:—

All-Father rules ;	Alfs understand ;
Vanes know ;	Norns point out ;
Iwidia nourishes ;	men endure ;
Thurses await ;	Valkyrs yearn.

Here, Odin is described as the highest ruler; the Elfs as clever; the Water-Deities as imbued with true knowledge; the Norns as indicating what is to come; the Iwides, who are Dryads, or forest-nymphs, as the sap of the world; Mankind as destined to suffering; the Giants, the chaotic forces of Nature, as waiting for another victory over the Gods, that is, over the shapely forms of Nature; the Battle Virgins as eager for struggles in which they can perform their function. Such Eddic sayings are not to be lightly treated in reading. In a few words, the poet has condensed whole doctrines; and of importance it is that the Norse Water-Deities, in one of their chief qualities, are described here as Sources of Knowledge, like the Hellenic ones.

## VIII.

From the junction of Fire and Water, the great God Ormusd arose, according to the Persian creed. From the junction of Ice (Water) with Fire, Norse mythology assumes the world to have arisen. At least, this is the notion which has come down to us from the Edda, and which may already contain the compromise between the Neptunistic and the Plutonic theories of cosmogony of the Vana Creed and the Asa Creed.

The first form which arose, in the Eddic view, out of the combination of frozen Water and Fire, as a kind of elementary Chaos, was Ymir, a sea-giant and ancestor of the Germanic Titans. One of his surnames, Brimir—the Brimming or Surging One—clearly points to his connection with the sea. In the Song of the Prophetess (3) it is said:—

Once was the age	when Ymir lived :
There was no sand ; no sea ;	no salty wave.
No earth there was ;	nor Heavens above—
Only yawning abyss,	and growth nowhere.

In the Younger Edda, which forms an exegetic catechism of the Asa

\* Comp. *Mnemōsyne*, the Latin *memoria*, and the Anglo-Saxon *meomor*.



creed, the passage "Once was the age when Ymir lived," is changed into "when all was not." This is evidently a later Christian alteration. Ymir, the representative of the Aboriginal Flood, out of whose colossal form everything was shaped, was said to be the father of Oegir (the Ocean deity), as well as of Logi (the Flame), and of Kari (the Wind). In this threefold Titanic offspring the later divine trinity of Odin, Hoenir, and Lodur is already foreshadowed in somewhat grosser form; for these three Gods also represent the Air or Wind, the Water, and the Flame, and are consequently but an Asiatic refinement of older Thursic or Titanic figures.

The idea that everything had come from the Original Flood, is worked out in a powerful Eddic tale about the Killing of the Giant Ymir by the Ases, when from his huge body they made the world:—

Of Ymir's flesh	the earth was formed;
Of his blood the sea;	
Of his bones the hills;	of his hair the trees;
Of his skull the Heaven.	

Of his brows	the bountiful Ases
Shaped Midgard for the sons of men;	
But of his brain	the heavy clouds
All have been created.*	

Water (Oegir), Fire (Logi), Air (Kari), as well as the Earth, have thus all come out from the Surging Ymir.

Midgard—in the German Muspilli Song *mittilagart*, the Middle Garden, or the Earth—is encircled, according to the Eddic theory, by the great World-Snake, or the deep sea, even as Okeanos encompasses the world. The deity which among the Norsemen presides over the sea in its dangerous, destructive quality, is Oegir, or Aegir; that is, Terror. Grimm considers it to be of the same root as Okeanos, and attributes to the latter name a similar meaning. In harmony with this, Oegir's consort is called Ran—the Robber. Among the three Giants whom the German hero Dietrich (who has been substituted for Wodan) did vanquish, Ecke has been explained as Oegir, whilst Fasolt and Ebenrot are interpreted as the Air and the Fire: so that in the German heroic tale the old Thursic and Asiatic trinities would again be reflected.

Oegir's name yet lingers among English boatmen. They use it for a suddenly swelling river-tide. "Now to this day"—Mr. Carlyle says—"on our river Trent, as I learn, the Nottingham bargemen, when the river is in a certain flooded state (a kind of backwater or eddy swirl it has, very dangerous to them), call it *Eager*. They cry out: 'Have a care! there is the *Eager* coming!' Curious, that word surviving, like a submerged world! The oldest Nottingham bargemen had believed in the god Aegir."

Under the name of Gymir, the stormy sea-god is a Ruler of the Dead. A sea-god naturally is so, owing to the many victims he exacts

\* "Grimnismál," 40, 41.



No wonder, the very word which in many Aryan languages means the sea, is expressive of death and destruction.

In Greek mythology, we find a golden palace, at the bottom of the sea, assigned to Triton, the son of Poseidon, who is but a rejuvenated Okeanos. In the same way, Oegir dwells in a Hall where "shining gold serves for burning light." Of Grendel, too, the monstrous water-giant of the Anglo-Saxon epic, it was said that he dwelt in an abysmal hall, dimly lit from the treasures gathered below.\* Grendel is the Grinder. He and his mother, the primeval Sea-woman, the Gnashing She-Wolf (*merevif, brimvylf*), are destructive demons. They, no doubt, represent the grinding and gnashing waves which in spring devastate the flat shores of the German Ocean, where within historical times numerous Frisian islands have gone down before the howling storm-flood.

May we not assume that the phosphorescence of the waves, which is often to be seen in such splendid colour on the billow-crests of the German Ocean, gave rise among our forefathers, as among the Greeks, to the idea of a gold-lit, gold-hoarding Hall below the sea? Of the deep natural connection between Water and Fire, between the Cloud-Sea and the lightning that darts forth from it, I have already spoken. To conceive the fiery shimmer of the sea as the reflection of a divine palace and of its glistening treasure, was an obvious poetical thought.

When we hear of the same tale of a golden hoard in connection with a stream, like the Rhine, poetry in this case becomes mixed with reality. To this day, the Rhine carries gold with it in its river-sand; of old, this was the case in a much higher degree. The Edda is full of German, and more especially of Rhenish, recollections. No wonder even the necklace of Freyja (called *Brisinga Men*)† should be explained as dating from the Breisgau, on the Upper Rhine. Again, a golden treasure, called *Brosinga Mene*, is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon epic—one of those Homeric Songs of the Germans, as Simrock calls them, which the Germanic race has but too much neglected. In the Eddic Lay of Völundur (Wayland)—which clearly draws upon German sources—the wizard-smith who has been transported to the North as a captive of King Nidudr, in Sweden, breaks out into a curious plaint:—

No gold was here	as on Grani's path;
Far is this land from the	hills of the Rhine.‡
More of treasures	might we have
When safely once we sat at home.	

\* Beowulf, "The Sea-Hall," 45.

† "Gylfaginnng," 35.

‡ Simrock points out that the Rhenish homestead of Völundur, or Wieland, is testified to by Galafred of Monmouth, who places him in the Siegen country (*in urbe Sigeni*), which in the early Middle Ages was famous for great art in metal. I think the German Siegen-Town is reflected in the Säwarstadr of the Eddic Lay. Grani's path I read as a poetical figure for the Rhine. Grani ("He with the Mane") is one of the appellations of Odin; a horse of Odin also is called Grani; and the God himself was probably once worshipped under the horse symbol. As a river-god he rides a water-horse, or he is the water-horse himself; hence Grani's Path = the Rhine. The Granikos, or Granik river, in Asia Minor, where a Thracian (Germanic) race dwelt, seems to me to have its name from Grani = Odin, or Wodan.



To those who lightly declare, without ever having gone to the sources, that the Edda has nothing to do with the German cycle of myths, this Eddic Wayland Song may be particularly recommended, together with the Sigurd Songs.

## IX.

There are primeval ice-rivers, and Rivers of Death, in Norse mythology, reminding us of the ghostly streams of classic creeds. Perhaps Wate, the sea-giant, whose name refers to the wading of rivers, was once a Teutonic Charon. When Wate carries Wieland over the water, the counterpart of this myth is to be found in Greek mythology, as well as in the Krishna and Christophorus tale.

There is a Germanic Water Hell, called Nastrand, or Shore of the Dead, in the great Eddic Lay of the Creation and Downfall of the World. With Weinhold I formerly looked upon this as, possibly, a Christianizing interpolation. Of late I have, however, been struck by a curious coincidence from the Indian creed. Varuna, the Indian God of the Waters, is represented as a punishing deity with the scourge; holding for ages, in the depths of the flood, the fettered souls of the man-sworn—which vividly reminds us of the *Völuspá* (40, 42, 43).

Many colossal sea- and river-giants rise up in the Northern myths; quite in accordance with a country surrounded by a raging sea, and distinguished by powerful waterfalls and dangerous rivers. One of these giants, Wid-Blindi, sends whales into the high seas, who are called his boars. Then there is Starkadr, to whom eight giant hands are attributed: they are as many streams. The God of Thunder is said to throw him from the rock: it is the image of a river careering with thunder-like noise, as a waterfall, over the hill-side. Starkadr struggles with Hergrim. It is the meeting of two water-courses; and it was said that the one that had been vanquished was forced to yield up his treasures. The bride about whom Starkadr and Hergrim contend, is explained as the beautiful, shining cascade which is formed through the apparent struggle of the two river-giants. All through these northern myths we perceive the same thoughtful imagery as in the Greek ones. There is an almost endless circle of Teutonic water-deities, Nereid-Naiads, or mermaids; Nixes, male and female; and other sprites connected with sea, river, and lake. The multifariousness of these figures that move in the Germanic waters, is on a par with that of the Indian Nymphs of Heaven, whose charms and beauty are of a Nix-like character, whilst the facility of changing their forms shows a Protean affinity, befitting the changeability of the fluid.

In German folk-lore we hear of a water-born twin pair, a kind of Dioscuri of the Waves, whose various names always point to bourne and flood, whether these names are true German ones—like Brunnenhold and Brunnenstark, or whether they have been Christianized into



Water-Paul and Water-Peter. These twin brothers look like diminished forms of Indra, who is called "the water-born," or the "Son of the Water;" and of Trita, who in his cognomen "Aptya," shows his origin from the water. Indian, Hellenic, and Teutonic tales exhibit an especially close affinity in these water-myths.

Our own old hero-sagas and tales abound with wild mermaids, sea-wonders, lake virgins, *Meer-minnen* and *Mühmchen*, and similar figures with untranslateable names. The Gudrun epic and the Nibelungen Song speak of such forms in sea and river. In the Nibelungen Song they come up from the Danube as soothsaying women, bearing the bellicose names of Siglint and Hadbure; and their utterances to Hagen are of a prophetic kind. The old power of foreknowledge belonging to the Germanic water-deities has not forsaken them.

So late is an old creation theory which sought the source, the evolution and the connection of things—therefore, the World-Intellect—in the water, re-echoed in the Christianized Nibelungen epic whose heathen contents, brought from Germany to the Scandinavian North, are preserved in the Sigurd, Fafnir, Brynhild, Gudrun, Oddrun, Atli, and Hamdir Songs of the Edda.

x.

The concordance between the Germanic, the Greek, and the Indian myths also extends to the erotic character of the water-deities.

Even as Aphrodite rose from the waves; even as Lakshmi Sri, the Indian Goddess of Beauty and Good Fortune, ascended from the Milky Ocean: so Freyja was the daughter of the Sea-God; so her more motherly counterpart, Frigg, dwelt in the Water Hall—and so, too, Freia-Holda, among the Germans, resides in a lake, or bourne, as guardian goddess of the souls of the Unborn, in a flowery, fragrant meadow lying on the bottom of the water.\* If the "wave-born Goddess" is spoken of, almost every one thinks only of the Hellenic deity. But how strangely reads the following passage from the Vishnu Purana:—

"Sitting on a lotos-flower in full bloom, and holding a water-lily in the hand, there rose from the waves the Goddess Sri, resplendent with beauty. Transported with delight, the Great Sages intoned the hymn of praise dedicated to her. The singers of Heaven sang, and the Water Virgins danced before her. Ganga and the other sacred streams attended upon her, when bathing. . . . Thus bathed, dressed, and adorned, the Goddess, before all the Celestials, threw herself upon the breast of Hari; and leaning her head on him, she directed her glance upon the Deities, who by her aspect were inspired with delight. And Indra, the Ruler of the Gods, praised and extolled her."

These details about the Indian Goddess of Beauty are, no doubt, contained in a poem of comparatively later date.† But the general harmony with the Greek myth remains not less remarkable than the

\* The "beautiful, sunlit meadow, with many thousands of flowers," lying at the bottom of a bourne, still appears in the tale of Frau Holle; see Grimm's "Kinder- und Hausmärchen," 24.

† See Lassen's "Indische Alterthümer," i. 786.



contact of the ancient Krishna tale, and of the myths which were woven round Buddha's name, with some striking points of the Christian legend.

The worship of Freia was overcome among our forefathers with the greatest difficulty. The Roman Church only mastered it by the same tactics which it employed in Italy against the Venus cult—namely, more by a change of name than by real abolition. When the knowledge of the classic literature had somewhat spread in Germany, the Teutonic "Vana" Goddess, so far as her figure was still preserved in folk-lore without a Christianizing change, became converted by a misunderstanding, or by an easily explainable transition in the sound of words, into "Venus." Hence the many Venus Mountains and similarly named hills in Germany, whose heathen Teutonic origin may here be shown by a few proofs. Those who would simply derive these "Venus" names from mediæval classic erudition, are certainly mistaken.

On the myth of the Knight Tanhäuser, Dr. J. G. Th. Graesse writes\* :—

"It is true, Venus Mountains are to be found also elsewhere. Thus, this name is borne in Swabia by a high hill near Waldsee, and another near Ushausen, not far from Freiburg. Nay, even in Saxony there is a village, called Venusberg, at two hours' distance from Wolkenstein, but which in chronicles is also called Fengersberg, Fensberg, Fennigsbergk, or Feinigsbergk. It is, however, remarkable that there is a tale current in that village to this effect, that of yore no serving man would remain there in service unless it was allowed, or at least condoned to him, to live in close relations with the female servants. Of a real worship of this heathen Goddess nothing is known in Thuringia or Saxony, except that the tale says, that where, at Budissin, the Ortenburg (a Castle) now stands, formerly a heathen temple had been in existence, and that in it there was the statue of a beautiful woman, with a myrtle garland round her body and a rose in her mouth, a burning torch on her chest; standing on a little chariot, which was drawn by two swans. But everything, they say, was destroyed when the Castle was built. Nevertheless, writers and poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth century often mention the Venus-Berg. Thus, Geiler von Keyzersberg in the *Omeiss* (36), relates that the witches ride into the Venus Mountain. Hermann von Sachsenheim, in the *Mörin* (1453), and the much older Netherlandish poem of Margarethe von Limburg (1357), as well as Johannes Nider, in the *Formicarius* (1440), mention that hill."

These statements appear to me highly significant, when comparing them with a report of the Welsh archdeacon Giraldus de Barri, who wrote in the twelfth century, on the temple service of an Anglo-Saxon Goddess of Love. In his "History of the Anglo-Saxons," Mr. Sharon Turner, quoting Giraldus, says :—"A Saxon Venus; she is exhibited as standing naked in a car, with myrtle round her head; a lighted torch in her breast, and the figure of the world in her right hand. But this description implies too much refinement in its allusions, and the authority is not decisive."†

Had Mr. Sharon Turner known the above quoted folk-tale from

\* "Die Sage vom Ritter Tanhäuser," von Dr. J. G. Th. Graesse. Dresden und Leipzig: 1846 (Richard Wagner gewidmet.)

† "The History of the Anglo-Saxons," by Sharon Turner, vol. i., p. 191.—Giraldus Worm. Mon. p. 19.



Saxony, he might have passed a different judgment. The concordance between the two descriptions is extraordinary. In a literary sense it cannot be explained; consequently, the description made in England 700 years ago, and the German tradition, must have had a common fact for their basis. On the one hand we are usually too much accustomed to put aside the tales of our own race as mere misty creations of fancy, without trying to find out the historical kernel that may sometimes be contained in them. On the other hand, when we hear of an Anglo-Saxon Venus, we easily consider such a statement as mere invention, because the noble Venus figures of classic sculptors are before our mind's eye, and our own rude forebears could not possibly bring forth such a thing.

Yet, one need only look at the grotesque Astarte or Ashtoreth statuettes which have been found so numerous in Cyprus, and which must be regarded as first attempts, and as predecessors, of the later sublime sculpture of the Greeks, in order to understand that, after all, there may have been a statuary representation of the Saxon Venus (Vana-dis, or Freia) with various symbols, without its artistic execution being of the slightest value.

At Cyprus, Aphrodite rose from the waves. Cyprus had Phœnikian, Semitic, settlements before the Hellenes arrived there. The Amathusian name of Aphrodite points to a Cyprian Hamath corresponding to the Hamath of the opposite coast of Asia Minor, where Phœnikians dwelt. In the same way, the names of towns and villages of northern Germany have been carried to England by the Frisians, the Saxons, the Angles; from England they were carried to America, Australia, and South Africa. Phœniko-Cyprian Ashtoreth worship, mixed with original Greek ideas, gradually became refined into an Aphroditean cult.\* But the very origin of the Goddess from the sea-foam is, according to Hesiod, as grossly materialistic a conception as possible.

Now, who can say whether, in grey antiquity, refining influences from abroad did not penetrate among our forefathers, which had an effect upon the mythology or the temple-service of this or that tribe? Do we not know, to-day, of ancient Etruscan and Phœnikian trade connections which existed, by sea and land, with German tribes—the connections by land having only recently, and most unexpectedly, been proved through excavations? May there not be a grain of truth even in the alleged vestiges of Greek influence in north-western and southern Germany, of which Tacitus speaks in a semi-mythical manner? Ulysses—he relates in the *Germania*—was said, on his long and fabulous voyage, to have been cast into the Northern Ocean; the foundation of a town in Germany was attributed to him; an altar dedicated to him had stood there of old. May not, under cover of this fable, the fact of Greek seamen having penetrated to the shores of the

\* Compare also the opinion of Prof. Sayce, to which Dr. Schliemann refers in his newest and most excellent work, "Ilios," p. 125.



German Ocean lie hidden? And if Tacitus speaks of tomb-hills and other monuments with Greek inscriptions existing on the boundary between Germany and Raetia: is there not a very great deal of probability in this statement?

At any rate, the image of the Anglo-Saxon Venus, of whom Giraldus speaks, has its confirmatory counterpart in the Saxon tale reported by Dr. Graesse. And the chariot on which the German Goddess stood, is the counterpart not only of the Paphian chariot-throne of Aphrodite Kypris, but also of the chariot in which Nerthus, undoubtedly once the consort of a Water-God, made her yearly procession.

# XI.

Still stronger proofs can be given for the connection of the many "Venus" mountains in Germany with the Vana deities. In the writings of Prätorius who lived in the seventeenth century, and whose statements are of great importance for the knowledge of folk-lore, there is a curious passage from the *Viridarium Histor.* of Mathias Hammer. It runs thus:—

"Now it should be known that the Venus Mountain has its name *not* from the Goddess Venus; nor has Cupido, the sylvan rogue, invented that name. But on a high hill a WATER WOMAN once lived, who was a Queen of that region; and as the hill was hollow, many dwarfs or pigmies came there to keep friendship with her; and as long as that Queen lived, nobody heard of that loophole. After her death, however, other pigmies became aware of its existence; whereupon the hill was called Venus Mountain, or Hill of Love. Any one wishing to know more of this, and of the doings and character of the WATER-WOMAN, should read the books of Theophrastus."

Our learned men of the seventeenth century had already become somewhat estranged from the people's ways of thought. Their exclusively classical and Biblical education, their small knowledge of Teutonic antiquity, rendered it difficult for them to understand our pagan past. Nevertheless, a strong, striking light is shed on the ancient Germanic water-cult by the statement that the name of the "Venus" Mountain is *not* derived from the Roman Goddess, but that a "Water Woman" (*Wasser-Frau*) once lived on that high hill.

If any one should consider it strange that the *Wasser-Frau*, or Vana Goddess, was worshipped on a high mountain, he ought to remember that the Germans of old often worshipped their Gods, by preference, on hills; and that, moreover, the dwelling of the Sea-god Niörd, as well as of his children, Freyja and Freyr, was not assumed to be below, in the water, but above, in Cloud-land. So says the Edda:—"The third As a God is called Niörd; he inhabits in heaven the place called Noatun." Noatun means Skipper's Town; nevertheless, it is situated in the Ocean of Ether. In the same way, the Aphroditean Water Goddess of our forefathers may have had her seat on a hilly height, next to the sky.



For an explanation of the name of the "Venus" Mountains from Germanic mythology, the "Frau Frene" of the Swiss version of the *Tanhäuser* or *Danhuser Song* has been quoted. Frene can only be Freia. By a mashed pronunciation, "Frene" could easily lead to "Fene," or Venus; the "V," even in Latin, being by Germans generally pronounced like "F." However, the transition could as easily be accounted for from Vana to Venus; all the more so because the two words seem to have an etymological connection, irrespective of the concordance in meaning. Lastly, the older names, such as "*Fengs-Berg*," are possibly to be connected with the word already formerly alluded to—*fen*—which means water, or morass, and which itself may be connected with *vana*. This word, "*fen*," too, has strong Aphroditæan significations, besides the ordinary one.

In German, the word *fen* is still preserved in the *Hohe Venn*, or *Veen*, a range of fenny, marshy, water-logged hills in the Ardennes. *Fen-sal* (Water Hall) is the name of the heavenly abode of Frigg, whose figure has been slightly differentiated, in sound and sense, from that of Freyja. Of our own Freia-Holda, the guardian goddess of the Unborn in the watery deep, a Christianized children's rhyme of undoubted heathen origin, says:—

*Mutter Gottes thut Wasser tragen,  
Mit goldenen Kannen,  
Aus dem goldenen Brünnel.  
Da liegen Viel' drinne.  
Sie legt sie auf die Kissen,  
Und thut sie schön wiegen  
Auf den goldenen Stiegen.*

In this rhyme, the Virgin Mary has all the attributes of the *Wasser-Frau* for whom she has been substituted.

I well remember from early childhood that questions put by curious youngsters as to the origin of the new-born were answered by a reference to a public fountain in the town. Through the round hole of a door at that fountain, it was said, the little ones who had not yet seen the light of the world could be observed swimming about. We never doubted the correctness of this convenient explanation, and often looked through the hole; only, it was too dark inside the door for any one to see what was going on in the mysterious water. This Children's Fountain (*Kindlein's Brunnen*) was also called the Milky Fountain (*Milch-brunnen*); which comes very near to Lakshmi Sri's Milky Ocean.

The German Venus Mountains thus resolve themselves either into Freia or Frene Mountains, or into Vana or Fen Hills—Watery Hills, as it were; on which naturally, as Prætorius reports from a tale still current at his time, the Water Goddess dwells. All the words mentioned are closely allied to the "Venus" idea, and therefore easily led over to it.



## XII.

The Aphroditean nature of the Nixes comes out in the most variegated manner in German folk-lore. The female Nixes strongly incline towards the sons of men. The *Wassermann* tries to ensnare maidens, and carries them off. A mediæval poem—*Das Meerwunder*—already refers to such Nix love. The connection between the Nix world and mankind is kept up in a peculiar manner. Often, at night, a horseman appears before the house of a midwife, and with good promises, sometimes also by force, conducts her down into a lake or river, so that she might perform her office on the wife of the *Wassermann*. Many a midwife has thus been once in the beautiful Nix palace, and has rendered helpful service to a pretty Lady of the Waves.

Does not this sound as if the aboriginal forms of life contained in the fluid element—from whom some scientists would now derive the human species—were assumed to keep up their connection with the earth by means of the umbilical cord?

Whole Germany was once filled with Nix and *Wassermann* myths. In North and South, in East and West, they were rife, and even now are told in some out-of-the-way places. Many of those tales have come down to us in rather boorish guise. Yet, even in such poor garb or travesty, they still betray a great deal of their original delicacy; or they show that combination of deep feeling and of awe, which characterises the "Nix in the Pond"—one of the most charming tales preserved by the Brothers Grimm;\* attractive both for the heart and the mind.

In outward appearance, the bewitching fays of the flood are represented, in German folk-lore, with truly Teutonic traits. Yellow, curling locks, and blueish, sometimes greenish blue, eyes are attributed to the male Nix. Golden hair adorns the head of the Nix woman; her eyes are water-blue, but sometimes verge upon the gruesome. Otherwise she is of surpassing beauty. Being wholly of human shape, and—at least in the genuine and unalloyed German tale—not of fishy form at the lower extremities, the wonderful figures of the deep seem akin to mankind; which all the better explains the frequent, mutual inclination between Nixes and men.

But as water possesses, not only beneficent and attractive, but also pernicious, terrifying, destructive forces, the myth, of course, changes in the invention of its forms. The Brother Nickel, who dwells on the island of Rügen in a fishful but troublous lake, often swamps boats. So also, near Melrichstadt, the water-sprite Schlitz-Oehrchen (Little Split-Ear), whose name seems to have arisen from the popular conception of a fish's ear, dips persons into the stream and drowns them. When at Magdeburg piles were being rammed into the river for the purpose of building an aqueduct, a naked man was seen in the water, who tore up the piles, so that the structure had to be stopped.†

\* "Die Nixe im Teich," 181.

† Prætorius, "Weltbuch."



I may add here that very similar tales are still current in South Wales. Through my son-in-law, Mr. Charles Hancock, who has recently gathered for me, from the lips of the people, a number of Welsh water-tales, I have received the following:—"On the highest peak of the Breconshire Beacons (the largest mountain-range in South Wales) there is a mountain pool, fabled to be unfathomable; and this it was one day proposed to drain off. The project, however, had to be abandoned; for, ever and anon, a female figure rose from the pool, and, sitting in an arm-chair (almost every cottage about here has its carved oak arm-chair), uttered a terrible warning that, if the work were continued, she would bring about the letting down of the waters, and the destruction of the town of Brecon." This is very like the Magdeburg tale.

A considerable number of water-tales appears to linger yet among the people of that south-western corner of Wales, where a Germanic immigration took place in early times. But these interesting relics in Kymric folk-lore must be reserved for another occasion.

On the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Oder, sacrifices had to be offered every year to the Undines. In Hesse, children about to bathe, and standing near the bank of the stream, were, or still are, warningly told:—"The Nöcken might draw you down!" In the Selisberg Lake there is an evil water-elfin spirit, the Elbst. He appears sometimes in the incarnation of a fish, sometimes of a pig. Of the sacrifices annually offered to the horse-shaped Niglo in Austria, I have already spoken. However, the offerings in Niglo's case are already modified into the gift of food and raiment. The Donau-Fürst (Prince of the Danube) is a very malicious spirit. When he meets a person, he asks what is the latter's wish, and then throws him or her into the deep, "where all that has been wished for will be found." The dangerous whirlpools and eddying currents of the river are symbolized by the evil-minded Donau-Fürst. So strong is the old popular notion, that Viennese newspapers even now regularly mention cases of drowning under the heading: "Opfer der Donau."

Many places and sheets of water have their names from the Sprites of the Flood. Near Kirchhain, in Hesse, there is the Frau Hollen Teich and the Frau Hollen Bad (Holda's Lake or Bath). From the Dönges or Haut Lake, in Hesse, beautiful maidens rise, who go to the *Kirmes*, or annual village festivity, there to dance with the lads. At midnight they must go down again into the deep, though the *Kirmes* lasts through day and night. It is as if the pagan deities "danced attendance," for a short time, at a festival connected with the Church that disestablished the old creed of which they formed part. Near Halle, before the gate, there is a Nix Lake. At Magdeburg ("the Maiden's Castle")—where undoubtedly a Water Deity was once worshipped in a fane—the beautiful Elbe Maiden often comes up, combing her long, golden hair. When a Nix steps among people, she can always be recognized by the points of



her snow-white apron being wet; this is the sign of her origin from the stream. Once the Elbe Maiden took a young butcher's boy with her down; and it was agreed that if everything went all right with the two lovers, a plate with an apple would come up from the deep to the surface of the river. (The apple is a symbol of life. Idun, the Norse Goddess of Life, has the apples without which the very Aesir would fade away.) But presently, instead of the apple, a splash of blood shot up from the deep. . . . Then it was seen that the relations of the Elbe Maiden had killed the lad. Or had they, perchance, killed *her*? . . .

There are many tales about the longing of the Nixes for communion with mankind. By their nocturnal water-lays and siren-songs, as well as by their more than human beauty, they inveigle youths into rivers and lakes. Teutonic folk-lore has a great deal to tell about the sounds and songs that rise from the flood. The Swedish Ström Karl (the Strong Man of the Stream) is such an Orphic singer of the deep. His other name—Fossegrim—expresses the mighty roar of the cataract. He plays eleven bewitching tunes, which may be learnt from him. But the eleventh must not be played, for it belongs to the Spirit of the Night and its Hosts; and if that air resounds, everything begins to dance—the tables and the seats; the jugs and the mugs; the old and the young; grey-beards, grandmothers, and the very sucklings in the cradle.

Do not the various melodies of this magic Bard of the Waves indicate the ever-changing rhythmical sound of the water? And is not the weird and the ghastly "eleventh tune" expressive of the terrible cosmic power of the fluid element, which may turn everything topsy-turvy?

Enchanting Alb. Leiche—elfin songs—often ring through the still air from the deep. In song, the water-sprites utter their prophecies. So it is reported of the Norse Marmennil who in character and name resembles our Meer-minnen, Mümmelchen, or Muhmen, from whom the Mummel See in the Black Forest, and the rivulet Mimling in the Odenwald, have their names. The erection of the Mimenburg ("Mime Castle") near Neckar-Gerach (the Neckar itself has its name from Necks) is also connected, in folk-lore, with a Mimel, or Nix; and this again leads us back to the idea of Water Deities having their seats on the brow of hills. As mountain tops are next to the clouds, and water descends from the hills, the natural throne of water-deities is on altitudes, near the great reservoir of Heaven.

It speaks for the musical aptitude of the Teutonic tribes that they recognised the melodic voice of well, brook, and stream; that they heard, in the confused roar of the waterfall, a law of harmonic strains; that in the grim raging of the flood they perceived that internal symmetrical movement of the sound-waves, which is now scientifically well proved. Their ear was not closed to the Elfin Song of Nature. In the fascinating Nix lays, in the magic harp-playing of the Ström Karl, they unconsciously embodied deep impressions made upon them by



cosmic forces, of which, according to the state of their knowledge, they—or at the least the mass of the people—could only render a fantastical account by means of a myth.

## XIII.

German folk-lore has to say a great deal about a "Water of Life." The worship of wells was a universal one, of old. Holy Bournes (*Heil-Bronnen*) were adored, which had a curative and healing effect. "Healing" and "holy" come from the same root—in English as in German.

At a fixed time of the year, people went to the bourne, placing lights near it, as though the ancient junction of Fire and Water, as causes of the origin of the world, should thereby be represented. After the introduction of Christianity, the Roman Church had often to issue decrees against that German habit of prophesying from, and appealing to, the bountiful water, of which the Butt, in the Nether German tale,\* is still a lingering echo. However, in this difficult struggle against the German heathen notions, the Catholic Church, already fully bedizened with adopted remnants of paganism from Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, now and then suddenly resolved upon appropriating also a piece of Teutonic heathendom and pocketing the accustomed money-tribute of the believers.

Into dim Aryan antiquity the idea of an Aboriginal Sea can be traced, from which an Aboriginal Steer rises as the essence of all Life. In Persian mythology we find the great steer Abudad who symbolizes the Earth. The idea lingers until late into the Mahommedan literature

\* Grimm's "Märchen" (19, "Von dem Fischer un syner Fru"). The Butt of that tale is an enchanted prince, in fish-form. He has creative and prophetic qualities by which he realizes the most astounding wishes of those who appeal to him. In Scandinavian, Icelandic, and German speech, the turbot, and fishes akin to it, bear a name indicating a sacred character. They are called "holy fishes." "Halibut" (German, *Heilbutt*) points to the idea of sacredness. "Some of our oldest fishermen"—Mr. Robert Sinclair, of Clairmont Cottage, Lerwick, writes—"say that they heard their fathers call the fish 'lagar,' which is evidently only a contraction or corruption of 'halagar'—the old word for 'hallowed,' holy, or sacred." The same correspondent, who has sent so many valuable contributions, and who at one time was himself a fisherman, gives very curious details as to the sort of awe connected with the capture of this Holy Butt. He further says that the "kinn fish" (German, *Kinn*)—that is, the cheek flesh—of the turbot is never eaten, but always cut out raw. Is it because the Butt, as Grimm's tale has it, can speak? and that, therefore, it would be sacrilege to eat his "kinn" flesh? Considering the great creative power of the enchanted Butt in the German tale; and remembering the divine part which the Fish plays in the Flood myth of the ancient Indians, when Manu is told by the divine Fish to build a vessel for safety—a myth tallying, in every essential part, with the Babylonian and Biblical accounts, whilst it is undoubtedly much older than these latter—it seems to me that these Shetlandic, Scandinavian, and German notions of the peculiar holiness of the Butt deserve great attention. In the German tale, that Fish is a Maker of all things desired. He is addressed as "Manntje" (Little Man)—just as Wodan, in the German folk-tale, has been converted into a *Grav Männlein* (Gray-Mannikin), and as the *almuhtico cot* (Almighty God) is called, in the half Christian, half heathen Wessobrunn Prayer: *manno miltisto*—that is, the mildest, or most beneficent, of men. In the German charm-verse, by which the Butt is appealed to, and made to rise from the sea, there are two words not explainable from our tongue, and which have hitherto baffled investigation. They appear to me to have, possibly, a curious Chaldean affinity. But this is a point on which no surmise should be ventured without further inquiry, and without having heard the opinion of competent specialists.



of Persia, which still speaks of a great Aboriginal Sea, in which living things struggled into shapely existence. In this Sea, there stood a Steer who carried the Earth on his horns, imbuing it with Life. With such views about the nature of Water, one cannot wonder at its having been looked upon as "holy."

Hence there are German lakes into which no stone must be thrown, or else a thunderstorm will arise. This is told of the Mummel See in Grimmelshausen's "Simplicissimus." Once a brown steer rose from that lake, and mixed with other cattle on shore. But immediately a Little Man came up to drive the steer away. In this diminished tale-form an old cosmogonic view may still be recognised.

I have spoken before of the bull-shaped *Wassermann* who was the mythic ancestor of the Merowing dynasty. Quite in harmony with Hellenic myths, the German tale not only traces the descent of the human race from trees, but also sees in water the source and measure of men's span of life. In Franconia, a well springs from a hill, near which a noble family has its ancestral home. During the whole year, that spring-head gives forth clear, beautiful water, until some one of the family dies. Then the bourne suddenly dries up; there is no longer a vestige of its having existed. Another tradition current near the Fulda says that whenever a prince of the Hessian house or his consort dies, the river all at once stands still, as though it wished to express its sorrow.

With such German tales about a River of Life running its course behind man, we again come back to those poetized cosmic theories of the Greeks, which, seeking the origin of terrestrial beings in water, make rivers, river-bulls, or river-gods the forefathers of men. The River, the River-Bull, and the River-God form the ascending line of a Nature myth gradually changing into theological views—from the elementary force to the worshipped animal form; from the worshipped animal form to the anthropomorphic deity.

In the Classic Walpurgis' Night of Goethe's "Faust," the notion of a vital force and impulse being contained in water, finds frequent expression. *Peneios*, surrounded by waters and nymphs, exclaims:—

"Rege dich, du Schilfgeflüster;  
Hauche leise, Rohrgeschweister!  
Säuselt, leichte Weidensträucher;  
Lispelt, Pappel-Zitterzweige,  
Unterbroch'nen Träumen zu!  
Weckt mich doch ein grauslich Wittern,  
Heimlich allbevorgend Zittern  
Aus dem Wallestrom und Ruh."

Before Rhodus, Proteus says:—

"Dem Leben frommt die Welle lesser;  
Dich trägt in's ewige Gewässer  
Proteus-Delphin.  
(He transforms himself.)

*Schon ist's gethan !  
Da soll es dir zum schönsten glücken ;  
Ich nehme dich auf meinen Rücken,  
Vermähle dich dem Ozean."*

And Thales replies :—

*"Gib nach dem löblichen Verlangen,  
Von vorn die Schöpfung anzufangen !  
Zu raschem Wirken sei bereit !  
Da regst du dich nach ewigen Normen,  
Durch tausend, abertausend Formen—  
Und bis zum Menschen hast du Zeit !"*

On their part, the Sirens sing :—" *Ohne Wasser ist kein Heil.*" And Mephistopheles, who knows so many things, utters the general remark :—

*"Wer kann was Dummes, wer was Kluges denken,  
Das nicht die Vorwelt schon gedacht !"*

This observation of the great scoffer about every theory, whether wise or not, having already been thought out in antiquity, certainly applies to the idea of water being the Mother of all Things and Beings. For, not to speak of Greek poets and philosophers, ancient Indian Nature-lore already expresses the same view. In the tenth book of the Rig Veda (129), that Time, or rather No-Time, which precedes the Origin of Things, is thus spoken of :—

"1. Nothing was then, that is ; nor even that which is not. There was then no atmosphere ; nor sky beyond it. What was it that hid all ? What was the veiling cover of everything ? Was it the WATER's deep abyss ? 2. Death was not then ; nor immortality. There was no distinction of day or night. Only Something breathed, without breath, inwardly turned towards itself. Other than it, there was nothing. 3. Darkness there was ; in deep darkness enveloped was the Universe—an OCEAN without light. Then first, from the Nothingness enveloped in empty gloom, Desire (Love) arose, which was the first germ of mind. This loving impulse the Sages, seeking in their heart, recognized as the bond between Non-Being and Being."

Similar passages, coming yet closer to modern ideas, are to be found in the Khandogya Upanishad and in the utterances of the Indian philosopher Kapila. Antiquity has, indeed, thought out many a thought which was afterwards resumed and scientifically amplified. We shall therefore not be astonished to see that our Germanic ancestors had, in the much-forgotten Pantheon of their Water Deities, already symbolized a doctrine of the rise of Life from water, which now is once more being argued on learned grounds. And the persistent strength of this Vanic view which lies dimly in the background of the Asa religion, may be gathered from the Eddic Song of the Prophetess, in which the Teutonic Sybil, after having announced the coming conflagration and downfall of the world, thus foretells its renewal from water :—

*"Then I see arise, a second time,  
Earth from Ocean in beauteous growth."*

KARL BLIND.



## OIDA'S KNOWLEDGE OF ITALIAN LIFE.

A NOVEL, which professes to be no more than a work of imagination, may deal with things which never have existed and never will, and so long as the result is amusing no one complains. But when the tale professes to be a picture of real life, the evils described in which are positive facts, then accuracy of statement becomes even more desirable than smart writing or skilful plot. Ouida, in her last novel, "A Village Commune," has disregarded this principle, and has succeeded in writing a most readable book; but has, at the same time, presented a picture of Italian life which is wholly misleading. Taken by itself, the tale might pass, as the gross exaggeration of a sincere but violent partisan. Spiteful remarks are to be expected in such a case. Indeed, if flavoured by a little joke, and the gratuitous introduction of coarse words, they are greatly to the taste of this generation, as can be seen by an examination of the popular novels of the day. But this tale is followed by an appendix, which vouches for the truth of what went before, and gravely disclaims the charge of exaggeration, thus bringing the book out of the safe region of mere fiction, and exposing its statements to be challenged as facts.

In this grave and serious appendix, Ouida bases her claim to be heard on her personal experience. "Travellers, and even foreign residents, do not, as a rule," she blandly observes, "know anything of this. You must know the language intimately, and have got the people's trust in you before you can understand all that they endure." With this easy assumption of intimacy, Ouida proceeds to take even greater liberties with the Italian language than with her own. Possibly the Italians might have preferred the formal deference of a stranger to this overpowering familiarity. In the early part of her book she makes a dazzling display of her knowledge, by giving a long list of names with their several diminutives, which she explains are used by the peasants, even in the case of quite old men. This information will

no doubt be gratefully received by those who cannot boast of being even "travellers," though unless they are wholly deaf, a few weeks' sojourn would be sufficient to acquaint them with the fact. But to foreign residents of many years' standing it would be interesting to know why she chose to confer the title of "Dom" on the estimable priest. The Italian word "Don" would have been more natural in the mouths of Italian peasants, and there seems no particular gain in introducing the French term. But having posed as an authority, it is much to be regretted that the lady did not consult a dictionary before christening one of her principal characters "Gaspardo," which is not an Italian name at all. "Gaspero" or "Gaspere" would surely have done as well, and they have been seen in print before. Some trifling omissions, such as one *b* in "arrabbiato," one *l* in "scellerato," may be attributed to haste of temper or otherwise, but confusion of mind must have existed as well as haste, before men could be described as "liberi pensieri." This mistake occurs repeatedly, and leads one to ask whether, in English, Ouida can clearly distinguish between the thinker and his thought. There are many other blunders in the book, indeed almost as many as there are Italian words. The translation of cynicism is "cinismo," not as she puts it "cinicismo." "Igiene," although a feminine name, does not end in *a*. If there be such a word as "adagiò," it does not signify "slowly," which is written "adagio" without an accent. Whatever "strombetti" may mean, it is not synonymous with "stornelli. The Tuscan Punch is "Stenterello," not "Stentarello."

Ouida says she "loves revolution, when it means the destruction of vile things." Is it possible that among "vile things" she includes the spelling, and presumably the pronunciation, of Italian words? Not content with allowing her ignorance to display itself indirectly, she goes out of her way to offer explanations of words and phrases which are perfectly incorrect. The "massaja," whom she describes as "the woman (usually the wife of the *fattore* or bailiff) who is set over all the womankind of an estate, and directs their labours, is in reality someone belonging to the "contadino," who arranges the household work, and has no control whatever over the field labour, though she may occasionally share in it. Her own work is primarily baking, cooking, spinning, and the like. The "Esattore" is the collector, not the examiner, of taxes. "Ferragosto" should be written "Feragosto," and means—not "the first of August," but "August Fair," once an important yearly event, though now little more than a tradition. It is not from mere perversity that the Italians speak of Solferino as San Martino, but because it was on the hill of San Martino that the Italians did their share of the fighting on the day of the great battle; and there, in one mound, recorded by one monument, lie the bones of the Italians and the Austrians who fell on that day, fighting against each other. If Ouida's knowledge of Italian life is to be measured by her knowledge of the language, one is tempted to think that possibly the upper



classes, whom she so arrogantly condemns, may be justified in sometimes differing from her conclusions. The "nobility and gentry" are evidently not in favour with Ouida. It is a great pity that she did not contrive to make one friend among this contemptible society, who would have gone over her book and corrected its flagrant errors. Even a "foreign resident," if possessed of a grammar and dictionary, might have done some good. The friend could have been put into Ouida's next book, and the kindness handsomely acknowledged by a neat portrait—in vinegar, not oil.

No falsehood would be worth refuting if it did not contain some truth, and unfortunately there is much to regret in the state of Italy. But Ouida has not stated the case fairly. The story of the "Village Commune" is simply a story of grasping and revenge. A clever and unprincipled adventurer takes advantage of the supineness of his superiors and the ignorance of the people to enrich himself and to gratify his resentment. There are sharp rogues all over the world, and no system of government has yet been devised which shall prevent such men from sometimes succeeding, at least for a time.

Ouida says "the system is professedly autonomous, but practically it works in the manner I have depicted." Had she contented herself with saying that it *might* so work, she would have spoken truly. The municipal authorities have the power of making their own bye-laws and of arranging the details of their own taxation. Given, then, a "consiglio" composed exclusively of selfish men, and a set of officials both dishonest and unscrupulous, it is easy to see that fearful abuses may arise. But the "consiglio" is re-elected every year. The "sindaco's" office is tenable for three years; but should he, before the end of this time, lose his place as "consigliere," he loses the other also. The book shows how helpless men may be, even when they hold the power in their own hands, if they do not know how to use it. But taken as a description of the actual state of affairs in the majority of the Italian communes, the book becomes a libel. The Italian peasantry do not monopolize all the virtue of the country, and those in power are not invariably brutes. Ouida gives a rosy description of the blessed time before liberty was invented or people were taught to read. Every one was good and happy then, and most people were Nature-taught poets. She declares, in proof of its vast superiority, that the "bulk of people regret passionately the personal peace and simple plenty" which then existed. But Ouida also says that she "did not live during the old *régimes*, and therefore cannot judge of them." If she intends by this to say that she was not alive at the declaration of the Italian kingdom, she must be a most precocious lady; a Nature-taught novelist in fact, weaving romances as she sucked her little thumb in her cradle. Well! if so, she is a remarkable person! But there may be some use in education all the same. But whether she were as yet outside the world, or only residing in some other district thereof, I was certainly alive, and at that time



living in Italy, and I can testify that sorrow and sin were known even then. Cheating and oppression were not invented by liberty, nor are the "impiegati" a new institution. In some parts of Italy I have heard the "impiegati" echo the regret of the Tuscan peasants for the old system, when cheating was even easier than now. Time has a tendency to magnify the good and diminish the evil of the past to our eyes, but a return to those times would not give us contentment. I do not suppose that even Ouida seriously thinks that Italy can return to the pastoral simplicity of a bygone age, and in the teeth of impossibility it is needless to discuss probable advantages. Let us see what steps our lady can suggest as improvements to the present misery. First, she proposes to "ship off nine-tenths of the 'impiegati' and pensioners to New Guinea." When this remedy is tried, Ouida will find the groundwork of a new story of innocent suffering quite ready to her hand. Her second remedy is to provide Italy with a "Minister, temperate, just, indifferent to bombast or display, resolute to destroy corruption, and convinced of the great truth that the first duty of a State is the prosperity of her children." It is a little painful to find, however, that the gleam of hope awakened by the representation of this model Minister, with his noble though slightly ungrammatical convictions, is doomed to speedy extinction. "Alas! when a good man comes he has no chance. . . . Harassed, weary, and impotent, he will leave his good intentions to pave a lower deep than Dante ever visited." Is Italy's case, then, desperate? I venture to think not; and to my mind one of its most hopeful influences is the army, which Ouida calls a "Factory of Devils." The boys "go away innocent, homely, laborious, dutiful youths, and they return from the camp or the barracks too often vicious, lazy, discontented, contaminated by vice and utterly unwilling to work. 'As well send a lad to the galleys as to the army,' say the country people. And they are right." This is a strong assertion and not warranted by fact. The conscription can never be a popular institution, because it is compulsory; but it has ceased to be the bugbear it once was to the people, for the simple reason that the young men come home better, not worse, with minds opened, intelligence awakened, and capable of understanding their power as well as more worthy of their responsibilities. It is to the returned soldiers that we must look for the prevention of such shameless jobbery as is described in the return of Luca Finti as deputy. Here is the account of how the people were persuaded to vote for him.

"The Pomodorian mind was not wide, nor was it brilliant; it understood oil, wine, and dyes, but there it closed; it thought England was somewhere down Rome-way, as it thought Austria was somewhere over the hills; it still believed in the priest's blessing on the fields, in the poisonous nature of frogs, in the weather prophecies of its calendars, in hydrophobia being as common as catarrh, and in other things of a like enlightenment. It did not in the least know what a congress meant, nor where Epirus was, and it had a vague notion of



Europe as of a disorderly place beyond seas, where you sent pictures and wine when you had more than you wanted of either. Yet so strong is the power of vanity, and so strong is the power of oratory, that Pomodoro voted by a big majority for Signor Luca Finti, because he had told them he would make them a Power, though he had never said he would cheapen bread, extinguish conscription, or lighten any of the burdens with which the land is laden, as a packed mule is chinked (*sic*) on the march. Great is the might of words—above all is it great in Italy."

Could a better plea have been urged for the education of electors? "As they were used to be led by the priests, so they were now led by the placemen." The only remedy is to teach the electors to lead themselves by their reason, to change their ignorant simplicity to intelligent honesty. Now, this is exactly what the army does. The men are taught in excellent schools, and they learn by practical experience, that there is knowledge beyond the village wisdom. If half the electors of Pomodoro had served their time, Signor Luca Finti would not have found his eloquent lies so serviceable. Nor is it their minds only which receive training. The army is always foremost in every good work. To give one instance. In 1867-8, when Sicily was visited by the cholera, and the whole island was panic-struck, it was the soldiers who in many villages nursed the sick and buried the dead when they were deserted by their own relations. These were not Sicilian conscripts, but strangers from Italy. The officers cheerfully shared the danger, encouraging by their example the poor lads whose courage was ready to sink under the horror of such work. Is this the devil's training? Then were it well to have a little more such devilry in the world! If any one cares to see the reverse of Ouida's view of the army, let him read the "*Bozzetti Militari*," by De Amicis. Some young men no doubt return from their three years' service bad and vicious. But what were they before? And do not some young men turn out bad and vicious who have never left their homes at all? It is not by one or two examples that the system can be fairly judged, but by a large number, including conscripts not only from Signa but from all parts of Italy.

Nor is it the "*impiegati*" who are the curse of the country. Their peculations are a consequence and not a prime cause. The real disease is that selfishness, which, Ouida says herself, is "the worst note in the Italian character. . . . An impersonal interest is a thing they cannot understand." Unselfishness is a virtue which cannot be acquired from interested motives, but without it no family or nation can thrive. Let every honest Italian stand by his neighbour when oppressed, and combat cheaters even when it does no harm to himself; let the rich man not shirk the thankless municipal work, and let the poor man not refuse to support him in his war against cheating. There is enough good in Italy to conquer the bad, but the good must not be content to weep and blame, it must put its shoulder to the wheel wherever it can reach



it. "Italy for the Italians" was the old cry, for which brave men died. Let their children live for that same Italy, and the fathers will not have died in vain.

It is not only the rich who can do something, and who need to exert themselves. The dislike and opposition of the people is too often the only reward of a man who has worked solely for their good. So long as he protects them from oppression all goes well; but let him attempt to interfere with some time-honoured system of cheating of their own, and all his good deeds are forgotten. Till the poor learn to feel that pilfering, even from the rich, is a wrong thing, they will remain at the mercy of the official pilferer, who has to be bribed into connivance, and who cannot then be resisted. But this evil existed for generations before the unity of Italy, and brought misery in exactly the same way then as now.

One of Ouida's statements deserves special comment, as being specially misleading. "Foreign papers did not understand that as the local taxes always go up in proportion to the excellence of the harvest and vintage, that excellence is not the unmixed gain which it is supposed to be, and indeed is scant profit to any one." If the commune of Signa is thus taxed on its produce, it is a remarkable exception to the general rule, which fixes the payment for each landowner according to the *average* yield of his land. The sum is settled long before the harvest time, and varies but little. Naturally in Italy, as in other countries, taxes go up at times to meet special needs; but let the "Contadini" say if a good harvest is useless to them.

I do not wish to dispute each point with Ouida. I do not know Signa, and she may be right in local particulars, where I should be wrong. But I wish to remind the public that careless audacity marks the partisan, not the trustworthy witness. The ground she chose to stand on—viz., her knowledge of the language and people—has been shown to be untrustworthy. Her animosity towards the upper classes leads her to great injustice, and tinges every statement.

Her loose style of argument may be illustrated by one more extract. "The gaoler shrugged his shoulders. 'He will give us gas and a tramway.' 'Gas! we had never vine-disease or rose-disease till we had gas in the city,' said Carmelo; and here he did not exaggerate; for in Italy neither were known till gas works were introduced." To be of anterior occurrence does not prove any event to be a cause. If Ouida had a serious purpose in the remark, she ought to have told at what distance gas works begin to affect the grapes, and whether in other countries the disease can be traced to gas. If she had no serious purpose, she ought to have been ashamed of supporting a mere prejudice. In any case, persons who have not travelled in Italy will be relieved to hear that even in these days of progress gas is not laid down in the vineyards, and that many of them are many miles away from any gas-works.

MARY CALVERLEY.



## THE NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRAHMO SOMAJ.

*THE New Dispensation!*—such is the title of Mr. Keshub Chundar Sen's new church in Calcutta. It is an offshoot of the Brahmo Somaj, founded by Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. It professes an eclectic system of faith, regarding every religion, professed by large numbers of the human race, as a general dispensation from God. I purpose in a few pages to give a fair and truthful account of it, without offering any opinions of my own.

The Brahmo Somaj has been in existence about fifty years, and the founders of the New Dispensation claim for it a life of progress and development, of which the New Dispensation itself is the latest and most glorious result. The new church is the old one rehabilitated, developed, and perfected. It recognizes the four principal Scriptures of the world as its foundation—the Rig Veda, the Buddhist Pitakas, the Christian Bible, and the Mohammedan Koran. The unity of the Godhead is the fundamental doctrine of the new church, and with this is embodied the unity of all earnest creeds, Hindu, Buddhistic, Moslem, and Christian.

Rajah Ram Mohun Roy proclaimed the precepts of Christ as the guide to national and individual purity and happiness. He deplored the fact that those precepts were so generally disregarded by the great body of nominal Christians. He denounced the systems of caste and idolatry prevalent in India as destructive of all political progress and social improvement, but he never professed himself more than a student of the truth, anxious to point out to his fellow-countrymen that better path which he had discovered for himself. Mr. Keshub Chundar Sen goes much further than this. He makes no pretension to supernaturalism, but he professes to have harmonized and unified all other dispensations by a divine synthesis, and to have discovered the method by which the apparent anomalies and contradictions of other systems are

to be brought into a logical unity of idea and method. All the previous systems are connected together in the economy of Providence, and it has been reserved for him to discover the systematic evolution of thought, the development of religious life, just as science brings light and order out of chaos and darkness. There can be but one true science that explains material nature, and so there can be but one true science of dispensation which shows and explains the dealings of God to man, throughout all ages, in the matter of religion, and this true science of dispensation is his grand discovery. "I have found the science of dispensation at last," he triumphantly exclaims in his last anniversary lecture, "unity in multiplicity." Where others see only confusion and anomaly, he sees order and continuity. Hinduism and Buddhism, Moslemism and Christianity are but parts of the divine scheme. It is the happy welding of them together that constitutes "the New Dispensation." Just as the New Testament is the logical consequence of the Old, so the New Dispensation is the logical consequence of all the systems of religion that have perplexed mankind by their diversity and contradictions up to the present. Nor is this all, Mr. Keshub Chundar Sen claims more for his Church than this. "The New Dispensation is Christ's prophecy fulfilled. Jesus foretold and foreshadowed other dispensations. He said the Comforter would come after Him, and guide the world into all truth." And in the New Dispensation he sees the fulfilment of this prophecy, "the realization of Christian and Pauline anticipations."

Although the divinity of Christ is not held in the Church of the New Dispensation as in the orthodox churches of Christianity, yet His person and teaching are spoken of with a reverence and devotion that can hardly be surpassed. A subjective divinity is allowed Him, but not an objective; indeed it is plainly asserted that this subjective divinity was all Christ claimed for himself. He was a partaker of the Divine nature, He was God-consciousness, not God Himself. But all believers are equally partakers of the Divine nature. "As for Christ," exclaims Mr. Sen, "we are surely amongst His honoured ambassadors." And, again, he speaks of the founders of the Church of the New Dispensation as Christ's Apostles in India. So that he takes no mean standing as a religious teacher, although disclaiming all supernatural power. It may be true that some of his followers revere him as something more than human, and honour him as an infallible Pope over the Church. But it is certain that he is modest enough in his self-assertion to his colleagues, as the following sentences taken from his "Charge to the Apostles of the New Dispensation" will prove. They are translated from the Bengali, and appear in the *Sunday Mirror*, Calcutta, of April 3rd last :—

"Honour me not as your master. I am your servant, I am your friend. You are my master. Therefore that treatment which a servant may expect from his masters and a friend from his friends, I do expect from you. I am your God-



sent servant, and my Father hath often told me that if I leave your service my salvation will be hindered. Therefore do not in mercy remove me from the post of your servant. My Heavenly Master hath employed me in your service, therefore I must be lowly, and have no cause to be puffed up with vanity. I do not send you as the great prophet Jesus sent his Disciples. Our mutual relations are of a different kind, I am only one of your band. You are sent forth by the world's prophets and apostles. You and I are sent forth by Jesus, Sakya Muni, Chaitanya, and other great prophets. They have sent us forth into the world to preach their truths. Taking the dust of their feet I tell you these words. You are not my apostles, but both you and I are their apostles. They are our spiritual fathers and grandfathers. We are born in the line of their generation. We are twice-born in their inspiration. Before I acknowledged you as apostles those heavenly prophets had ordained and sent you as such. I only repeat their words to their disciples. In this very room, in your hearts, those God-sent prophets are present, and they call you to your work. They tell you to take to heart the sufferings of sinful and sorrowful men. Your brothers and sisters are sinking into the sea of atheism and impiety. How can you be at ease when you see all this? The spirits of Jesus and Moses and Chaitanya still speak to you with warmth. You must not remain cold, when you hear their fiery words. Our Supreme Mother, the Mother of all Prophets, also commands you thus:— 'Apostles of the New Dispensation, go and save my children. Lo! scepticism and vice are destroying them. Run to their rescue with all your might. If you have any love for your Heavenly Mother, go and save her children.' O Apostles, obey the Divine call, and run straight to your work.

"Remember your creed—one God, one Scripture, and one family of prophets. Love the one true God, and worship Him every day. By daily worship make your lives holy. Attain communion with the saints of heaven inwardly in your minds. Eat their flesh and drink their blood, and turn your bodies into vessels of holiness. In your lives show the reconciliation of perfect wisdom, perfect asceticism, perfect love, perfect devotion, perfect conscience, perfect joy, and perfect holiness. Be not satisfied with the fraction of any one virtue. Do not covet the prosperity and pleasure of this world. Preserve your lives with the food that comes from mendicancy. Be happy in others' happiness and sorry in others' sorrow. Regard all mankind as one family. Hate not, nor regard as aliens, men of other castes and other religions. Be ascetics, but live in the world in the midst of other men, and let them live in you. And let both them and yourselves live conjointly in God. There is salvation in unity, and peace in unity. Brother apostles, seek not gold or silver. Be ye mendicants. Take no thought for the morrow. He that thinketh of food and raiment is an unbeliever. God is your all in all. Ye shall desire nothing except the feet of the Lord. Ye shall be guided by Him, eating the bread which He giveth, and not the tainted food of the world which defileth both the body and the soul. Sleep on the bed that the Lord provideth for you. Go in all directions, East and West, North and South, and preach the New Dispensation. Let no regard for men cause you to mix with the Dispensation what does not belong to it. If the people of any country do not want to hear you, shake off the dust of your feet and go elsewhere. Be not angry, be not vengeful. If any men meet you as enemies, let the peace of your prayers descend on their heads. Be poor and patient in spirit. Conquer contention with peace. Be touched with pity, when you see the pride and vanity of those who are in error. Let peace and purity flow into the place where you go. If you go into a village let the people there feel that a new light hath descended upon them. Glory doth not lie in pride, but in a clean conscience. Never in your mind wish for the pleasures of life, but if God giveth you any happiness, accept it with thankfulness and humility. If you take not the joys and pleasures which He giveth, and bear not the pain which cometh from Him, ye are equally rebellious. Never dare to dictate to the Lord. Say not 'Give unto me pain,' or 'Give unto me pleasures.' Whatever happeneth in God's king-



dom doth happen by His will. To-day you are here, to-morrow there; to-day in honour, to-morrow in dishonour. But be not afraid, neither be unsteady. For what God causeth to take place is for your good. Do not press men to give you money or food. The infinite God has taken charge of you. Do His work with hearts full of faith. He that worketh not, is not worthy of reward. Only do the Lord's work and seek His kingdom, and He will give you what is necessary both here and in heaven. Let your faith be firm, and shrink not if men wish to prove it. Do nothing that may lead men and women in future to fall into error and superstition. If, by the example of your sin and slothfulness, others are led to live sinfully, you will have to answer for it. Wherever you see vice struggling against virtue, and impurity tempting chastity, there fight like true heroes, and establish the victory of virtue and chastity. As you cut open the snares of the world from your own souls, so cut them away from the souls of others. Apostles of the New Dispensation, what you have hitherto learnt secretly from your God, go and proclaim now with the sound of the trumpet. Manifest new love, new truth, new inspiration, and draw all men and women into the fold of the New Dispensation."

The Church of the New Dispensation believes in God as an objective reality, an infinite person, a supreme Father. But God is to them not only a person, but a character, the person they worship, the character they assimilate; for that character is Divine Holiness. Their aim is to realize divinity in their own hearts. Worship is useless if it does not render man heavenly and divine, nor is true worship completed till the nature of the worshippers is so converted as to partake of the nature of the divinity. The following "Garland of a Hundred Names" is a list of titles of the Almighty adopted by the New Dispensation as suitable to their Theistic worship,—the titles of the Creator as taught by eclecticism:—

"God, Lord, Holy, Great, Father, First Cause, Supreme Spirit, Almighty, All-Merciful, Saviour, Friend of the poor, Moral Governor, Deliverer of the fallen, Absolute Substance, Primary Force, Life of life, Bodiless, Formless, Divinity, Adorable, Ancient, Giver of success, Dispenser, Triumphant, Heavenly King, Master, Eternal, Infinite, Self-caused, Self-existent, Resplendent, Excellent, Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omniscient, Ocean of Love, Fountain of Joy, Captain of the vessel of life, Destroyer of danger, Extinguisher of sorrow, Lord of hosts, Abode of Beauty, Charmer of the soul, Awful, Conqueror of death, Providence, Teacher, Creator, Preserver, Immaculate, One, All-witness, Smiling Mother, Light of Truth, Sea of nectar, Necklace of the devotee, Crown of the martyr, Glory of the saint, All-Seeing, Beautiful Eye, Defender of the weak, Blissful, Self-manifest, Consoler of the distressed, Healer of the soul diseased, Everlasting, Chastiser of the wicked, Perfect, Inexorable Judge, Light of the eye, Supreme Intelligence, Guide, Priceless treasure, Heaven of peace, Without a second, Enchanter of the world, Queen of the universe, True, Gratifier of pure desires, Household Deity, Bread of life, Endless Space, Supporter of the ascetic, Infinite Love, Water of the thirsty heart, Sovereign of all nations, Joy of the worshipper, Sender of prophets, Eternal scripture, Harmony, Inspirer, Matchless, Ever-living, Immanent, Invisible, Unfathomable, Comforter, Architect, Sun of Righteousness, I am."

A belief is also inculcated in the objectivity of all prophets and departed saints, each a person, a child of God. But the simple admitting of their entity is not enough. There must be also a communion of spirits or a communion of saints. The mere objective



recognition of the world's saints and prophets avails nothing. The Christ of older theologies, they say, is the barren outward fact. The Christ of the New Dispensation is an indwelling power, a living spirit, a fact of consciousness. In order to realize more fully this communion of saints, pilgrimages have been instituted by Mr. Sen. In these pilgrimages, a room in Calcutta is transformed into an historical site in Palestine, Greece, Arabia, or Northern India. Conversation is carried on with the prophet invoked. Lessons are taught and learned. A vivid imagination brings the historical personage invoked before the assembly, and his utterances of centuries ago are applied, more or less skilfully, to the exigencies of the present time, or the difficulties of existing theological speculation. Not that the spirits are supposed to be materialized, not that they are supposed to be omnipresent, or to fill all space, here, there, and everywhere. These pilgrimages are explained to be simply practical applications of "the philosophy of subjectivity." If the saints and prophets are not personally present, they may be spiritually drawn into the life and character of the devotees. The human soul, we are taught, has an absorbent character. It is marvellous in its power of receptivity. By an hour in the company of saints, the whole heart may be revolutionized. A miraculous power of sanctification may be the result of contact with exalted minds. Even the most hardened sinner may be thus impressed. To the simple inquirer it may appear absurd to call a room in Calcutta the mountain of Sinai, and there to converse with Moses as with a guest, the religious teacher asking and answering the questions all the time, always in the spirit of Moses,—but in all this there is no absurdity to the devout believer. The human soul, if it has not lost its susceptibility, inevitably imbibes and draws in the goodness of saints, absorbing all that is good and true in them, by such exercises.

The unity of the Deity is a subject on which "the minister" (Mr. Sen) is eloquent, and doubtless the idolatry prevalent in India renders all his eloquence necessary to combat it. God he declares to be one eternally existing, indivisible Being; but the devotees of India, unable to comprehend him as a totality, divide him into fragments, and, taking up one fragment of his nature and of his attributes at a time, contemplate him within themselves piecemeal. During the Vedic period, when the *yogis* used to realize the invisible God face to face, they never inquired, What was the Deity? or, What were his nature and attributes? They believed that God was incomprehensible, beyond the grasp of human knowledge. The *yogi*, or devotee, in the fulness of his soul, was absorbed in the unity of the Deity.

"But when the Vedic period was gone and the Puranic period came," continued the minister, in one of his theistic discourses, "then the philosophic mind began to inquire into the nature of God. They asked, Who is He that has created and sustains this vast universe? What is He? Is He Father, King, or Lord? When they received no answer to their much questioning, they began to cut Him into pieces by the sword of the intellect, and to carve and carry off



fragments of His attributes according to their own fancies. One said, 'I like Love, and so He who is made of Love and is full of it is my object of worship.' From the soft nature of his own heart, he concluded that God was nothing else but Love, and so believed in that attribute only. Then another, the more deeply he contemplated God's mercy, the more disposed was he to realize the different manifestations of that mercy. But man, unable to adore infinite mercy, must necessarily cut it also into pieces. Because God in his mercy gives food to the hungry, he imagined a distinct Goddess for that attribute, and called her Annapurna. To such a man, so overpowered by the idea of infinite mercy, God became Annapurna only. Another fails to trace this infinite mercy, or is more impressed by the manifestations of infinite power. He finds this infinite power working everywhere. He broods over it. To him God, the Creator of the Universe, is no other than a great force, the primeval force in fact, from which has emanated all that we see around us. God is Sakti to him, illimitable force. Wisdom, love, purity, and beneficence are all sunk in the one idea of force. Thus the indivisible, all-pervading spirit, full of eternal bliss, has been broken into fragments during the Puranic times, and instead of one God, three hundred and thirty millions of gods and goddesses are worshipped."

Thus he shows that idolatry is the worship of broken fragments of the Deity, the minds of the worshippers seizing on a portion, and persuading themselves they have the whole. It was the mission of Brahmoism, Mr. Sen asserts, to collect these different scattered fragments, and combine them together into a consistent idea of the Deity, and so now the New Dispensation, on eclectic principles, reconciles into one the diversities and contradictions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Moslemism.

The doctrine of the Brahmo Somaj relative to the Deity was that in the beginning the one Supreme Being existed, who created the Universe; that this Being is Eternal, Intelligent, Infinite, Formless, Blissful, and Self-dependent—that he is without any second, absolutely alone, all-pervading, all-governing, all-sheltering, all-knowing, perfect and immovable, without equal or parallel. By worship of Him only can happiness be secured by man in this world or in the next, and that love towards Him, and performing the works He loves, works of beneficence, charity, and brotherly love, alone constitute acceptable worship of Him.

The New Dispensation goes further than this. It supplies the devotee with a vast mass of inspired literature from which he is to derive his precepts and examples. How the contradictions of these writings are to be explained and harmonized, we are not yet authoritatively informed. Probably some attempt to harmonize them is even now in process of production. But the devotee of the Brahmo Somaj has to trust to the book of nature and to intuition, accepting help thankfully from the sages of the past. "Honour Christ," says Mr. Sen to his disciples, "but be not Christians in the popular acceptance of that term. A mere imitation of Christ's virtues is not enough. Advance, my friends, to a higher ideal. Be Christ. Incorporate him into your being, import him bodily into your own consciousness. Make him your flesh and blood. Let us all be so many Christs, each a small



Christ in his own humble way." Daring flights of imagery of this kind cause much mystification and misapprehension. So he calls the New Dispensation "the precious necklace in which are strung together the rubies and pearls of all ages and climates;" it is "the sweet music of diverse instruments harmonized;" it is "the wonderful solvent which fuses all dispensations into a new chemical substance." Christ is a person, a character, "that demands absorption into your flesh and my flesh—flesh of your flesh, blood of your blood, breath of your breath." "In my faith," he says again, "I am supremely happy. My beloved Father makes me unexpectedly happy in the sweet faith he has vouchsafed to me. A word of praise I must also offer unto the blessed Son of God, for he too has made me what I am. His sacrificial blood freely given unto a wicked world has gone into my very life-blood. While I was in my mother's womb I drank that precious blood and grew in stature and strength." In another address, he says, "As I was walking along the path of my life I met three stately figures, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and St. Paul." And similarly he speaks of his conferences with Moses, with Gotama Buddha, with Socrates, with Mohammed. Swedenborg too asserted that he met the characters of Scripture history, not figuratively as Mr. Sen, but literally. "Indeed, General," said he, apologizing on one occasion, "St. Peter and St. Paul were with me, and you can easily apprehend that, when one receives such visitors, one is in no hurry to dismiss them."\* "I have conversed," writes Swedenborg, "with some who lived many years ago, with some who lived before the Deluge, and some after it, with some who lived in the Lord's time, with some of His Apostles, and with many of succeeding ages."† "I have conversed with Athanasius," writes he in another place, "and he said he could find neither the Father, the Son, nor the Holy Spirit, and bitterly complained of his inability. The reason is plain—he confirmed himself in the idea of three Gods."‡

But Mr. Sen's bold imagery is not to be taken literally. "When I said I sat with Moses and Jesus the other day, you run and proclaim to the world that I have seen two human figures, or rather their ghosts. You would put a ludicrous interpretation upon a plain piece of poetry, and then ridicule it as a fact of life. Ah! it is the Eastern passion for metaphor, the vein of poetry so characteristic of Oriental nations, that has ruined me."

The New Dispensation proclaims the immortality of the soul; that death is but the dissolution of the partnership hitherto existing between soul and body; that the future life is a continuation and development of the present life; and asserts that these ideas of immortality, as well as the primal teachings of morality, are primitive convictions rooted in man's constitution. The incarnation of the Deity is denied, but all the great teachers of religion, from Moses to Mohammed, are recognized as

\* Barruel's "Memoirs," vol. iv., p. 133. † "De divina providentia." No. 324 of 1764.

‡ *Diarium Spiritualium*, No. 5,959.



God's servants, and as useful teachers. A violation of duty is sin, such violations offend God, our fellow men, ourselves, or the inferior beings, towards all of whom we have duties to perform that are incumbent on us. Every sinner must suffer the consequences of his own sinfulness, sooner or later, in this world or the next. Holiness may be attained, however, and sinfulness extirpated from our own nature, by the worship of God, by self-control and self-denial, by repentance, by the study of God in nature and in good books; by good company, and by solitary contemplation. By these means salvation is attained. No mediation between God and man finds a place in the New Dispensation. Salvation brings with it a perpetual growth in purity, and such growth goes on for all eternity. The soul becomes better fitted for Heaven perpetually, and, as the companion of the Deity, enjoys everlasting happiness in eternity.

In his "Indian Theistic Reformers" Professor Monier Williams has given an admirable account of the progress of the doctrines of Theism, from the teachings of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy to those of Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen, but without describing their later development in the New Dispensation. In the *Garland of a Hundred Names*, ascribed to the Deity, and already quoted from the periodical entitled the *New Dispensation*, it will be seen that the Motherhood of God is insisted upon. The learned professor gives the following abridgment of a remarkable "proclamation" issued in December, 1879, and purporting to come from "India's Mother":—

"To all my soldiers in India, my affectionate greeting. Believe that this proclamation goeth forth from Heaven in the name and with the love of your Mother. Carry out its behests like loyal soldiers. The British Government is my Government. The Brahmo Somaj is my Church. My daughter, Queen Victoria, have I ordained. Come direct to me without a mediator, as your Mother. The influence of the earthly Mother at home, of the Queen Mother at the head of the Government, will raise the head of my Indian children to their Supreme Mother. I will give them peace and salvation. Soldiers, fight bravely and establish my dominion."

This idea of God's Motherhood as a correlative to God's Fatherhood, continues the Professor, is thoroughly Hindu. It existed in Hinduism long before the Christian era.

Professor Williams does full justice to Mr. Sen's honesty and sincerity, his eloquence and his genius—indeed, he speaks of his "almost super-human eloquence, ability, and genius." I would not attempt to go farther than this in my admiration. I am sure none can patiently peruse Mr. Sen's addresses without feeling convinced that an earnest soul struggles to express itself in them, that he has a very difficult warfare to wage, and that his zeal, fire, vigour, energy, and ability are worthy of all praise. As to the amount of truth in his speculative opinions, that, of course, is quite a different affair.

But the Professor falls foul of "the minister" on account of the marriage of the daughter of the latter to the Maharajah of Kuch Behar,



in 1878, partly, apparently, because the bridegroom was a Maharajah, partly because idolatrous rites were performed on that occasion, and partly because the bride was too young. Mr. Krishna Bihari Sen, writing to the Professor, has disposed of some of these objections, showing that the ceremony objected to by the Professor was a mere betrothal, and that the parties did not live together as man and wife till the Maharajah was eighteen and his bride sixteen, and therefore that the epithet "child marriage" applied to it was erroneous. As to the idolatrous rites, they were not performed till the bride and her party had left the place. Mr. Sen was not present at them. Everything was performed apparently in compliance with the usual ritual of Brahmo marriage. On Mr. Sen's side it is further urged that the marriage was a severe blow to caste prejudices, that the propagation of Theistic opinions in Kuch Behar, and in native states generally, will be much facilitated thereby, and that, finally, Mr. Sen acted in accordance with the will of God. If this last point can be established, surely nothing more need be urged in favour of the marriage.

The New Dispensation is openly and fearlessly declared to be the work of God and not of man. A system elaborated by man, argue its founders, is sure to break down; there are certain to be hitches and flaws in it in abundance. But the work of God is consistent, and though it takes a long time for development, and although the media through which it is made visible to all men are very various, yet the work itself is a harmonious whole, the manifestation of the Divine will working upon the conflicting elements of human nature. And such, they claim, are the characteristic features of the New Dispensation. It is, they assure us, a beautiful symmetrical plan of Providence daily being developed, and which, true to its Divine mission, provides an infallible remedy for human wants and shortcomings. The Vedantic Somaj of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, and the Hindu Brahmoism of Debendro Nath Tagore, have both been outgrown. And now, in the fulness of time, the New Dispensation makes its appearance—a system of Divine eclecticism, absorbing all religions, incorporating in itself all the prophets of God. It includes and fulfils the Somaj of the Rajah, and the Adi Brahma Somaj of the Babu. It carries both to their legitimate and logical sequence. "The Lord planted the seed, the Lord watered it, and the Lord has given it a plentiful harvest."

Among the fellow-workers with Mr. Sen in the labour of founding the New Dispensation, may be mentioned his cousin, Mr. Protap Chundar Mozoomdar, his brother, Mr. Krishna Bihari Sen, and his missionary prophets, Babu Amrita Lall Boze, Bhai Aghore Nath, and Bhai Deno Nath.

A ritual will doubtless be elaborated in time. At present the services are simple and unpretending—a hymn, an invocation, an address, silent communion, and a prayer. But in January last the flag of the New Dispensation was unfurled, and that appears to be the



prelude to an elaborate ritual. The *Arati* ceremony, with which the flag was inaugurated, gave offence to many. It consisted of the waving of lights before the flag, and the chanting of hymns,—“sacred secrets of symbolical faith.” The banner, we are told, as a whole, represents the Church Militant developing into a Church Triumphant. The flag waving high in the air suggests the idea of victory. To unfurl the banner is to declare war with evil, and to proclaim the kingdom of heaven. Sectarianism must be overcome; eclecticism and spirituality, the holy confraternity of saints, and the kingdom of the supreme God, have to be established in the place of sectarianism. All these ideas and anticipations, we are assured, are symbolized in the banner.

The manner of the unfurling of the flag was in this wise :—Upon a small table, covered with scarlet cloth, were arranged the four principal Scriptures of the world, the Hindu, the Buddhistic, the Christian, and the Mohammedan. In front of this stood the Banner of the New Dispensation. On the silver-plated pole thereof was suspended the Bugle of the Expeditionary Army. The minister (Mr. Sen) then addressed the assembly :—

“Behold the flag of the New Dispensation! The silk flag is crimson with the blood of martyrs. It is the flag of the Great King of Heaven and Earth, the One Supreme Lord. Victory flies around His holy banner. His almighty arm will crush all evil and annihilate sin and sensuality.

“Behold the spirits of all the prophets and saints of heaven assembled overhead, a holy confraternity, in whose union is the harmony of faith and hope and joy. And at the foot of the holy standard are the Scriptures of the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Christians, and the Mohammedans, the sacred repositories of the wisdom of ages, and the inspiration of saints, our light and our guide. Four Scriptures are here united in blessed harmony under the shade of this flag. Here are knit together in international fellowship four great continents, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. Here you see the meeting place of the east, the west, the north and the south; of the young and the old, of men and women; of the rich and the poor, of the wise and the unlearned. Here is the harmony of the mind and the heart, the soul and the will, of knowledge and love, devotion and duty. Glory unto God in the highest! Honour to all Prophets and Saints in heaven, and to all Scriptures on earth! Unto the New Dispensation victory, victory, victory!”

The disciples then, one after another, marched past the flag, touching it and kissing it, and then reverently bowed before God, and gave Him their allegiance and homage, praying that His kingdom might come. The whole thing, we are assured by the New Dispensation organ, was a grand symbol of royalty, of the heavenly king enthroned, a foreshadowing of the future kingdom of God on earth. For in this solemn spectacle the eye of the believer saw the living symbol of Christ's kingdom of heaven.

However, all did not see this. Many of the former adherents of the Brahmo Somaj were offended at it, and refused to enrol themselves as disciples of the New Dispensation. This feeling, we are assured, is neither wide-spread nor likely to be lasting.



A new sacramental ceremony has also been instituted, and is thus prefaced and described in the periodical called the *New Dispensation* :—

“JESUS! Is the sacramental rite meant only for those nations that are in the habit of taking bread and wine? Are the Hindus excluded from partaking of the holy eucharist? Wilt thou cut us off, because we are rice-eaters and tee-totallers? That cannot be. Spirit of Jesus! that cannot be. Both unto Europe and Asia thou hast said, Eat my flesh and drink my blood. Therefore the Hindu shall eat thy flesh in rice, and drink thy blood in pure water, so that the Scripture might be fulfilled in this land.

“On Sunday, the 6th March, the ceremony of adapting the sacrament to Hindu life was performed with due solemnity, in accordance with the principle above set forth. The Hindu apostles of Christ gathered after prayer in the dinner hall, and sat upon the floor, upon the bare ground. Upon a silver plate was Rice, and in a small goblet was Water, and there were flowers and leaves around both. The minister read the following verses from Luke xxii. :—

“And he took bread and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me.

“Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you.”

“A prayer was then offered, asking the Lord to bless the sacramental rice and water :—

“Touch this rice and this water, O Holy Spirit, and turn their grossly material substance into sanctifying spiritual forces, that they may, upon entering our system, be assimilated to it as the flesh and blood of all the saints in Christ Jesus. Satisfy the hunger and thirst of our souls with the rich food and drink thou hast placed before us. Invigorate us with Christ-force and nourish us with saintly life.”

“The Lord blessed the rice and He blessed the water.

“And these were then served in small quantities to those around, and men ate and drank reverently, and the women and children also ate and drank, and they blessed God, the God of prophets and saints.”

The “vow of self-surrender” is another novelty of the New Dispensation. Those who take it constitute the order of *Grihastha vairagi*, or ascetic householders. They are men of the world, they work in various ways, make money by diligent labour, but discharge no priestly function. Nor are they missionaries. They are seculars who devote themselves and all they can acquire to the Church. Self-surrender is their motto. They give all their substance to Mother Church. They toil from morn to night, they labour diligently in their various vocations, and they lay all their earnings at the feet of the Church, with full confidence that she will do what is right with them. They are her children and servants. Covetousness thus, we are quaintly told, becomes impossible. The wants of those who have taken this vow of self-surrender upon them must, I suppose, be supplied by the Church, such as their food and clothing,—but particulars of this kind are not given. The spiritual blessings that accompany the vow, and chiefly the extinction of covetousness and worldliness, are particularly dwelt upon. But I confess a little more detailed information as to the management of the scheme—how the devotees are boarded, lodged, and clothed—would be acceptable. I do not suppose the number of these devotees is yet con-



siderable. Three were admitted on one occasion, two on another, and so on.

Another peculiarity of the Church of the New Dispensation is the singing of hymns by devotees from door to door for the benefit of the worldly-minded. Hitherto the practice has been confined only to the lower classes of the people, the poorer Vaishnavas. But the middle and higher classes are now warmly invited to engage in this "exalted work." They are exhorted to give up their indolence and selfish apathy, their pride and vain-gloriousness, and to go in the evening to the houses of the wealthy, and to the huts of the poor, singing before them the praises of God and the riches of his mercy, thus securing a great benefit to their country by a little self-denial. They are to form themselves into little groups of Dispensation Minstrels, singing "God's sweet name" in different parts of the city. This innovation was introduced on the Bengali New Year's Day in April last.

In order to illustrate the teaching of the apostles of the New Dispensation, I cannot do better than extract from their own organ a sermon on "The Cross," probably from the pen of "the minister" himself, Mr. Sen.

"Many are the lessons which the Cross suggests. For eighteen centuries it has deluged the world with faith, love, and righteousness. It has strengthened many a weak heart; it has sanctified and saved many a sinner. It has given light and peace to many a nation. Hence is it that the world glorifies the cross, and many a devotee gratefully wears it on his bosom. The men of the New Dispensation have read the mysterious symbol and pondered it, and made it the subject of anxious and earnest prayer, for some days past, in their holy Sanctuary. What noble sentiments and exalted thoughts has it excited in their minds! What a flood of heavenly light has it poured into their humble souls! Like their Christian brethren they too have sat day after day during the past and the present week at the foot of the cross, wondering at the miracles it has wrought in the world. And, like them, they too are ready humbly to bear the cross, and bear witness unto Jesus amid the trials and sufferings of life. To "him crucified" the cross was nothing but the shedding of sacrificial blood for the salvation of the world. What is it to us? To us it has only one meaning, the crucifixion of the flesh, the destruction of animal propensities, the annihilation of the old man. We are then crucified, when we are dead unto the world. The cross is man's figure with hands outstretched. Put any man into this position, and you have a man-cross. Let us consider this position, and see what it means. It means the human body fastened and motionless. It means the man whose hands are nailed, and cannot therefore hold the things of the world; the man whose feet are nailed, and are therefore incapable of moving in the paths of sin and carnality. It means *yoga* posture, humanity dead yet alive. Every man standing above the world, whose senses are dead unto the flesh, whose carnal nature has been wholly subdued by communion, who speaks not, moves not, and is not tempted by temptations, such a man is like a cross. The old man in us must die upon that cross, nailed by communion and *yoga*. Have you thought of Christ, the Prince of Martyrs and *yogis*? Then think of Buddha. He is dead, a motionless, statue-like figure representing crucified humanity, slain self, vanquished senses. Then turn to the picture of the great Hindu *yogi*, Siva, lying on the ground, dead and senseless, with the feet of Shakti, Divine Force, standing upon him. The whole thing looks like an inverted cross.



Here is an allegorical representation teaching us how the true devotee must be a complete carcase at the feet of the Almighty. It is the cross, it is the cross everywhere, reminding us of the necessity of crucifixion and new life."

The mingling together of the lessons of the Cross of Christ, the passionless Buddha, and Hindu asceticisms, has a strange and weird character. But what shall we say of the following, an Address to the Spirit of Saint Peter, also from the *New Dispensation*? Does it not look like a *travestie* of the Roman Catholic invocation of saints and angels?

"Honoured Saint, art thou the gate-keeper of heaven? Art thou not he in whose hands is the key of paradise? Then there is no admission into heaven without thy permission. And whom wilt thou admit? All those to whom Jesus hath given a passport. None of these wilt thou reject? No favouritism, no sectarianism in thee. Canst thou be guilty of partiality? Canst thou have a grudge against individuals or sects on account of narrow prejudices or jealousies? No. That cannot be. If the Lord has entrusted to thee the key of heaven, thou canst have no bigotry, thou canst not be a respecter or hater of persons. Thou art the head of the Catholic Church of God. Hence there can be no sectarianism in thee. Thou art a Catholic, the Catholic of Catholics. In thee is the unity of the Church perfected. All those who are of God and who are of Christ are one in thee. Against none of these wilt thou set thy face. Thou comprehendest all. Seamless was Christ's garment. There can be no division, no schism in the Church of Jesus, which is the Church of humanity. Thou art the head of the Roman Catholic Church, they say. Why not the Head of the Human Catholic Church? Yes, of the Universal Church of humanity art thou the heaven-appointed Head. Who can deny thee? Can St. Paul's Church deny St. Peter's Church? No. Paul is Peter and Peter is Paul, and they are one in Jesus, and with Jesus one in God. We are of Paul, and we are of Peter. Therefore, thou wilt not exclude us, though men have excluded us. Be kind and just to us, heaven's gate-keeper, and pray do not shut us out. Have pity on us, poor prisoners of the Lord Jesus."

"The doings of this Church of the New Dispensation," says a private letter from Calcutta, "remind me of what I read of the Salvation Army in England. It is the mission of the New Dispensation to lead the people of this country to the Holy Land, says one of their preachers. They assemble in the evening—twenty of them or more—always half a dozen boys amongst them, with big lanterns, and they go parading up and down the streets and lanes, singing Bengali hymns. The other evening I met them in the Upper Circular Road, they passed through Carey's Church Lane into College Square, and there, taking their seats in front of a native gentleman's house, they began to sing with great enthusiasm. The owners of the neighbouring houses seemed pleased with the harmony, and some of them begged the performers to sing in front of their houses. First they sang two Sankirtan hymns standing; then, seats being courteously offered and accepted, a little crowd collected. There were, perhaps, a hundred or more, and I cannot help saying that a more orderly and impressive service I never witnessed. I listened to one of the discourses in English, and it was wonderfully effective, full of intellectual persuasion, without rant of any kind; it is a system of eclecticism that



has charms for all hearers. Some of the discourses about Christ would satisfy our Evangelical friends at home, whilst Buddhists, Hindus, and Moslems will all find something to admire. Purity of thought, word, and deed is faithfully inculcated, with a noble human philanthropy, embracing all sects, that would have charmed your friend Carlyle."

Mr. Sen regards the New Dispensation as a God-sent protest against Atheism. Whatever the discoveries of science, whatever the speculations of philosophy, all of them, he believes, can be reconciled with the religious truths inculcated by his reformed Brahmoism. The history of Brahmoism, he insists, proves its divine origin. So many earnest men would not have found consolation in it if it were otherwise. For more than twenty years some of them have found spiritual consolation in it, in all trials. An intellectual system, that is, one merely and simply intellectual, would not have given such consolation. Sinners have been converted, and some of the vilest characters reclaimed by it. And this, he maintains, is a proof that it is something more than an intellectual system. The New Dispensation, however, does not merely preach goodness, it preaches godliness. Goodness is human, it teaches, and godliness divine. In this way only can the divinity be assimilated and made our own. The *yoga* faculty, or the power of spiritual communion and absorption, is specially claimed for the Hindu race, a faculty enabling them to annihilate time and space, and to bring home to their minds an external Deity and an external humanity. In the following eloquent strain, Mr. Sen exhorted his hearers, in his last address in the Town Hall in Calcutta, to make use of this *yoga* faculty, and make of all the nations of the world—one people:—

"Waving the magic wand of *yoga*, we say to the Ural mountains and the river Ural, 'Vanish,' and lo! they disappear. And we command Europe to enter into the heart of Asia, and Asia to enter into the mind of Europe, and they obey us, and we instantly realize within ourselves a European Asia and an Asiatic Europe, or, in other words, a commingling of oriental and occidental ideas and principles. We say to the Pacific, 'Pour thy waters into the Atlantic,' and we say to the West, 'Roll back to the East.' We summon ancient India to come into us with all her *rishis* and saints, her asceticism and communion and simplicity of character, and, behold! a transfiguration! The educated modern Hindu cast in Vedic mould! How by *yoga* one nation becomes another! How Asia eats the flesh and drinks the blood of Europe! How the Hindu absorbs the Christian; how the Christian assimilates the Hindu! Cultivate this communion, my brethren, and continually absorb all that is good and noble in each other. Do not hate, do not exclude others, as the sectarians do, but include and absorb all humanity and all truth. Let there be no antagonism, no exclusion. Let the embankment which each sect, each nation, has raised, be swept away by the flood of cosmopolitan truth, and let all the barriers and partitions which separate man from man be pulled down, so that truth and love and purity may flow freely through millions of hearts and through hundreds of successive generations, from country to country, from age to age. Thus shall the deficiencies of individual and national character be complemented, and humanity shall attain a fuller and more perfect standard of religious and moral life. There is no reason, my European friends, why you should move eternally in your narrow groove, rejecting everything which is Eastern and Asiatic. Why should you not add to your national virtues those of



the East? Why should you not add to your philosophy and science and civilization the faith and poetry of Asia?"

It is not wonderful that such eloquent appeals should stir the hearts of Mr. Sen's listeners. Viewing his labours and his successes, his indefatigable industry and his courage, his enthusiasm and his fortitude, it is not wonderful perhaps that Professor Monier Williams should write of "his almost superhuman eloquence, ability, and genius."

But many may ask, in this country, what have the Theists of Bengal actually accomplished. In what respects, besides their speculative religious opinions, are we called upon to admire them? I will enumerate a few of the reforms advocated by them. In the first place a complete abolition of all caste restrictions. It is not easy for any one who has not witnessed the force of those restrictions in the East to understand how much is implied in their complete renunciation; secondly, the abolition of the worship of deceased ancestors, the *Sraddha*; thirdly, a reformation of the ceremonies usual at birth and at cremation; fourthly, reform of marriage customs—and to remodel the ceremonies appropriate to marriage is to reconstruct Hindu society; fifthly, the promotion of female education and emancipation; sixthly, to limit men to one wife; seventhly, to remove the prohibition against the marriage of widows; and, eighthly, social reform, the suppression of intemperance of all kinds, the promotion of education amongst the people, and the social and moral regeneration of the people of India generally. To secure these last objects Mr. Sen founded the "Indian Reform Association" on his return from his visit to England in 1870, an association chiefly intended to promote female improvement. A female normal and adult school, in connection with it, was opened in 1871.

Men who are engaged in a great warfare against prejudice, superstition, and evil customs, deserve our sympathy and esteem, whatever we may think of their theological opinions. India has been paralyzed by the social system forced upon her, centuries ago, by a superstitious and self-seeking priesthood. The men of the New Dispensation seek to remove that paralysis. They would restore freedom of action, as well as of thought; and, with this, blessings incalculable will be realized. All, therefore, who desire the welfare of humanity will earnestly wish the reformers "God speed," for their warfare is against their prejudices of centuries, against spiritual slavery, and the moral and social fetters which, for more than two thousand years, have bound more than a hundred and fifty millions of the human race in religious thralldom.

W. KNIGHTON.

## THE SOCIALISM OF KARL MARX AND THE YOUNG HEGELIANS.

IT is a curious and not unmeaning circumstance that the country where Karl Marx is least known, is that in which he has for the last thirty years lived and worked. His word has gone into all the earth and evoked in some quarters echoes which governments will neither let live nor let die; but here, where it was pronounced, its sound has scarcely been heard. His principal book, "Das Kapital," is a criticism of the modern industrial system as explained by English economists and exemplified in English society. Though written in German it seldom cites a German authority, but it shows an unusual knowledge of the earlier English economical writers; it goes very fully into the circumstances of English labour, as described in Parliamentary Blue-books; it constantly draws its illustrations from English industrial life, and always even states its money allusions in terms of English coin (probably because no other currency is so well known to so many nations). Yet English is probably the only one of the greater languages of the civilized world into which this work has not been translated—a circumstance which is the more noteworthy, because it shows, that, however Democratic Socialism has spread in America, it has as yet taken no hold on the interest of the English-speaking population. Marx himself can have few more fervent desires than to effect a footing for his doctrines among the working class of this country; for the great object to which he has devoted his energies—with, I believe, a thoroughly disinterested, though mistaken zeal—for nearly forty years, has been the organization of a consentaneous international movement among the proletariat of all civilized nations for an organic reconstruction of society; and he declares unreservedly that any proletariat movement in which England takes no part is "nothing better than a storm in a glass of water." For England is the classical land of the proletariat,



where the monster was first bred, where it has consequently grown to greatest maturity, and where, if anywhere, it must first show its might. Yet the writings of Marx are hardly better known in this country than those of Confucius, and it is doubtful whether, outside of a few Radical clubs in London, the English proletariat so much as know his name. In Russia, on the other hand, where there is no modern system of production and no modern proletariat at all, his work has had a large sale, as many as 3,000 copies having been disposed of within a year after the translation appeared. That is to say, the book has had a striking success in the country to whose circumstances it applies least, and the coldest reception in the country whose circumstances it most directly deals with. The fortunes of this work seem thus, to some extent, to mock the theory on which it is founded; for if, as its author alleges, the course of industry is creating an intolerable economical situation, it is at least noteworthy that the society where that situation is admittedly most completely developed, and where, therefore, there ought to be the greatest call for Socialism, should have made least response to it, although it happens at the same time to be the society where those who are supposed to suffer from the situation possess the largest freedom to express their mind.

The reason of this is obvious: the most energetic element in contemporary Socialism is political rather than economical. The movement is before all revolutionary, and finds its easiest points of contact in quarters where a revolutionary opposition already exists. In Russia, it is true, there is more than one party whose ways of thinking would prepare them to give the Socialistic idea a hospitable welcome. There is the National party, who believe the Russian *mir* and *artel* are to supply the model for the social organization of modern Europe, who are proud to think with Herzen that their despised peasant, disguised with dirt and muddled with brandy, has solved the social problem of the nineteenth century, and who would therefore give a ready ear to teaching which fed a hope so agreeable to their national vanity. But the party chiefly interested in Socialism is the too well-known party of disorder, who naturally entertain a fraternal sympathy with any sort of revolutionary agitation elsewhere. In England, again, there is no democratic or revolutionary opposition, organized or speculative. The course of politics has long run very smooth; none of the questions of the day have forced the fundamental principles of the existing system into popular debate; there has been no abstract philosophical discussion of them of any deep-reaching kind; and the working classes are preoccupied with the development of trades unions, of friendly societies, and of the great co-operative movement, from which, in spite of many discouragements, they not unwarrantably expect great results. Revolutionary Socialism is therefore quite foreign to the present temper of the English mind; and if it ever acquires a footing here, it will not be from any change in the economical situation, but it will be from



the growth of an energetic democratic agitation, excited either by the injudicious obstinacy of those in power, or by the direct teaching of influential thinkers. A democratic party may not be all Socialists, but it will ever have a strong tendency to Socialism, which a section of the party will always follow. For, whatever may be the case with democracy triumphant and settled, democracy militant, the democracy of an agitating party, is necessarily penetrated by an overmastering sense of the claims of numbers, and by a most dangerous depreciation of the rights of individuals, and of the value of individuality. Now this conception of the unlimited right of the greatest number conveys you to the gates of Socialism of the contemporary type, and you cannot well get to those gates without its convoy.

The importance of this consideration will be apparent when we turn to Germany, the great home of contemporary Socialism, because we find that the present movement really originated there as a development of theoretical democracy, and that its spread has been greatly promoted by the presence throughout the country of revolutionary elements bred in the long struggle for political emancipation. Of course, the economical conditions of such a movement existed. There was no doubt misery enough, and there were no doubt inequalities enough of wealth in Germany, as there is misery enough, and as there are inequalities enough of wealth in most other places, to suggest the idea either to benevolent reformers or to less well-meaning demagogues, that some arrangement might be discovered, whereby the wealth that was now wasted by the rich might be made to circulate so as to lessen the wretchedness of the poor. But as far as went, the classes who felt most sorely pinched at the time were the professional classes, of whose straits Treitschke gives us an affecting picture, and the working classes in general were so insensible to their indigence that Lassalle said the first thing to be done was to teach them their misery. If we look to the spread of the movement, then next to the effective agitation of Lassalle, and to the impetus given by the concession of universal suffrage in 1866, which supplied an immediate practical work to concentrate the energies of the organization upon, what most contributed to it was the presence of the survivors of the political movement of 1848, and the continued development of similar political elements from the operation of similar political causes. And if we go back to the earlier origin of the movement, to the time when its peculiar type of doctrine was first disseminated in Germany, its representatives then—some of whom are its chief leaders still—would have scorned the suggestion that the revolution they contemplated had its origin, as Napoleon said all revolutions had, in the belly. To their thinking a revolution was the work of time, aided by philosophy. It was a product, on the one hand, of the natural forces of historical evolution, and, on the other, of philosophy teaching the people to take a conscious share in its production. The present form of Socialism appeared first some forty years ago among



the Young Hegelians as part of a very wide-reaching philosophy of life, and it was at once eagerly embraced by political exiles across the German border as their dream and hope for the future, even while, as they themselves believed, the very materials for making it a popular or triumphant movement had not as yet come into existence. They were told that by ordinary process of historical evolution the labouring and lower middle classes were being rapidly converted into one immense proletariat, whose development would inevitably bring in a reign of democracy with Socialism, and they sat by the waters of London or Geneva and waited—not without freaks of impatient and delusive anticipation—for the birth of this great German proletariat which should break all bonds and effect the redemption of society. There are thus to be taken into account, in explaining German Socialism, two special historical conditions which contributed to lend it its particular type, and to facilitate its subsequent spread. First, the remarkable course of philosophical speculation which the nation passed through in the earlier half of this century, and which spared nothing in heaven or earth from its most powerful crucible; and second, the long-standing struggle for political emancipation, which, according to Freiligrath's figure, kept Germany in a restless agitation, like Hamlet, haunted incessantly by the ghost of its freedom, and maddening itself fitfully to fruitless revenges. Now all this cannot be better illustrated than in connection with the career of Karl Marx, who was probably the first of the Young Hegelians to become a decided adherent of Socialism, and who proclaimed then a Socialism substantially identical with that which appears to-day in an ampler form in his work on Capital.

Born at Trèves in 1818, the son of a Christian Jew who had a high post in the Civil Service, Marx was sent to the University of Bonn towards the end of the third decade of the century, won a considerable reputation there in philosophy and jurisprudence, determined, like Lassalle, to devote himself to the academic profession, and seemed destined for an eminently successful career, in which his subsequent marriage with the sister of the Prussian Minister of State, Von Westphalen, would certainly have facilitated his advancement. But at the University he came under the spell of Hegel, and passed, step by step, with the Extreme Left of the Hegelian school, into the philosophical, religious, and political Radicalism which finally concentrated into the Humanism of Feuerbach. Just as he had finished his curriculum, the accession of Frederick William IV. in 1840 stirred a rustle of most misplaced expectation among the Liberals of Germany, who thought the day of freedom was at length to break, and who rose with generous eagerness to the tasks to which it was to summon them. Under the influence of these hopes and feelings, Marx abandoned the professorial for an editorial life, and committed himself at the very outset of his days to a political position which compromised him hopelessly with German governments, and forced him, step by step, into a long career of revolutionary agitation



and organization. He became one of the staff of the *Rhenish Gazette*, which was founded at that time in Cologne by the leading Liberals of the Rhine country, including Camphausen and Hansemann, and which was the organ of the Young Hegelian, or philosophical movement party, and he made so great an impression by his bold and vigorous criticism of the proceedings of the Rhenish Landtag that he was appointed editor of the newspaper in 1842. In this post he continued his attacks on the Government, and they were at once so effective and so carefully worded that a special censor was sent from Berlin to Cologne to take supervision of his articles, and when this agency proved ineffectual, the journal was suppressed by order of the Prussian Ministry in 1843. From Cologne Marx went to Paris to be joint editor of the *Deutsche Französische Jahrbücher* with Arnold Ruge, a leader of the Hegelian Extreme Left, who had been deprived of his professorship at the University of Halle by the Prussian Government, and whose magazine, the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, published latterly at Leipzig to escape the Prussian authority, had just been suppressed by the Saxon. The *Deutsche Französische Jahrbücher* were published by the well-known Julius Froebel, who had some time before given up his professorship at Zurich to edit a democratic newspaper, and open a shop for the sale of democratic literature; who professed himself a Communist in Switzerland, and had written some able works, with very Radical and Socialistic leanings, but who seems to have gone on a different tack at the time of the Lassallean movement, for he was—as Meding shows us in his “*Memoiren zur Zeitgeschichte*,” just published—at that time the prime promoter of the ill-fated Congress of Princes at Frankfort in 1865. The new magazine was intended to be a continuation of the suppressed *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, on a more extended plan, having French as well as German contributors, and supplying in some sort a means of uniting the Extreme Left of both nations; but no French contribution ever appeared in it, and it ceased altogether in a year's time, probably for commercial reasons, though there is no unlikelihood in the allegation sometimes made, that it was stopped in consequence of a difference between the editors as to the treatment of the question of Communism.

The Young Hegelians had already begun to take the keenest interest in that question, but were, for a time, curiously perplexed as to the attitude they should assume towards it. They seem to have been fascinated and repelled by turns by the system, and to have been equally unable to cast it aside or to commit themselves fairly to it. Karl Grün, himself a Young Hegelian, says that at first they feared Socialism, and points, for striking evidence of this, to the fact that the *Rhenish Gazette* bestowed an enthusiastic welcome on Stein's book on French Communism, although that book condemned the system from a theologically orthodox and politically reactionary point of view. But he adds that the Young Hegelians contributed to the spread of Socialism against their will, that it was through the interest they took in its



speculations and experiments that Socialism acquired credit and support in public opinion in Germany, and that the earliest traces of avowed Socialism are to be found in the *Rhenish Gazette*. If we may judge by the extracts from some of Marx's articles in that journal which are given in Bruno Bauer's "*Vollständige Geschichte der Parthei-Kämpfe in Deutschland während der Jahre 1842-46*," we should say that Marx was even at this early period a decided Socialist, for he often complains of the great wrong "the poor dumb millions" suffer in being excluded by their poverty from the possibility of a free development of their powers, "and from any participation in the fruits of civilization," and that the State had far other duty towards them than to come in contact with them only through the police. When Ruge visited Cabet in Paris he said that he and his friends (meaning, he explained, the philosophical and political opposition) stood so far aloof from the question of Communism that they had never yet so much as raised it, and that, while there were Communists in Germany, there was no Communistic party. This statement is probably equivalent to saying that he and his school took as yet a purely theoretical and Platonic interest in Socialism, and had not come to adopt it as part of their practical programme. Most of them were already Communists by conviction, and the others felt their general philosophical and political principles forcing them towards Communism, and the reason of their hesitation in accepting it is probably expressed by Ruge, when he says (in an article in Heinzen's *Die Opposition*, p. 103), that the element of truth in Communism was its sense of the necessity of political emancipation, but that there was a great danger of Communists forgetting the political question in their zeal for the social. It was chiefly under the influence of the Humanism into which Feuerbach had transformed the Idealism of Hegel, that the Hegelian Left passed into Communism. Humanist and Communist became nearly convertible terms. Friedrich Engels mentions in his book on the condition of the English working classes, published in 1845, that all the German Communists of that day were followers of Feuerbach, and most of the followers of Feuerbach in Germany (Ruge seems to have remained an exception) were Communists. Stein attributed French Socialism greatly to the prevailing sensualistic character of French philosophy, which conceived enjoyment to be man's only good, and not knowledge, and which never rose to the great German conception, the logical conception of the Ego, the idea of knowing for the sake of knowing. The inference this contrast suggests is that the metaphysics of Germany had been its protector, its national guard, against Socialism, but at the very time he was writing, the guard was turning traitor, and a native Socialism was springing up by natural generation out of the idealistic philosophy. The fact, however, rather confirms the force of Stein's remark, for the Hegelian Idealism first bred the more sensualistic system of Humanism, and then Humanism bred Socialism.



Hegel had transformed the transcendental world of current opinion, with its personal deity and personal immortality, into a world of reason; and Feuerbach went a step further, and abolished what he counted the transcendency of reason itself. Heaven and God were no doubt subjective illusions, fantastic projections of man's own being and his own real world into external spheres. But mind, an abstract entity, and reason, a universal and single principle, were illusions too. There was nothing real but man—the concrete flesh-and-blood man who thinks and feels. "God," says Feuerbach speaking of his mental development, "was my first thought, Reason my second, Man my third and last." He passed, as Lange points out, through Comte's three epochs. Theology was swept away, and then metaphysics, and in its room came a positive and materialistic anthropology which declared that the senses were the sole sources of real knowledge, that the body was not only part of man's being, but its totality and essence, and in short that man is what he eats—*Der Mensch ist was er isst*. Man, therefore, had no other God before man, and the promotion of man's happiness and culture in this earthly life—which was his only life—was the sole natural object of his political or religious interest. This system was popularised by Feuerbach's brother Friedrich, in a little work called the "Religion of the Future," which enjoyed a high authority among the German Communists, and formed a kind of lectionary they read and commented on at their stated meetings. The object of the new religion is thus stated in it:—"Man alone is our God, our father, our judge, our redeemer, our true home, our law and rule, the alpha and omega of our political, moral, public, and domestic life and work. There is no salvation but by man." And the cardinal articles of the faith are that human nature is holy, that the impulse to pleasure is holy, that everything which gratifies it is holy, that every man is destined and entitled to be happy, and for the attainment of this end has the right to claim the greatest possible assistance from others, and the duty to afford the same to them in turn.

Now the tendency of this metaphysical and moral teaching was strongly democratic and socialistic. There was said to be in the existing political system a false transcendency identical with that of the current religious system. King and council hovered high and away above the real life of society in a world of their own, looking on political power as a kind of private property, and careless of mankind, from whom it sprang, to whom it belonged, and by whom and for whom it should be administered. "The princes are gods," says Feuerbach, "and they must share the same fate. The dissolution of theology into anthropology in the field of thought is the dissolution of monarchy into republic in the field of politics. Dualism, separation is the essence of theology; dualism, separation is the essence of monarchy. There we have the antithesis of God and world; here we have the antithesis of state and people." This dualism must be abolished. The state must be



*humanized*—must be made an instrument in the hands of all for the welfare of all; and its inhabitants must be *politized*, for they, all of them, constitute the *polis*. Man must no longer be a means, but must be everywhere and always an end. There was nobody above man, there was neither superhuman person nor consecrated person; neither deity, nor divine right. And, on the other hand, as there is no person who in being or right is more than man, so there must be no person who is less. There must be no *unmenschen*, no slaves, no heretics, no outcasts, no outlaws, but every being who wears human flesh must be placed in the enjoyment of the full rights and privileges of man. The will of man be done, hallowed be his name.

These principles already bring us to the threshold of Socialism, and now Feuerbach's peculiar ethical principle carries us into its courts. That principle has been well termed Tuism, to distinguish it from Egoism. The human unit is not the individual, but man in converse with man, the sensual Ego with the sensual Tu. The isolated man is incomplete, both as a moral and as a thinking being. "The nature of man is contained only in the community, in the unity of man with man. Isolation is finitude and limitation, community is freedom and infinity. Man by himself is but man; man with man, the unity of I and Thou, is God." Feuerbach personally never became a Communist, for he says his principle was neither Egoism nor Communism, but the combination of both. They were equally true, for they were inseparable, and to condemn self-love would be, he declared, to condemn love to others at the same time, for love to others was nothing but a recognition that their self-love was justifiable. But it is easy to perceive the natural tendency of the teaching that the social man was the true human unit and essence, and was to the individual as a God. With most of his disciples Humanism meant making the individual disappear in the community, making Egoism disappear in love, and making private property disappear in collective. Hess flatly declared that "the species was the end, and the individuals were only means." Ruge disputed this doctrine, and contended that the empirical individual was the true human unit and the true end, but even he said that Socialism was the humanism of common life. Grün passes into Socialism by simply applying to property Feuerbach's method of dealing with theology and monarchy. He argues that if the true essence of man is the social man, then, just as theology is anthropology, so is anthropology Socialism, for property is at present entirely alienated, externalized from the social man. There is a false transcendency in it, like that of divinity and monarchy. "Deal, therefore," he says, "with the practical god, money, as Feuerbach dealt with the theoretical;" humanize it. Make property an inalienable possession of manhood, of every man as man. For property is a necessary material for his social activity, and therefore ought to belong as inalienably and essentially to him as everything which he otherwise possesses, as means or materials of his activity in



life; as inalienably, for example, as his body or his personal acquirements. If man is the social man, some social possession is then necessary to his manhood, and might be called an essential part of it; but existing property is something outside, as separate from him as heaven or the sovereign power. Grün accordingly says that Feuerbach's "Essence of Christianity" supplies the theoretical basis for Proudhon's social system, because the latter only applies to practical life the principles which the former applied to religion and metaphysics; but he admits that neither Feuerbach nor Proudhon would acknowledge the connection.

We thus see how theoretical Humanism—a philosophy and a religion—led easily over into the two important articles of practical Humanism, a democratic transformation of the State and a communistic transformation of society. This was the ideal of the Humanists, and it contains ample and wide-reaching positive features; but when it came to practical action they preferred for the present to take up an attitude of simple but implacable negation to the existing order of things. No doubt variety of opinion existed among them; but if they are to be judged by what seemed their dominant interest they were revolutionaries and nothing else. They repudiated with one consent the Socialist utopias of France, and refrained on principle from committing themselves to, or even discussing, any positive scheme of reconstruction whatsoever. They held it premature to think of positive proposals, which would, moreover, be sure to sow divisions among themselves. Their business for the present was not to build up but to destroy, and their work in the meantime was therefore to develop the revolutionary spirit to its utmost possible energy, by exciting hatred against all existing institutions; in short, to create an immense reservoir of revolutionary energy which might be turned to account when its opportunity arrived. Their position is singularly like the phase of Russian Nihilism described by Baron Fircks, and presented to us in Turgeneff's novels. It is expressed very plainly by W. Marr, himself an active Humanist, who carried Feuerbach's "Essence of Christianity" as his constant companion, and founded a secret society for promoting Humanistic views. In his interesting book on Secret Societies in Switzerland, he says, "The masses can only be gathered under the flag of a negation. When you present detailed plans, you excite controversies and sow divisions; you repeat the mistake of the French Socialists, who have scattered their redoubtable forces because they tried to carry formulated systems. We are content to lay down the foundation of the revolution. We shall have deserved well of it if we stir hatred and contempt against all existing institutions. We make war against all prevailing ideas, of religion, of the State, of country, of patriotism. The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization. It must be destroyed. The true root of liberty, of equality, of culture, is Atheism. Nothing must restrain the spontaneity of the human mind." All this work of annihilation could



neither be done by reform, nor by conspiracy, but only by revolution, and "a revolution is never made; it makes itself." While the revolution was making, Marr founded an association in Switzerland, "Young Germany," which should prepare society for taking effective action when the hour came. There was a "Young Germany" in Switzerland when he arrived there; part of a federation of secret societies established by Mazzini in 1834, under the general name of "Young Europe," and comprising three series of societies:—"Young Italy," composed of Italians; "Young Poland," of Poles; and "Young Germany," of Germans. But this organization was not at all to Marr's mind, because it concerned itself with nothing but politics, and because its method was conspiracy. "Great transformations," he said, "are never prepared by conspiracies," and it was a very great transformation indeed that he contemplated. He therefore formed a "Young Germany" of his own. His plan was to plant a lodge, or "family," wherever there existed a German working men's association. The members of this family became members of the association and formed a leaven which influenced all around them, and, through the wandering habits of the German working class, was carried to much wider circles. The family met for political discussion once a week, read Friedrich Feuerbach together on the Sundays with fresh recruits, who, when they had mastered him, were said to have put off the old man; and their very password was *humanity*, a brother being recognized by using the half-word *human*—? interrogatively, and the other replying by the remaining half—*ität*. The members were all ardent democrats, but, as a rule, so national in their sympathies that the leaders made it the great object of their *disciplina arcani* to stifle the sentiment of patriotism by subjecting it to constant ridicule.

Their relations to Communism are not quite easy to determine. Marr himself sometimes expresses disapproval of the system. He says "Communism is the expression of impotence of will. The Communists lack confidence in themselves. They suffer under social oppression, and look around for consolation, instead of seeking for weapons to emancipate themselves with. It is only a world-weariness desiring illusion as the condition of its life." He says the belief in the absolute dependence of man on matter, is the shortest and most pregnant definition of Communism, and that it starts from the principle that man is a slave and incapable of emancipating himself. But, on the other hand, he complains that the members of "Young Germany" did not sufficiently appreciate the social question, being disgusted with the fanaticism of the Communists. By the Communists he here means the followers of Weitling and Albrecht, who were at that time creating a party movement in Switzerland. The prophet Albrecht, as he is called, was simply a crazy mystic with proclivities to sedition which brought him at length to prison for six years, and which took there an eschatological turn from having, it is said, nothing to read but the Bible, so that on his release he went about prophesying that Jehovah had prepared a way in the desert,



which was Switzerland, for bringing into Europe a reign of peace, in which people should hold all things in common and enjoy complete sensuous happiness, sitting under their common vine and fig-tree, with neither king nor priest to make them any more afraid. Weitling was not quite so unimportant, but the attention he excited at the time is certainly not justified by any of the writings he has left us. He was a tailor from Magdeburg, who was above his work, believing himself to be a poet and a man of letters, condemned by hard fate and iniquitous social arrangements to a dull and cruel lot. Having gone to Paris when Socialism was the rage there, he eagerly embraced that new Gospel, and went to Switzerland to carry its message of hope to his own German countrymen. There he forsook the needle altogether, and lived as the paid apostle of the dignity of manual labour, for which he had himself little mind. His ideas are crude, confused, and arbitrary. His ideal of society was a community of labourers, with no State, no Church, no individual property, no distinction of rank or position, no nationality, no fatherland. All were to have equal rights and duties, and each was to be put in a position to develop his capacity and gratify his bents as far as possible. He was moved more by the desire for abstract equality than German Socialists of the Humanist or contemporary type, for they do not build on the justice of a more equal distribution of wealth so much as on the necessity of the possession of property for the free development of the human personality. He is entirely German, however, in his idea of the government of the new society. It was to be governed by the three greatest philosophers of the age, assisted by a board of trade, a board of health, and a board of education. In Switzerland he founded, to promote his views, a secret society, the "Alliance of the Just," which had branches in most of the Swiss towns. Its members were chiefly Germans from Germany, for very few of the Communists in Switzerland were born Swiss, and according to Marr, who was present at some of their meetings, they were three-fourths of them tailors. "I felt," says Marr, "when I entered one of these clubs that I was with the mother of tailors. The tailor sitting and chatting at his work is always extreme in his opinions. Tailor and Communist are synonymous terms." It was to some of the leaders of this alliance that Weitling unfolded his wild scheme of a proletariat raid, according to which an army of 20,000 brigands was to be raised among the proletariat of the large towns, to go with torch and sword into all the countries of Europe, and terrify the *bourgeoisie* into a recognition of universal community of goods. It is only fair to add that his proposal met with no favour. Letters were found in his possession, and subsequently published in Bluntschli's official report, which show that some of Weitling's correspondents regarded his scheme with horror, and others treated it with ridicule. One of them said it was trying to found the kingdom of heaven with the furies of hell. The relations between "Young Germany" and Weitling's allies were



apparently not cordial, though they had so much in common that, on the one hand, Weitling's correspondents urge him to keep on good terms with "Young Germany," and, on the other, Marr says he actually tried to get a common standing-ground with the Communists, and thought he had found it in the negation of the present system of things—the negation of religion, the negation of patriotism, the negation of subjection to authority.

Now the importance of this excursus on the Young Hegelians is that Karl Marx was a Humanist, and looked on Humanism as the vital and creative principle of the renovation of political and industrial society. In the *Deutsche Französische Jahrbücher* he published an article on the Hegelian Philosophy of Right, in which he says: "The new revolution will be introduced by philosophy. The revolutionary tradition of Germany is theoretical. The Reformation was the work of a monk; the Revolution will be the work of a philosopher." The particular philosophy that was to do the work is that of the German critics, whose critique of religion had ended in the dogma that man is the highest being for man, and in the categorical imperative, "to destroy everything in the present order of things that makes man a degraded, insulted, forsaken, and despised being." But philosophy cannot work a revolution without material weapons; and it will find its material weapon in the proletariat, which he owns, however, was at the time he wrote only beginning to be formed in Germany. But when it rises in its strength, it will be irresistible, and the revolution which it will accomplish will be the only one known to history that is not Utopian. Other revolutions have been partial, wrought by a class in the interests of a class; but this one will be a universal and uniform revolution, effected in the name of all society, for the proletariat is a class which possesses a universal character because it dissolves all other separate classes into itself. It is the only class that takes its stand on a human and not a historical title. Its very sorrows and grievances have nothing special or relative in them; they are the broad sorrows and grievances of humanity. And its claims are like them: for it asks no special privileges or special prerogatives; it asks nothing but what all the world will share along with it. The history of the world is the judgment of the world, and the duration of an order of things founded on the ascendancy of a limited class possessing money and culture, is practically condemned and foredoomed by the rapid multiplication of a large class outside which possesses neither. The growth of this latter body not merely tends to produce, but actually is the dissolution of the existing system of things. For the existing system is founded on the assertion of private property, but the proletariat is forced by society to take the opposite principle of the negation of private property for the principle of its own life, and will naturally carry that principle into all society when it gains the power, as it is rapidly and inevitably doing. Marx sums up: "The only practical emancipation for Germany is an emancipation



proceeding from the standpoint of the theory which explains man to be the highest being for man. In Germany the emancipation from the middle ages is only possible as at the same time an emancipation from the partial conquests of the middle ages. In Germany one kind of bond cannot be broken without all other bonds being broken too. Germany is by nature too thorough to be able to revolutionize without revolutionizing from a fundamental principle, and following that principle to its utmost limits; and therefore the emancipation of Germany will be the emancipation of man. The head of this emancipation is philosophy; its heart is the proletariat." He adds that when things are ripe, "when all the inner conditions have been completed, the German resurrection day will be heralded by the crowing of the Gallic cock."

In this essay we mark already Marx's overmastering belief in natural historical evolution, which he had learnt from Hegel, and which prevented him from having any sympathy with the Utopian projects of the French Socialists. They vainly imagined, he held, that they could create a new world right off, whereas it was only possible to do so by observing a rigorous conformity to the laws of the development already in progress, by making use of the forces already at work, and proceeding in the direction towards which the stream of things was itself slowly but mightily moving. Hegel sought the principle of organic development in the State, but Marx sought it rather in civil society, and believed he had discovered it in that most mighty, though unconscious product of the large system of industry, the modern proletariat, which was born to revolution as the sparks fly upward; and in the simultaneous decline of the middle classes, that is, of the conservative element which could resist the change. The process which was, as he held, now converting society into an aggregate of beggars and millionaires, was bound eventually to overleap itself and land in a communism. I shall not discuss the truth of this conception at present, but it contributes, along with the sentiments of justice and humanity that animate—rightly or wrongly—the ideal of the Socialists, to lend something of a religious force to their movement, for they feel that they are fellow-workers with the nature of things.

We left Marx in Paris, and on returning to him we find him engaged—as indeed we usually do when his history comes into notice—in a threefold warfare. Besides his general war against the arrangements of modern society, he is always carrying on a bitter and implacable war against the Prussian Government, and is often engaged in controversy—sometimes very personal—with foes of his own philosophical or revolutionary household. After the cessation of the *Deutsche Französische Jahrbücher*, Marx edited a paper called *Vorwärts*, and in this and other journals open to him, he attacked the Prussian administration so strongly that that administration complained to Guizot, who gave him orders to quit France. His more personal controversy at this time arose



from one of the schisms of the Young Hegelians, and he and his friend Friedrich Engels wrote a pamphlet—"Die Heilige Familie"—against the Hegelian Idealism, and especially against Bruno Bauer, who had offended him—says Erdmann, in his "History of Philosophy"—at once as Jew, as Radical, and as journalist. When expelled from France, he went to Brussels, where he was allowed to continue his war upon the Prussian Government without interference, till the revolution of 1848. During this period he devoted his attention more particularly than hitherto to commercial subjects, and published in 1846 his "Discours sur le libre-échange," and in 1847 his "Misère de la Philosophie," a reply to Proudhon's "Philosophie de la Misère"—both in French.

While in Brussels, Marx received an invitation from the London Central Committee of the Communist League to join that society. This league had been founded in Paris in 1836, for the purpose of propagating Communist opinions among the working men of Germany. Its organization was analogous to that of the International, and other societies of the same kind. A certain number of members constituted a *Gemeinde*, the several *Gemeinden* in the same town constituted a *Kreis*, a number of *Kreise* were grouped into a leading *Kreis*, and at the head of the whole was the Central Committee, which was chosen at a General Congress of deputies from all the *Kreise*, and which had since 1840 had its seat in London. The method of the League was to establish, as a sphere of operation, German working men's improvement associations everywhere. The travelling custom of German working men greatly facilitated this work, and numbers of these associations were soon founded in Switzerland, England, Belgium, and the United States. The reason its Committee applied to Marx was that he had just published a series of pamphlets in Brussels in which, as he tells us, he "submitted to a merciless criticism the medley of French-English Socialism and Communism and of German Philosophy, which then constituted the secret doctrine of the League," and insisted that "their work could have no tenable theoretical basis, except that of a scientific insight into the economical structure of society, and that this ought to be put into a popular form, not with the view of carrying out any Utopian system, but of promoting among the working classes and other classes a self-conscious participation in the process of historical transformation of society that was taking place under their eyes." This is always with Marx the distinction and ruling feature of his system. The French schemes were impracticable Utopias, because they ignored the laws of history and the real structure of economical society; and he claims that his own proposals are not only practicable but inevitable, because they strictly observe the line of the actual industrial evolution, and are thus, at worst, plans for accelerating the day after to-morrow. But, besides this difference of principle, Marx thought they should also change their method and tactics. Their work, being that of social revolution, was different from that of the old political conspirators and secret



societies, and therefore needed different weapons; the times, too, were changed, and offered new instruments. Street insurrections, surprises, intrigues, *pronunciamientos* might overturn a dynasty, or oust a government, or bring them to reason, but were of no avail in the world for introducing collective property or abolishing wage labour. People would just begin again the day after to work for hire, and rent their farms as they did before. A social revolution needed other and larger preparation; it needed to have the whole population first thoroughly leavened with its principles; nay, it needed to possess an international character, depending not on detached local outbreaks, but on steady concert in revolutionary action on the part of the labouring classes everywhere. The cause was not political, or even national, but social; and society—which was indeed already pregnant with the change—must be aroused to a conscious consent to the delivery. What was first to be done, therefore, was to educate and move public opinion, and in this work the ordinary secret society went but a little way. A secret propaganda might still be carried on, but a public and open propaganda was more effectual and more suitable to the times. There never existed greater facilities for such a movement, and they ought to make use of all the abundant means of popular agitation and intercommunication which modern society allowed. No more secret societies in holes and corners, no more small risings and petty plots, but a great broad organization working in open day, and working restlessly by tongue and pen to stir the masses of all European countries to a common international revolution. Marx sought in fact to introduce the large system of production into the art of conspiracy.

Finding his views well received by the Central Committee of the Communist League, he acceded to their request to attend their General Congress at London in 1847, and then, after several weeks of keen discussion, he prevailed upon the Congress to adopt "the Manifesto of the Communist party," which was composed by himself and Engels, and which was afterwards translated from the German into English, French, Danish, and Italian, and broadcast everywhere just before the Revolution of 1848. This Communist League may be said to be the first organization—and this Communist manifesto the first public declaration—of the International Socialist Democracy that now is. The manifesto begins by describing the revolutionary situation into which the course of industrial development has brought modern society. Classes were dying out; the yeomanry, the nobility, the small tradesman would soon be no more; and society was drawn up in two widely separate hostile camps, the large capitalist class, or *bourgeoisie*, who had all the property and power in the country, and the labouring class, the proletariat, who had nothing of either. The *bourgeoisie* had played a most revolutionary part in history. They had overturned feudalism, and now they created proletarianism, which would soon swamp themselves. They had collected the masses in great towns; they had kept the course of industry



in perpetual flux and insecurity by rapid successive transformations of the instruments and processes of production, and by continual recurrences of commercial crises; and, while they had reduced all other classes to a proletariat, they had made the life of the proletariat one of privation, of uncertainty, of discontent, of incipient revolution. They exploited the labourer of political power; they exploited him of property, for they treated him as a ware, buying him in the cheapest market for the cost of his production, that is to say, the cost of his living, and taking from him the whole surplus of his work, after deducting the value of his subsistence. Under the system of wage labour, it could not be otherwise. Wages could never, by economical laws, rise above subsistence; and while wage labour created property, it created it always for the capitalist, and never for the labourer; and in fact the latter only lived at all, so far as it was for the interests of the governing class, the *bourgeoisie*, to permit him. Class rule and wage labour must be swept away, for they were radically unjust, and a new reign must be inaugurated which would be politically democratic and socially communistic, and in which the free development of each should be the condition for the free development of all.

Now Communism was not the subversion of existing principles, but their universalization. Communism did not seek to abolish the State, but only the *bourgeois* state, in which the *bourgeoisie* exclusively hold and wield political power. Communism did not seek to abolish property, but only the *bourgeois* system of property, under which private property is really already abolished for nine-tenths of society, and maintained merely for one-tenth. Communism did not seek to abolish marriage and the family, but only the *bourgeois* system of things under which marriage and the family, in any true sense of those terms, were virtually class institutions, for the proletariat could not have any family life worthy of the name, so long as their wages were so low that they were forced to huddle up their whole family, regardless of all decency, in a single room, so long as their wives and daughters were victims of the seduction of the *bourgeoisie*, and so long as their children were taken away prematurely to labour in mills for *bourgeois* manufacturers, who yet held up their hands in horror at the thought of any violation of the institution of the family. Communism did not tend to abolish fatherland and nationality—that was abolished already for the proletariat, and was being abolished for the *bourgeoisie*, too, by the extensions of their trade.

As to the way of emancipation, the proletariat must strive to obtain political power, and use it to deprive the *bourgeoisie* of all capital and means of production, and place them in the hands of the State,—i.e., of the proletariat itself organized as a governing body. Now, for this immediate and various measures interfering with property, and condemned by our current economy, were requisite. Those measures would naturally be different for different countries, but for the most advanced



countries the following were demanded: (1) Expropriation of landed property and application of rent to State expenditure; (2) abolition of inheritance; (3) confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels; (4) centralization of credit in the hands of the State by means of a national bank, with State capital and exclusive monopoly; (6) centralization of all means of transport in hands of State; (7) institution of national factories, instruments of production, and improvements of lands on a common plan; (8) compulsory obligation of labour upon all equally, establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture; (9) joint prosecution of agriculture and mechanical arts, a gradual abolition of the distinction of town and country; (10) public and gratuitous education for all children, abolition of children's labour in factories, &c. The manifesto ends by saying:—"The Communists do not seek to conceal their views and aims. They declare openly that their purpose can only be obtained by a violent overthrow of all existing arrangements of society. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletariat have nothing to lose in it but their chains; they have a world to win. Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

When the French Revolution of February 1848 broke out, Marx was expelled without circumstance from Brussels, and received an invitation from the Provisional Government of Paris to return to France. He accepted this invitation, but was only a few weeks in Paris when the German revolution of March occurred, and he hastened to the theatre of affairs. With his friends, Freiligrath, Wolff, Engels, and others, he established on June 1st in Cologne the *New Rhenish Gazette*, which was the soul of the Rhenish revolutionary movement, the most important one of the year in Germany, and that in which, as we have seen, the young Lassalle first emerged on the troubled surface of revolutionary politics. After the *coup d'état* of November, dissolving the Prussian Parliament, the *New Rhenish Gazette* strongly urged the people to stop paying their taxes, and thus meet force by force. It inserted an admonition to that effect in a prominent place in every successive number, and Marx was twice tried for sedition on account of this admonition, but each time acquitted. The newspaper, however, was finally suppressed by civil authority after the Dresden insurrection of May, 1849, its last number appearing on June 19th in red type, and containing Freiligrath's well-known "Farewell of the *New Rhenish Gazette*"—spiritedly translated for us by Ernest Jones—which declared that the journal went down with "rebellion" on its lips, but would reappear when the last of the German Crowns was overturned.

Farewell, but not for ever farewell!

They cannot kill the spirit, my brother,  
In thunder I'll rise on the field where I fell,  
More boldly to fight out another.

When the last of Crowns like glass shall break

On the scene our sorrows have haunted,  
And the people its last dread "Guilty" shall speak,  
By your side you shall find me undaunted.



On Rhine or on Danube, in war and deed,  
 You shall witness, true to his vow,  
 On the wrecks of thrones, in the midst of the field,  
 The rebel who greets you now.

This vow is no mere Parthian flourish of poetical defiance. Freiligrath and his friends undoubtedly believed at this time that the political movements of 1848 and 1849 were but preliminary ripples, and would be presently succeeded by a great flood-wave of revolution which they heard already sounding along in their dangerously expectant ears. His poem on the Revolution remains as evidence to us that in 1850 he still clung to that hope, and it would not have been out of tune with his sanguine beliefs of the year before if he promised, not merely that the spirit of the journal would rise again, but that its next number would be published—after the Deluge.

Meanwhile Marx went to London, where he has since remained. Finding that the revolutionary spirit did not revive, and that historical societies, which have not lost their moral and economical vitality, had a greater readjusting power against political disturbance than he previously believed, he gave up for the next ten or twelve years the active work of revolutionizing. The Communist League, which had got disorganized in the revolutionary year, and was rent in two by a bitter schism in 1850, was, with his concurrence, dissolved in 1852, on the ground that its propaganda was no longer opportune; and the story of the Brimstone League, with its iron discipline and ogreish desires, of which Mehring says Marx was, during his London residence, the head-centre, is simply a fairy tale of Karl Vogt's, whose baselessness Marx has himself completely exposed. Before leaving the Communist League, two circumstances may be mentioned because they repeat themselves constantly in this revolutionary history. The one is that this schism took place not on a point of doctrine, but of opportunity; the extremer members thought the conflict in Germany on the Hessian question offered a good chance for a fresh revolutionary outbreak, and they left the League because their views were not adopted. The other is that in one of its last reports (quoted by Mehring) the League definitely justifies, and even recommends, assassination and incendiarism—"the so-called excesses, the inflictions of popular vengeance on hated individuals, or on public buildings which revive hateful associations." For the next ten years Marx lived quietly in London, writing for the *New York Tribune* and other journals, and studying modern industry on this its "classical soil." A pamphlet or two on Louis Napoleon, on Lord Palmerston (widely circulated by David Urquhart), on the Cologne Communistic process, a more solid work, the "*Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*" (1859), and a bitterly personal polemic with Karl Vogt, occasionally interrupted the even tenour of his way; but he does not claim our attention again till the foundation of the International Working Men's Association in 1864.

The International was simply the Communist League raised again



from the dead. Their principles were the same; their constitution was the same; and Marx began his inaugural address to the International in 1864 with the very words that concluded his Communistic manifesto of 1847, "Proletarians of all nations, unite!" When the representatives of the English working men first suggested the formation of an International Working Men's Association, in the address they presented in the Freemasons' Tavern to the French working men who were sent over at the instance of Napoleon III. to the London Exhibition of 1862, they certainly never dreamt of founding an organization of revolutionary Socialist Democracy which in a few years to come was to wear a name at which the world turned pale. Their address was most moderate and sensible. They said some permanent medium of interchanging thoughts and observations between the working men of different countries was likely to throw light on the economic secrets of societies, and to help onwards the solution of the great labour problem. For they declared that that solution had not yet been discovered, and that the Socialist systems which had hitherto professed to propound it were nothing but magnificent dreams. Moreover, if the system of competition were to continue, then some arrangement of concord between employer and labourer must be devised, and in order to assert the views of the labouring class effectively in that arrangement, a firm and organized union must be established among working men, not merely in each country but in all countries, for their interests both as citizens and as labourers were everywhere identical. Those ideas would constitute the basis of a very rational and moderate programme. But when, in the following year, after a meeting in favour of the Polish insurrection, which was held in St. Martin's Hall under the presidency of Professor Beesly, and at which some of the French delegates of 1862 were present, a committee was appointed to follow up the suggestion, this committee asked Marx to prepare a programme and statutes for the proposed association, and he impressed upon it at its birth the stamp of his own revolutionary Socialism. He never had a higher official position in the International than corresponding secretary for Germany, for it was determined, probably with the view of securing a better hold of the great English working class and their extensive trade organizations, that the president and secretary should be English working men, and then, after a time, the office of president was abolished altogether because it had a monarchical savour. But Marx had the ablest, the best-informed, and probably the most made-up mind in the council; he governed without reigning; and, with his faithful German following, he exercised an almost paramount influence on its action from first to last, in spite of occasional revolts and intrigues against an authority which democratic jealousy resented as dictatorial, or—worse still—monarchical. The statutes of the association, which were adopted at the Geneva Congress of 1866, declared that "the economical subjection of the labourer to the possessor of the means of labour—i.e., of the sources of life, is the



first cause of his political, moral, and material servitude, and that the economical emancipation of labour is consequently the great aim to which every political movement ought to be subordinated." Now, no doubt the "economical emancipation of labour" meant different things to different sections of the association's members. To the English trades unionists it meant practically better wages; to the Russian Nihilists it meant the downfall of the Czar and of all central political authority, and leaving the socialistic communal organization of their country to manage itself without interference from above; to some of the French members (as appeared at the Lausanne Congress in 1867) it meant the nationalization of credit and all land except that held by peasant proprietors, a class which it was necessary to maintain as a counterpoise to the State; while, to the German Socialists, it meant the abolition of wages, the nationalization of land and the instruments of production, the assumption by the State of a supreme direction of all trade, commerce, finance, and agriculture, and the distribution by the State of land, tools, and materials to guilds and productive associations as the actual industrial executive. There were thus very different elements in the composition of the International, but a *modus movendi* was found for some years by nursing an ultimate ideal, which was desirable, and meanwhile practically working for a proximate and much narrower ideal, which was more immediately feasible or necessary. The association could thus hold that nothing could benefit the working class but an abolition of wages, and could yet, as it sometimes did, help and encourage strikes which wanted only to raise wages. At its Congress in Brussels in 1868 it declared that a strike was not a means of completely emancipating the labourers, but was often a necessity in the present situation of labour and capital. Most of the other practical measures to which the association addressed itself—the eight hours normal day of labour, gratuitous education, gratuitous justice, universal suffrage, abolition of standing armies, abolition of indirect taxes, prohibition of children's labour, State credit for productive associations—contemplated modifications of the existing system of things, but always contemplated them as aids to and instalments of the coming transformation of that system. The consciousness was constantly preserved that a revolution was impending, and that, as Lassalle said, it was bound to come and could not be checked, whether it approached by sober advances from concession to concession, or flew, with streaming hair and shod with steel, right into the central stronghold.

This was very much the keynote struck by Marx in his inaugural address. That address was simply a review of the situation since 1848, and an encouragement of his forces to a renewal of the combat. Wealth had enormously increased in the interval; colonies had been opened, new inventions discovered, free trade introduced; but misery was not a whit the less; class contrasts were even deeper marked, property was more than ever in the hands of the few; in England the



number of landowners had diminished eleven per cent. in the preceding ten years; and if this rate were to continue, the country would be rapidly ripe for revolution. While the old order of things was thus hastening to its doom, the new order of things had made some advances. The Ten Hours Act was "not merely a great practical result, but was the victory of a principle. For the first time the political economy of the *bourgeoisie* had been in clear broad day put in subjection to the political economy of the working class." Then, again, the experiment of co-operation had now been sufficiently tried to show that it was possible to carry on industry without the intervention of an employing class, and had spread abroad the hope that wage labour was, like slavery and feudal servitude, only a transitory and subordinate form, which was destined to be superseded by associated labour. The International had for its aim to promote this associated labour; only it sought to do so, not piecemeal and sporadically, but systematically, on a national scale, and by State means. And for this end the labouring class must first acquire political power, so as to obtain possession of the means of production; and to acquire political power they must unite.

The International, though, as we have seen, possessing no real solidarity in its composition, held together till the outbreak of the Franco-German war, and of the revolution of the Paris Commune. It was, of course, strongly opposed to the war, as it was to all war; and strongly in favour of the revolution, as it was of all revolution. Its precise complicity in the work of the Commune is not easy to determine, but there can be no doubt that its importance has been greatly exaggerated, both by the fears of its enemies and the vanity of its members. Some of the latter were certainly among those who sat in the Hôtel de Ville, but none of them were leading minds there; and, as for the association itself, it never had a real membership, or ramifications, of any formidable extent. For example, the English trades unions were in connection with it, and their members might be, in a sense, counted among its members, but it is certain they never recognised it as an authority over them, and they probably subscribed to it mainly as to a useful auxiliary in a strike. The leaders of the International however were, undoubtedly, heart and soul with the Commune, and approved probably both of its aims and methods, and Marx, at the Congress of the International at the Hague, in 1872, drew from its failure the lesson that "Revolution must be solidary" in order to succeed. A revolution in one capital of Europe must be supported by simultaneous revolutions in the rest. But, while there is little ground for the common belief that the International had any important influence in creating the insurrection of the Commune, it is certain that the insurrection of the Commune killed the International. The English members dropped off from it and never returned, and at its first Congress after the revolution (the Hague, 1872), the association itself was rent by a fatal schism arising from differences of opinion on a question as to the government of the society of the future,



which would probably not have become a subject of such keen present interest at the time but for the Paris Commune. The question concerned the maintenance or abolition of the State, of the supreme central political authority, and the discussion brought to light that the Socialists of the International were divided into two distinct and irreconcilable camps—the Democratic Socialists, headed by Marx, and the Anarchic Socialists, headed by Michael Bakunin, the Russian revolutionist. The Marxists insisted that the Socialist *régime* of collective property and systematic co-operative production could not possibly be introduced, maintained, or regulated, except by means of an omnipotent and centralized political authority—call it the State, call it the collectivity, call it what you like—which should have the final disposal of everything. The Bakunists held that this was just bringing back the old tyranny and slavery in a more excessive and intolerable form. They took up the tradition of Proudhon, who said that “the true form of the State is anarchy,” meaning by anarchy, of course, not positive disorder, but the absence of any supreme ruler, whether king or convention. They would have property possessed and industry pursued on a communistic principle by groups or associations of workmen, but these groups must form themselves freely and voluntarily, without any social or political compulsion. The Marxists declared that this was simply a retention of the system of free competition in an aggravated form, that it would only lead to confusion worse confounded, and that the Bakunists, even in trying to abolish the evils of *laissez-faire*, were still foolishly supposing that the world could go of itself. This division of opinion—really a broader one than that which parts Socialist from orthodox economist—rent the already enfeebled International into two separate organizations, which languished for a year or two and passed away. And so, with high thoughts of spreading a reign of fraternity over the earth, the International Working Men’s Association perished, because being only human, it could not maintain fraternity in its own narrow borders. This is a history that repeats itself again and again in Socialist movements. As W. Marr said in the remark quoted above, revolutionists will only unite on a negation; the moment they begin to ask what they will put in its place they differ and dispute and come to nought. Apprehend them, close their meetings, banish their leaders, and you but knit them by common suffering to common resistance. You supply them with a negation of engrossing interest, you preoccupy their minds with a negative programme which keeps them united, and so you prevent them from raising the fatal question—What next? which they never discuss without breaking up into rival sects and factions, fraternal often in nothing but their hatred. “It is the shades that hate one another, not the colours.” Such disruptions and secessions may—as they did in Germany—by emulation, increase for a time the efficiency of the organization as a propagandist agency, but they certainly diminish its danger as a possible instrument of insurrection.

A Socialist organization seems always to contain two elements of internal disintegration. One is the prevalence of a singular and almost pathetic mistrust of their leaders, and of one another. The law of suspects is always in force among themselves. At meetings of the German Socialists, Liebknecht denounces Schweitzer as an agent of the Prussian Government, Schweitzer accuses Liebknecht of being an Austrian spy, and the frequent hints at bribery, and open charges of treason against the labourers' cause, disclose to us now duller and now more acute phases of that unhappy state of mutual suspicion, in which the one supreme, superhuman virtue, worthy to be worshipped, if haply it could anywhere be discovered, is that assumed by Robespierre—the incorruptible. The other source of disintegration is the tendency to intestine divisions on points of doctrine. A reconstruction of society is necessarily a most extensive programme, and allows room for the utmost variety of opinion and plan. The longer it is discussed the more certainly do differences arise, and the movement becomes a strife of schools in no way formidable to the government. All this only furnishes another reason for the conclusion that in dealing with Socialist agitations, a government's safest as well as justest policy is, as much as may be, to leave them alone. Their danger lies in the cloudiness of their ideas, and that can only be dispersed in the free breezes of popular discussion. The sword is an idle method of reasoning with an idea; an idea will eventually yield to nothing but argument. Repression, too, is absolutely impossible with modern facilities of inter-communication, and can at best but drive the offensive elements for a time into subterranean channels, where they gather like a dangerous choke-damp that may occasion at any moment a serious explosion.

JOHN RAE.



## THE CARRYING-TRADE OF THE WORLD.

NO other branch of industry has made such progress as this within the last thirty years, and there is none regarding which economists have such confused ideas, both in England and elsewhere. As it is a subject of extraordinary importance to Great Britain, it may be well to point out the main features in a manner intelligible, and perhaps entertaining, to even those who dislike statistics.

There are four points of comparison to be laid down at the outset—namely, the commerce, railways, shipping tonnage, and carrying-power of the world in 1850 and in 1880—viz.,

	1850.		1880.		Increase.
Commerce of all nations	... £856,000,000	...	2,881,000,000	...	240 per cent.
Railways—miles open	... 44,400	...	222,000	...	398 "
Shipping—tonnage	... 6,905,000	...	18,720,000	...	171 "
Do. carrying power... tons	8,464,000	...	34,200,000	...	304 "

As distance is the greatest enemy to human industry, whatever reduces the time and cost of freight is a benefit to mankind,—“It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.” Much advantage has, therefore, resulted to all nations from the fact that the carrying-power on land and sea has grown in a higher ratio than commerce. In 1850, for every million sterling of international commerce, there were in the world 52 miles of railway, and a maritime carrying-power of 9,900 tons; and in 1880 the respective ratios had risen to 77 miles and 12,000 tons. The improvement has not only led to a saving of one-fourth in freight, but also brought producers and consumers into such contact that few, if any, of the earth's products are now wasted. We no longer hear of wheat rotting in La Mancha, of wool being used to mend highways in the Argentine Republic, nor of sheep being burnt for fuel in making bricks. It is to Great Britain in especial manner

that mankind is indebted for bringing all nations within reach of a market for their products. English engineers and English capital have made most of the railways built since 1850; and English and Scotch dockyards have turned out steamers with such rapidity\* that the carrying-power on sea has been quadrupled.

## TRAFFIC ON THE HIGH SEAS.

The shipping of the United Kingdom constitutes 49 per cent. of the naval carrying-power of the world, and actually carried, in 1879, about 52 per cent. of all sea-borne merchandise; the port entries of all nations showing as follows:—

Ports of	Tons, British.	Other Flags.	Total Entries—Tons.
United Kingdom ...	18,510,000	7,520,000	26,030,000
Continent ...	15,510,000	36,990,000	52,500,000
United States ...	7,430,000	6,340,000	13,770,000
British Colonies ...	19,650,000	5,250,000	24,900,000
	61,100,000	56,100,000	117,200,000

If shipping were measured merely by tonnage, ours would only stand for one-third of the world's total, but steamers multiply carrying-power in a great degree. For many years it was customary among merchants to count a steamer as threefold compared with a sailing vessel, until Mr. Giffen and M. Leroy-Beaulieu more correctly estimated the multiple as fourfold. Even this is, however, below the reality, which is fivefold; for the tonnage entries of all nations in 1879 showed that the number of voyages made in the year was almost  $3\frac{1}{2}$  (namely 3·4) for each sailing vessel, and almost 17 (namely 16·7) for each steamer. Moreover, steamers as a rule make longer voyages, as the mail service around the globe is done by them. If another proof is needed to settle once for all a matter of such high importance, it will be found in the fact that no less multiple than fivefold will suffice for the increase of ocean traffic since 1870, as shown in the following figures:—

	1870.	1880.	Increase.
Tons carried over sea†	70,170,000	117,290,000	67 per cent.
Carrying-power with steamers as 3-fold }	18,940,000	26,170,000	37 „
Do. do. as 5-fold	22,380,000	34,200,000	53 „

We may, therefore, assume as proved that a steamer is worth five times the tonnage of a sailing vessel, which fact will serve, moreover, to explain, not only the greater efficiency of British ships and British seamen, but also the very rapid decline of sailing vessels. Indeed, if this decline go on for twenty years as heretofore, a vessel of this kind

\* The *Claudius*, for example, a steamer of 1,500 tons, was built in 100 days, in 1879.

† That is, gross entries, without deducting 22 per cent. for ballast entries, or allowing 40 per cent. over register for steamers' capacity—these items balancing each other.



will be as rare as a mail-coach, at the close of the nineteenth century. Steam traffic has grown by leaps and bounds, as shown in the following table of the proportion of merchandise carried in the last three decades on either kind of shipping:—

		By Steamer.		By Sail.
1850	...	14 per cent.	...	86 per cent.
1860	...	29 "	...	71 "
1870	...	43 "	...	57 "
1880	...	61 "	...	39 "

Some shipowners are of opinion that, owing to the greater efficiency of steamers, the business is now overdone, and that the world could do with fewer vessels; nor is this without some foundation, for we find that ballast entries in the United Kingdom and the Continent have risen from  $17\frac{1}{2}$  and  $21\frac{1}{4}$  to  $19\frac{1}{2}$  and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., respectively, as compared with 1870.

The efficiency of seamen, measured by the number of tons they carry yearly, will be found to bear some relation to the quantity of merchandise borne by steamers—viz.,

Flag.	Seamen.	Tons carried.	Per Seaman.	Steam-ratio.
British ...	141,440	61,100,000	436	76 per cent.
French ...	29,220	8,100,000	271	63 "
German ...	39,980	5,700,000	141	54 "
Italian ...	52,000	4,300,000	83	25 "
Various ...	446,000	38,000,000	85	41 "
	708,640	117,200,000	165	61

Pessimists are in the habit of saying that we send our ships to sea short-handed; but if such were the case, our ratio of wrecks would not be (as shown hereafter) less than in French, Dutch, German, or American shipping. If we work with fewer sailors, it is probably for the same reason of skill and efficiency that our cotton-mills have fewer hands per thousand spindles than in other countries. It is indisputable that as our preponderance of steamers increases, so must our economy in sailors. Only ten years ago the average of tons carried by each British seaman was no more than 278; so that, in fact, two men do now the same work that three did in 1870. The French have at present reached the same degree of efficiency that our men possessed ten years ago. France, moreover, comes next after Great Britain in steam-tonnage on sea, with Germany and Spain following closely upon her. If we examine the relative position of Great Britain in this respect towards the world, we shall find our predominance has grown in every decade—viz.,

#### STEAM-TONNAGE OF THE WORLD.

	British.	Other flags.	Total.	Ratio of British.
1850 ...	160,000	110,000	270,000	59 per cent.
1860 ...	485,000	305,000	790,000	61 "
1870 ...	1,110,000	710,000	1,820,000	62 "
1880 ...	2,580,000	1,530,000	4,110,000	63 "

It is commonly said that our superiority in the carrying-trade is due to the facility with which we can build steamers, more than other nations; but the books of the shipbuilders of the Tyne and the Clyde show that they build vessels as readily for other flags as for our own. If the Americans had ten years ago repealed their suicidal Navigation Law, and got our builders on the Tyne to launch an American steamer for every British steamer built on the Clyde, they would be to-day in some position to compete with us in the carrying-trade, instead of having to deplore their present state of destitution. "At the beginning of the nineteenth century," says Yeats, "the commerce of the world seemed passing into American hands, their shipping having increased five-fold in twenty years." Their decline in recent years is unparalleled, as appears from the aliquot parts of carrying-power belonging to various flags, as under :—

	1850.		1870.		1880.
Great Britain ...	41	...	44	...	49
United States ...	15	...	8	...	6
France ...	8	...	8	...	7
Other Flags ...	36	...	40	...	38
	<hr/> 100		<hr/> 100		<hr/> 100

Besides the superiority that we derive from our unrivalled fleet of steamers, we are in a measure indebted also to the larger size of our vessels. The average tonnage of all sea-going vessels afloat was, last year, 177 tons, which is less than one-fourth of the average size of British ships. In the last ten years our vessels have grown 36 per cent. in medium tonnage, and all other nations have endeavoured to follow our example, *haud passibus æquis*, the Americans having now reached the average that was ours in 1870. The following table shows the exact figures :—

AVERAGE TONNAGE OF VESSELS.					
	1870.		1880.		Increase—Tons.
British ...	549	...	748	...	199
French ...	210	...	320	...	110
German ...	220	...	250	...	30
American ...	405	...	560	...	155
Norwegian ...	143	...	190	...	47
Italian ...	135	...	156	...	21

This simultaneous rise has been stimulated by the opening of the Suez Canal, the books of which show that the average of steamers passing through rose from 995 tons in 1871 to 2,146 in 1880. The total of vessels that passed through last year was a little over  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million tons; and as the canal has reduced the voyage between Europe and the East by fully one-half, it is plain that but for this great work the steamers and men trading eastward last year could only have carried two million tons. It is likewise worthy of remark that if Great Britain has the largest ships, she has also done more than any other country in



the construction of docks and harbours. It is notorious that the docks of Southampton have created the trade of that port. We have only to look across the Channel, at the wretched port of Calais, to be reminded how much our neighbours have yet to do in this matter. Frenchmen may doubt it, but it is true, that if France were to restore Calais to England on condition of our building a harbour there, she would gain more every year than the market value of Calais as it stands. Instead of bounties on French bottoms, instead of arsenals like Cherbourg and Toulon, France requires better ports for her merchant-shipping; and French statesmen could not do better than see what we have done on the Clyde, at Holyhead, Liverpool, and our other great ports. Capital is now abundant, the railways of the world are almost completed, and let us hope statesmen in all countries will now turn their attention to improving the seaports, upon which depends the easy and secure flow of commerce.

Let us now turn to what may be termed the "vital statistics" of shipping—the death-rate, birth-rate, and increase annually. These vary, just as among men; but the average life of a ship is only half that of mankind. Some are lost by the action of wind and waves, some by fire or collision, some are never heard of, and about one-eighth are broken up after long service. The ordinary life of a ship, allowing for all the above contingencies, is 18 years in the United States, 20 in France, 22 in Holland, 25 in Germany, 26 in Great Britain, 28 in Italy, and 30 in Norway. I am indebted to Mr. Kiaer, the Norwegian statist, for the following annual average of wrecks, for seven years, ending 1879:—

	Steamers.		Sailing Vessels.	
British...	...	2·94 per cent.	...	3·93 per cent.
French	...	2·47	"	4·04
United States	...	4·06	"	5·45
Dutch	...	3·84	"	4·49
German	...	2·77	"	4·04
Italian...	...	1·74	"	2·94
Scandinavian	...	1·96	"	3·20

Assuming three voyages yearly for sailing vessels, and fifteen for steamers, it appears that a sailing vessel is lost once in seventy-two voyages, and a steamer once in 490 voyages; so that the latter has only one-seventh of the risk of the former. The fewest wrecks occur to Italian vessels, perhaps because (as is notorious) in all long voyages every sailor has a share in the ship. Norwegians have likewise a very low ratio of losses, which may arise from the fact that they are a nation of navigators; for Norway has almost a ton of shipping per inhabitant, or five times as much as our ratio in Great Britain.

Between vessels lost and broken up the annual death-rate of the world's shipping is 4 per cent., or 750,000 tons nominal. On the other hand, the birth-rate is 5 per cent.—the average of new vessels built being 950,000 tons. But this does not convey an exact idea of the increase

of shipping, since the substitution of steamers for sailing-vessels gives an augmentation of 4 per cent. in carrying-power. The vessels lost or broken up represent a carrying-power of 1,200,000 tons a year; the new ones just double that amount, as appears from Kiaer's returns of the average since 1872—viz.,

Dockyards.	Ship-building—Annual average.		Carrying-power.
	Steamers—Tons.	Sailing-vessels.	
British ... ..	292,000	167,000	1,630,000
United States ... ..	15,000	118,000	193,000
Italy, Canada, &c. ... ..	35,000	324,000	499,000
	342,000	609,000	2,322,000

This shows how dependent is the commerce of the world on the ship-building yards of the Clyde and Tyne, whose annual earnings exceed six millions sterling. Even if electricity comes to take the place of steam, the vessels will probably still be made of iron; so that there is little chance of this branch of our trade suffering any diminution. The change would perhaps affect our coal trade, for the steamers of the world at present consume 36 million tons of coal, three-fourths of which is obtained from Great Britain.

The march of science, as regards navigation, has been attended with a steady decrease in the rates of casualties and loss of life, as shown by Lloyd's Register for the last 15 years, notwithstanding the great increase of collisions. There is no form of accident which has greater terrors for a traveller than this; and withal, it is surprising that collisions are not more frequent, for some of our sea highways are almost as crowded as Oxford Street: no fewer than 1,000 vessels enter the ports of the United Kingdom, and as many depart, every day in the year. Lloyd's Register supplies us with the bills of mortality of the world's shipping, enabling us to compare the casualties of 1880 with the average for 14 preceding years, thus—

	Average 1866-79.		1880.
Vessels missing ...	93	...	101
Sunk by collision ...	182	...	205
Lost by fire ...	191	...	229
Lost—stranded ...	1,171	...	1,108
Water-logged, &c. ...	534	...	550
Lost ...	2,171		2,193

The number of disasters in 1880 was, therefore, 1 per cent over the average of 14 preceding years, which must be considered highly satisfactory, seeing that the traffic on sea, as already shown, has risen 67 per cent since 1870. Appliances for saving life are every year becoming more effective, no fewer than 1,295 crews having been saved last year, against an average of 1,023 in the preceding years. The number of persons drowned by shipwreck in 1880 was only 1,725,



compared with an average of 1,775 per annum since 1866, being a decline of 3 per cent. It would be unjust here to omit mention of the splendid services rendered by the British Life-boat Association, which has saved 29,400 lives since its establishment in 1824. It is no less gratifying to observe that all countries are building lighthouses, the number of which rose from 1,265 in 1840, to 2,801 in 1877.

Landsmen have such exaggerated ideas of the dangers of the sea that they will scarcely believe the cold logic of statistics on this point. The travelling population on the high seas, including sailors but not fishermen, is never less than one million persons, for the number of sea-going vessels last year was a little over 90,000, one half of which may be supposed in port, the other half at sea. An average of 22 souls to each vessel is a very moderate estimate, and gives us a million persons on sea. If we double Lloyd's returns, and suppose 3,450 persons were drowned or blown up during 1880, it will give a death-rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per 1,000 as the equivalent of sea-risks. A person living in London is subject to an annual death-rate of 22 per 1,000; if he adopt a seafaring life his death-rate may therefore be put down at  $25\frac{1}{2}$  per 1,000; but if he goes to reside in Dublin, he will find the steady death-rate in that city is 36 per 1,000. Thus, his risk in becoming a pilot or ship-captain would be four times less than if he were compelled to take up his residence in Dublin, and the same would be true if he were sent to Naples. For the same reason, if one half of the population of Dublin were to do like the Jersey people, go to sea, their death-rate would be just 10 per 1,000, or 1 per cent. per annum less than the half who remained by the pestilential shores of the Liffey. If the sea levies a toll of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per 1,000 annually, it shows, indeed, that there are dangers to which the landsman is not exposed, but by no means comparable with the extra harvest of death that neglect of sanitary measures inevitably entails in cities.

The shipping of the United Kingdom earns about 60 millions yearly, and employs 200,000 seamen, whose industry, therefore, is equivalent to £300 per man, as compared with £190 for each of our factory operatives. The net profit of the shipowners will hardly reach 10 millions; but we treat of the value of the industry, not the individual gains. And here it is necessary to distinguish that our sea-going navy earns only 48 or 50 millions, the rest being the share that belongs to coast-trade. The freight earned by all flags, for sea-borne merchandise, is a little over 100 millions, or 8 per cent of the value of same. On comparing the imports and exports of all nations (which are composed of the same merchandise), it will be found the difference is gradually diminishing, as freight becomes less: the present average is 15 or 16 shillings a ton on all goods carried over sea, taking the world *in globo*. The toll which all nations pay us for the Carrying-trade is equal to nearly 4 per cent. of the exported value of the earth's products and manufactures. Pessimists will still be heard to say that our shipowners are losing

money, or making an insignificant profit ; but, if that were the case, our merchant navy would not go on expanding, as it does, every year.

In conclusion, let me be permitted to recapitulate the points which the English people should impress upon its mind, viz.—

1. That the increase of carrying-trade has been beneficial to mankind, and has been mainly promoted by Great Britain.

2. That steamers have 5 times the carrying-power, and 7 times less risk than sailing-vessels.

3. That British preponderance on sea increases every year, and that the ship-building trade is mainly in our hands.

4. That British sailors carry most merchandise per man, and that we can work cheaper than any other flag.

5. That maritime disasters are relatively diminishing every year, and that the ratio of British vessels lost is much below the general average.

These are facts almost unknown in England, although everything regarding this subject ought to be duly appreciated, for there are few things that ought to give us greater satisfaction than the knowledge that we possess the greatest merchant-navy that the world has yet seen, and that its power and efficiency, increasing year by year, are a lively emblem of the commerce, wealth, and far-extending influence of Britain.

M. G. MULHALL.



## M. GAMBETTA AND THE FRENCH ELECTIONS.

### I.

THE old Chamber had been elected in February, 1876, in opposition to the Buffet Ministry. When, in a last attempt at Monarchical reaction, it was dissolved soon after the 16th of May, 1877, the Republican party took as their watchword the re-election *en bloc*, apart from all personal considerations, of the 363 members who had signed the protest against the De Fourtou and De Broglie Ministry. Out of 533 deputies, they succeeded in sending back to the Chamber, after taking into account the result of all disallowed and recurrent elections, 394 Republicans.

In point of fact, this Chamber was elected on a single question—that of ridding the country of the men of the 24th and the 16th of May, and placing Marshal MacMahon in a position in which he should be forced either loyally to carry out the Constitution or to resign.

The Marshal, shaken as he was by the failure of the 16th of May, nevertheless chose to remain President of the Republic during the Exhibition of 1878. But the Senatorial elections of January, 1879, gave a fresh blow to his policy. He perceived that there was now but one course open to him. Let us do him justice: he did not hesitate, he resigned.

M. Grévy was immediately elected President of the Republic. On that day the Chamber of Deputies had fulfilled its mission. If its members had consulted the interests of the country, and recognized their own political function, they could not have hesitated; they would have called for a new election.

They took care to do no such thing. French deputies would gladly hold office for life. Most of them regard the conditions of Government as subordinate to their personal convenience; and political morality is

not yet far enough advanced among us for the public to understand the necessities of party organization and action, and in this way to put the necessary pressure on its representatives. We have yet to master the A B C of Government by debate.

Since public opinion did not imperiously demand a dissolution, the Chamber set to work to prove its existence by discussing Bills. Flimsy ministries, one after another, subsisted as best they might. M. Jules Grévy had made one great mistake: he should, in the very moment of his taking possession of the Presidency of the Republic, have called to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers the incontestable leader of the majority of the 363—M. Gambetta. But neither the President nor M. Gambetta troubled himself about it. The President feared foreign complications in the event of M. Gambetta's coming into power. M. Gambetta was glad to reserve himself. He procured himself to be nominated President of the Chamber, and contented himself with exercising from the chair a secret dictatorship.

In each successive Ministry he had men who were entirely devoted to him. Through them he ruled the rest; and since not one of these haphazard Ministries, tacked together out of shreds and patches, was capable of existing without his support, he exerted, in fact, an ill-defined and vexatious authority, exercised without responsibility, and chiefly in the matter of personal appointments. If you wanted an appointment, you went to the Palais Bourbon. The organ of M. Gambetta, the *République Française*, rated a recalcitrant Minister, and the Minister submitted or resigned. Every one was struck by the resignation of M. de Freycinet under circumstances such as these. Thoughtful men, acquainted with the necessities of Government, were shocked, even the most moderate of them, at such a state of things. As for the Radicals, they said, "M. Gambetta is the leader of the majority; he must take office."

*La Justice*, the journal of M. Clémenceau, was founded simply upon the basis of the necessity of the President's calling M. Gambetta to the Presidency of the Council. It was not difficult to prove that Parliamentary consistency required this. Some people were surprised that the opponents of M. Gambetta should so persistently have demanded his acceptance of power; but their point of view was this: "The French Republic has to pass through the Gambetta phase. The sooner that evolution is accomplished the better. We shall soon see what M. Gambetta is made of. If he makes useful reforms so much the better; the country will gain by it. If he proves himself incompetent as a statesman, he will fall; his career will be ended, and the danger of a future dictatorship and of foreign complications will be avoided."

M. Gambetta himself held exactly the opposite opinion.

Meanwhile, what was the Ministry doing?

M. Jules Ferry had slipped into the law for higher education a certain 7th Article, refusing to the non-authorized religious orders the



right of instruction. It was a useless and ill-conceived article, inasmuch as these orders not only had already no right to teach, but had no right to exist. It had been surreptitiously introduced into a Bill in which it had no natural place. It disclosed the willingness of the Government to flatter the persecuting instinct which the majority of Frenchmen derive from their Catholic education, and which is just now turned against Catholicism itself. Lastly, it introduced a distinction, ridiculous in the eyes of freethinkers, between the regular and the secular clergy.

In order to carry this 7th Article, M. de Freycinet had threatened to apply the existing laws. The threat itself proved the needlessness of Article 7. The Senate threw it out. M. de Freycinet then issued the decrees of the 29th of March, involving the dissolution of the non-authorized orders. But he entered at the same time into negotiations with Rome with a view to dispensing with the application of them.

This was not what his colleagues intended. M. Jules Ferry became President of the Council, and took upon him the pitiful and shameful task of carrying out the decrees. Everybody remembers the police expeditions, the calling in of locksmiths, the grotesque besieging of convents, the military campaign, such as that of General Billot against the Prémontrés. The resistance was equally ridiculous—the Dominicans piling up behind their doors the forgotten faggots of the Inquisition—the excommunication of police functionaries. The whole thing was absurd. The Ministry spun out these military executions in order to occupy the public mind. This little war against clericalism relieved it from the necessity of settling more serious questions. It was no use asking it to do something useful so long as it could answer, "Wait till we have finished the siege of the Capuchins."

For a whole year the Ministry lived on the execution of the decrees. Next year, it was necessary to find a fresh amusement for public opinion. They invented the question of the Kroumirs.

The predatory incursions of the Kroumirs were not, indeed, a new thing. It was a mere question of police, and of delimitation of frontier; but they seized this pretext for flattering French Chauvinism, and sent out the Tunis expedition.

The mass of the nation swallowed the bait. But the Radicals of the great towns were not to be duped. The plaudits of three thousand persons greeted the words of the radical candidate for the 1st *arrondissement* of Paris,\* in opposition to M. Tirard, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, when he said at his first meeting: "There is something profoundly immoral in this old governmental policy, borrowing its methods from defunct monarchies, and treating the people like a wild beast, to be muzzled or coaxed with scraps. In 1880 they threw you the Jesuits; in 1881 they throw you the Kroumirs."

Meanwhile, how were the Chamber of Deputies and the Ministry

\* The present writer.



dealing with the questions which had served as an electoral platform to the Republican party throughout the whole duration of the Empire?

There was one of these questions, the urgency of which was obvious to all—that of education, secular, gratuitous, and compulsory. For each of these terms M. Jules Ferry contrived a separate Bill. He did this in order to postpone the question of secularization. This was what he understood by making war upon clericalism! It was only under the pressure of the Chamber, urged on by public opinion, that he eventually threw the three Bills into one. The Chamber of 1877 is now dissolved, and the Bill has never yet passed the Senate.

It was not till 1881 that the Chamber ended by passing a Bill for the liberty of the press, consolidating former legislation on the subject, and suppressing a certain number of Draconian provisions. A Bill on public meetings was also passed at the last moment. Ill-made laws, both of them, based on the notion that the direction of private opinion is one of the functions of Government. Yet they are liberal compared with the former state of things, and they may be made useful. As to the liberty of association, the Chamber would not so much as touch it, on pretence that the clericals might make use of it for their own purposes. There was a law passed on professional syndicates—a piece of class legislation, caste legislation, but useful nevertheless. This, however, has not yet been ratified by the Senate.

To justify its inaction, the Ministry said to the deputies who urged it, "What would you have? We have to reckon with the Senate." To justify themselves, in their turn, for their own timidity, the deputies repeated to their constituents: "We are willing enough. It is the Senate." So that the conviction sank deep in the public mind that the Senate was a standing obstruction, the removal—or at least the modification—of which had become a necessity. This conviction was strengthened by a very important fact.

It is well known that the Chamber of 1877 had been elected by *scrutin d'arrondissement*. According to this method the electors of an *arrondissement* vote for a single deputy. During the existence of the last Legislature the inconveniences of this method of voting had become plain to the eyes of all politicians. The deputies thus elected were generally either landowners, doctors, or advocates in the small towns, men who enjoyed a certain notoriety in their own small community, but who were ill fitted to deal with general questions of policy and legislation; or else they were financiers, who would work an election as if it were a question of floating a loan.

A Chamber elected under these conditions must be weak. The majority of French politicians preferred *scrutin de liste*. By this method the deputies of a whole department are elected at once upon a single list. Each party, or each subdivision of a party, decides on its own list of candidates. It is its interest to place on this list the most important names. The electoral conflict is thus fought out over pro-



grammes rather than over men. Corruption is impossible under these conditions. Further, it is possible for the various subdivisions of a party to make arrangements among themselves for the representation of their minorities.

The Chamber elected by *scrutin d'arrondissement*, with a self-abnegation for which we must give it credit, voted *scrutin de liste*. Unfortunately, M. Gambetta had made *scrutin de liste* his personal affair. With his lavish nature and his appetite for ostentation, he had got up daily *déjeûners* at the Presidency, the character of which is best summed up in a caricature of *Charivari*. M. Gambetta says to his guests, "Those of you who are for *scrutin de liste*, hold up your hands." Then, aside to the butler, "No truffles for the others."

On the other hand, it was well known that at the Elysée M. Jules Grévy, though he maintained the strictest reserve, was for the maintenance of *scrutin d'arrondissement*. M. Wilson, the Under-Secretary of Finance, whose friendly and intimate relations with M. Grévy are well known, openly opposed the change. The Ministry abstained from pronouncing; but the President of the Council loudly proclaimed himself a partisan of *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

Then came the triumphal progress of M. Gambetta to Cahors, his native place. It is true that, in order to mollify the Senate in favour of *scrutin de liste*, he did, in his speech at Cahors, declare himself opposed to any revision of the Constitution, and paid the Senate some compliments. The Senate did not allow itself to be influenced by these compliments. Those who had hesitated before were shocked and alienated by the dictatorial attitude assumed by M. Gambetta after the vote of the Chamber. They persuaded themselves that M. Gambetta intended to secure his own election in twenty or thirty departments at once, and thus obtain a sort of *plébiscite* upon himself, and place M. Grévy in a position of inferiority. The danger was certainly imaginary; but then fear does not consist in the actual danger, but in our apprehension of it.

*Scrutin de liste* was rejected by the Senate. Next morning the organ of M. Gambetta began in its turn to raise the question of a revision of the Constitution.

Meanwhile there came on in the Chamber of Deputies the discussion of the Report on an old proposition of M. Barodet, tending to the revision of the Constitution. This question was therefore uppermost in every mind.

We had then—

1. Obstruction: the Senate stops the way. Necessity of a revision of the Constitution.

2. A mock persecution of the non-authorized orders, while the Ministry and the Chamber still retained the fifty-four millions of the estimate for religious establishments; the affectation of State and communal buildings for religious worship; the exemption of seminarists from military service, and so forth. Necessity of the separation of



Church and State, and the reduction of the clergy under the common law.

3. A Chamber which had failed to carry any one important reform. Necessity of returning deputies pledged to carry out the reforms which for twenty years the Republican party had been vainly demanding.

Thus prepared, public opinion entered on the electoral struggle.

## II.

Some slight modification had been made in the electoral law, in order to remedy to some extent the great inequality which existed between certain of the electoral districts. The 11th *arrondissement* of Paris, for instance, which contains 180,000 inhabitants, had but one deputy, whilst the Department of the Lower Alps, containing 139,000, had five.

An Act for modifying the list of electoral districts, of which the population amounts to more than 100,000, raised the number of Parisian deputies from twenty to twenty-seven, by dividing the 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 17th, 18th, and 20th *arrondissements*, while it amalgamated certain other electoral districts. The whole number of deputies was thus raised from 533 to 557.

When were the elections to take place? General Farre issued a circular calling out the Army Reserves for the end of August. It was naturally supposed that this circular, emanating from the Council of Ministers, fixed the date of the elections, by implication, for the 18th of September. Great was the general surprise when it appeared that the circular was only intended to lull the public to sleep, and that the elections were to take place on the 21st of August. On the 29th of July, M. Clémenceau put an interpellation on the subject. The Minister replied to the effect that the elections would take place on the 21st of August.

A majority of the deputies—214 against 202—very naturally approved the answer. They thought that the shorter the time given for the elections, the less opportunity would their possible opponents have for action. As for M. Jules Ferry, he reasoned as the Ministers of the Empire and of "moral order" reasoned. He declared that it was not for the good of the country that it should be long exposed to electoral agitation, and rather than run this risk he preferred to scamp the elections. It appears that a bad choice of deputies is far less to be dreaded than one month of intense political life amongst a people which has struggled so hard to attain it.

On the whole, M. Jules Ferry had found the old Chamber very convenient to himself. This was tantamount to the modest avowal that he had no great political programme to carry out. He preferred a Chamber of mediocrities which would tolerate a Ministry like his own. His plan consisted in getting the same deputies re-elected.

The electors, thus taken by surprise, were some time without



organizing themselves. No committees were formed. Possible candidates hesitated, under such circumstances, to venture on a contest against the outgoing deputies. The Government had succeeded. It has, in fact, succeeded, to a certain extent, in getting most of the members of the last Chamber re-elected. Nevertheless, the balance of parties is profoundly modified. I pass them rapidly in review:—

1. The Orleanist Party. This is a party which has no existence in the eyes of universal suffrage. No one ever presents himself as an Orleanist candidate. It is a title which even the Duc d'Aumale would not permit himself if he were to enter the electoral lists. But if this party does not exist openly in the country, it numbers a few discreet adherents in the administrations and in the army. A certain number of young prefects and sub-prefects, who call themselves Republican, would gladly call themselves Orleanist. It is a staff without a soldiery.

2. The Legitimist Party. The Legitimist party, on its side, loudly asseverates that it does exist. It proclaims the fact for fear it should be doubted. From time to time the *Union* and some other journals declare that the King alone can save the country. These are Platonic protestations. These gentlemen are fallen into their dotage. They play at royalty, while they have but the shadow of a king without a dynasty. This is the party dear to the Church. It numbers among its members a few great landed proprietors. It has all the privileges of an institution of long standing. This explains the fact of its having still forty-five candidates in the new Chamber, while it has lost seventeen seats.

3. The Bonapartists. "First catch your hare." To make an empire, you must have an emperor. This is the only thing wanting to the Bonapartists, but then it is the essential thing. The whole party has fallen to pieces, and Prince Napoleon is not the man to reunite it. The Bonapartists spend most of their strength in abusing one another. M. Rouher has thrown up the game, and did not appear in the elections at all. The Bonapartists still kept their hold of some districts in the Pas de Calais, Normandy, Brittany, the South-west of France, and Corsica, but they have lost thirty-three of these at the last elections. M. Paul de Cassagnac, not feeling sure of his re-election for Condom, was fain to offer himself for the Mirande, his father's old seat. He succeeded there, not without a contest, and by a comparatively weak majority. The Bonapartists count in the new Chamber at exactly the same figure as the Monarchists—forty-five members. Together, a total of ninety members. In the last Chamber they had 130. They have thus lost forty seats. The elections of the 21st of August and the 4th of September have proved to demonstration the total break-up of the parties hostile to the Republic.

They have also demonstrated how little root clericalism has in the country. The measures taken against the unauthorized orders were of



just the sort to provoke a religious reaction. They had been violent, vexatious, brutal. They had taken the character of a persecution. The pious wept over them, no doubt, and the priests were roused to exasperation; but neither the tears of the pious nor the anathemas of the clergy had any effect on the votes of the electors.

4. The Republican Party. There remain then 457 Republican Deputies, already elected, to whom may be added the Colonial Deputies, whose names are not yet known, but who are sure to be Republicans.

I must briefly explain the position of the different sections of the Republican party.

In the old Chamber the Republican majority was divided into four groups: The Left Centre, the Republican Left, the Republican Union, and the Extreme Left.

We must examine the changes to which these groups have been subjected by the new elections.

(1.) The Left Centre. This party is distinguished by its reserve in the Chamber and its activity in financial matters outside. Two of its most influential members were among the defeated candidates—M. Bardoux, former Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Léon Renault, former Prefect of Police. Here is a proof of the morality of universal suffrage. It abhors ambiguity. M. Germain, Director of the *Crédit Lyonnais*, was elected only on condition of his accepting a Radical programme. M. Rivot, formerly head of M. Dufaure's Cabinet, won by a bare majority in the Pas de Calais. This Parliamentary group is reduced to nineteen members. It is impossible to say what it may become in the new Chamber.

(2.) The Republican Left. An ineradicable optimism was the principal characteristic of the Republican Left. What the Ministry did was well done, be it what it might. The heavier the fault committed, the greater the enthusiasm of its vote. M. Devès, President of the Left, was sure to come to the rescue at the needful moment with a vote of confidence: they dubbed him the Government's Newfoundland. He himself had some difficulty in retaining his seat. At the moment of the rising of the Chamber, this group had published a long manifesto, explaining that it was the Left that had done everything, directed everything, carried out everything. Unfortunately, one felt in reading it that that was not saying much. Most of the members of this group have been re-elected; but they have had to accentuate their programme.

(3.) The Republican Union. This group generally voted with the Republican Left. It included, however, a certain number of Radicals; it would even willingly have called itself Radical. Its President was M. Spuller, but it really obeyed the inspirations of M. Gambetta.

(4.) The Extreme Left. The Extreme Left was composed of a few individuals. It was too weak for legislative action, or for a coherent party organization. M. Clémenceau took the leading part in it by his



speech on the Amnesty, by his interpellations as to the Prefecture of Police, made in consequence of those "Lettres d'un Vieux Petit Employé," which led to the fall of M. de Marcère, and by his last interpellation as to the date of the elections. M. Clémenceau has energy, force, and spirit, a very clear perception of political questions at the point at which they present themselves, and a terse, forcible, and effective style, which sometimes produces a great impression; but he is wanting in general ideas; he has but a confused notion of necessary reforms; and he is apt to give precedence to personal questions rather than to the common interests of his party.

The electoral contest, so far as it concerned the Republican party, was really fought between the Opportunists, represented by the members of the Republican Left, on the one hand, and the greater part of the members of the Republican Union and of the Extreme Left on the other. In order to have a clear idea of the results of the elections, it is important that the true character of this contest should be understood.

The chief of the Opportunist party is M. Gambetta. The term Opportunist was first applied to him by Rochefort, in an article in the *Droits de l'Homme*, published in February, 1876. The word was unfortunate. We are all opportunists. We all act at opportune moments, or, at any rate, at moments we think opportune. It is the first law of industry to do things at the moment when they ought to be done. M. Gambetta turned the phrase to wonderful account. He posed before the eyes of thoughtless people as the inventor of the rule that everything must be done in its own time, and that it is not possible to do everything at once. He has gone about proclaiming this discovery till a good many people are really convinced that humanity is indebted to him for it. For himself, he willingly acknowledges that it is his own method; nay, more, he claims a patent for the invention. Unfortunately, it is but an artifice, under which he conceals his real policy.

The policy of M. Gambetta is, above all things, a personal policy. He seeks what appears most advantageous to his own interests, not what is best for the country. One has only to read his last speeches to be convinced of this. M. Gambetta does not care to go to the heart of a question; he only concerns himself with the effect to be produced on the public mind at a given moment. He is warlike at Cherbourg, among soldiers and sailors; he is pacific at Cahors, among the peasants.

On the 29th of May he declared himself opposed to any revision of the Constitution. The Senate voted against *scrutin de liste*; and in his speech at Tours he professed himself a partisan of the revision to an extent which he does not care to define. At Belleville, in his speech of the 11th of August, he pronounces for the reform of the magistracy, and speaks of the necessity of carrying out a certain number of reforms. At Neubourg he promises the deputies that they shall keep their places for four years, if it depends upon him; he seems to regard the revision of the Constitution as an incidental question, not very likely to come to



the front. Finally, he erects slowness into a principle, and makes a theory of the policy of a tortoise.

But this is not all that is to be said against the policy of M. Gambetta. In the long run his combinations all end in strengthening the hands of the State. This he distinctly avowed in his speech of the 11th of August, and it is not the first time he has done so. In this France of ours, stifling under an excessive centralization, he finds that the machinery of Government does not press tight enough. The institutions of the year VIII., established by the autocratic genius of Bonaparte, maintained and aggravated by each successive monarchical Government, are not enough for M. Gambetta. He reverences dogma, when it is the dogma of the State. He would turn schools and lyceums into "lay seminaries." He regards State officials as a "political clergy." His friends plainly declare, with the disciples of Hegel, that they consider the State the motive force of all progress.

They did not always hold these opinions. Quite other were the views proclaimed by M. Gambetta in 1869, in the days of the Empire, when he got himself elected as an Irreconcilable, and signed that famous programme which he has taken care not to include among his collected speeches. But he was then far from power; he is now very near it. As a friend of his—M. Andrieux, late Prefect of Police—innocently said, those were Opposition theories. At present the theories of M. Gambetta are Government theories. He wishes to have as strong an instrument as possible in his hands, that he may bear down all resistance. Unscrupulous in the choice of means, and a disciple of the Italian politicians of the fifteenth century, he thinks that a Government has two implements—intimidation and corruption; and that the art of the statesman consists in making the people do what it does not wish to do. Like Bonaparte, he would have a submissive and well-paid clergy, ready to sing his praises because they regard him as their saviour. It is for this that he wishes to maintain the Concordat; for this that he opposes the suppression of the estimates for religious establishments, and the separation of Church and State. At the same time, to appease the spirit of persecution, he promises the confiscation of the property in mortmain of the non-authorized orders. (See his speech at Belleville, August 11.)

As to economical reform, army reform, the reform of judicial organization, he maintains so mysterious an uncertainty, that one is fain to ask whether he has himself any clear idea on these subjects. At the same time, he is implacable in his hatreds. Every one observed the bitterness with which he opposed M. Gatinneau in the department of Eure et Loire. M. Gatinneau had voted for *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

In brief, if there be a policy of personal interests,—a hand-to-mouth policy, shifting with every gust, and concealing under the show of prudence an adventurous spirit,—a policy essentially reactionary, since it tends to paralyze individual initiative, and to substitute for it the action



of the State,—such, in the opinion of the Radical party, is the policy of the Opportunists.

In opposition to the term "Opportunist" the Radicals have received the name of "*Intransigeants*"—the No-Compromise party. It is a bad name, because all human life, public and private, is lived by compromise. Besides, the name is not accepted by all members of the party; they prefer the title of the Extreme Left. This group includes several shades of opinion; and on the application of many of the points of their programme these divisions would soon become apparent.

But it is no less true that all its members have certain points of agreement—the revision of the Constitution in such a manner as to restrict, if not to suppress, the prerogatives of the Senate, and to modify the character of the Presidency of the Republic; the separation of Church and State; liberty of association; a reform of judicial organization, giving to the principle of election and to the jury a far more important place than they have hitherto held; the reduction of the period of military service to three years; the abolition of voluntary service for one year. Such are the principal questions which will come before the new Chamber, and of which the Extreme Left is eager to help forward the solution, while the Opportunists are for shelving them altogether, or settling them after a very different fashion.

Having thus indicated the relative position of these two divisions of the Republican party, I may rapidly sketch the successive phases of the conflict.

The electoral campaign having been opened by a surprise, the position of the Extreme Left was somewhat difficult. The question was, how best to fight the Opportunist candidates in the Republican centres; for the Extreme Left does not in the least pretend to represent a majority of the country, it only professes to represent the progressive element in it.

Several meetings of politicians and journalists of the party were held in Paris, in the hope of coming to an agreement on a common list of candidates to oppose to the Opportunists. Personal difficulties arose, and the attempt failed. The scattered electoral committees, having no common organization, were unable to concentrate their efforts. If a united movement was to be made, it was necessary to enter the lists with M. Gambetta himself at Belleville.

The question was not whether M. Gambetta was or was not to have a seat in the Chamber; he would have found forty circumscriptions eager to have him. But M. Gambetta claimed to be still the leader of Radicalism in Paris, while he was at the same time the leader of Opportunism in the Departments. Though he had long ago effaced the programme of 1869, he assumed none the less that "the contract still held" between him and his old constituents.

The object of the Extreme Left was to make it clear to the whole country that M. Gambetta no longer represented the Radicals of



Paris; and that the Radicals of Paris, so far from having gone back a step, still desired the execution of the programme of 1869, and a little more besides.

It must be confessed that no one greatly cared to make this demonstration in his own person. The whole political world regarded the re-election of M. Gambetta for Belleville as certain. The prestige of his eloquence, his position, the *clientèle* he had been able to gather round him, the natural pride of the Bellevillois in having for their representative the most conspicuous man in France, all seemed to ensure his success.

Then stepped in M. Braleret, a member of the Municipal Council of Paris, formerly a wine merchant, a man weak in spelling, but with a true political instinct, chairman in 1869 of Gambetta's committee. This committee went to Clémenceau, and invited him to undertake the candidature in one of the Belleville circumscriptions, while M. Sigismond Lacroix, formerly President of the Municipal Council of Paris, and who had been charged with the drawing up of the report on the Bill for communal autonomy, was to undertake that of the other. M. Clémenceau refused. His position with regard to M. Gambetta was one of some delicacy, for up to 1877 he had been associated with him, and had depended on his support. He preferred to remain at Montmartre, where his election was certain. The end of it was that M. Sigismond Lacroix and M. Tony Revillon agreed to enter the lists against M. Gambetta, with the certainty of being beaten. As often in war, so in this political campaign, it was necessary to sacrifice some of the best men. M. Sigismond Lacroix and M. Tony Revillon consented to be sacrificed. Nowhere throughout the country was there any serious opposition to a Minister. It was necessary that in one circumscription at least the ministerial policy should be opposed. Under these circumstances, the writer of this paper, without the least hope of immediate success, agreed to contest the 1st *arrondissement* of Paris.

Public meetings began. From the very first day the presence of a band of obstructionists was apparent. They took the name of Collectivists. No one, according to them, was pure enough to represent the Radical party. The Empire had employed instruments of exactly the same kind against the deputies of the Opposition in 1869, when it got Budaille and other agents of the police to play the part of hotheaded revolutionists. At the municipal elections in January, the Prefecture of Police and the Ministry of the Interior did the same thing. The *Revolution Sociale*, the journal of Louise Michel and of anarchy, had for its principal editor one Gustave Puissant, gibbeted by the *Lanterne* as an agent of the secret police. Among the Collectivists, men acquainted with what goes on behind the scenes in political life could distinguish the paid accomplices—paid out of the secret service fund—of the Ministry of the Interior and the Prefecture of Police and their dupes. Their watchword was the same now as under the



Empire—to discredit by their rowdiness the liberty of assembly, to sow discord among the Extreme Left, and to cast a slur upon the whole party.

Under such conditions the struggle began. In Paris there were four important candidatures—those of MM. Sigismond Lacroix and Tony Revillon against M. Gambetta; that of the present writer against M. Tirard, as representing the Ministry; and that of M. Frederic Passy—a Republican, though a moderate one—against M. Godelle, the one Bonapartist deputy of the department of the Seine. M. Godelle was defeated. M. Tirard kept his seat, but only by the help of the Monarchists, who voted for him, while he lost 2,000 of the votes of his old Republican constituents.

On the first scrutiny, on the 21st of August, it was announced that M. Gambetta was elected for both the circumscriptions of Belleville—by a majority of a single vote in the second, it was said. In the evening it was ascertained that while, in 1877, M. Gambetta had obtained 13,812 votes out of 18,526 on the register, the numbers on the register of the two circumscriptions had now risen to 24,564, of which, in order to maintain the same proportion, he must have had more than 15,000, while he had in fact obtained only 8,526. The falling off was manifest.

According to the French law, a candidate must, on the first scrutiny, have an absolute majority; that is to say, one vote in excess of one-fourth of the number of names on the register, and one vote in excess of half the number of actual voters. In the first circumscription, out of 8,883 voters, M. Gambetta obtained only 4,510 votes, that is to say, only 69 votes in excess of half the number of voters. In the second circumscription it was soon discovered that the result announced by the mayor was incorrect. The mayor was a devoted adherent of M. Gambetta; he had apparently wished to break the shock of the first impression which would have been produced by the failure of M. Gambetta in one of the two circumscriptions of Belleville. On the following Thursday, after the examination of votes by the Revising Commission, they were forced to admit that a second ballot was required between M. Gambetta and M. Tony Revillon.

The electoral campaign reopened with a violence which recalled the worst days of official candidature under the Empire. M. Gambetta declared himself content with his majority of 69 in the first circumscription. Against M. Tony Revillon, in the other circumscription, he pitted M. Sick, a member of the Municipal Council—a good man enough, but one who had never given any proof of superior talent. It was equivalent to a confession that the *personnel* of the Gambettist faction was exhausted.

Curiously enough, in opposing M. Tony Revillon, M. Sick denied the patronage of M. Gambetta. He adopted the programme of M. Tony Revillon. He donned a Radical mask.

At the same time the most shameful calumnies were set in circula-



tion against M. Tony Revillon. The Friday before the election, one Vaugeois, who had been seen acting as police agent at the Gambettist meetings, accused M. Tony Revillon of having escaped prosecution for the seduction of a girl of sixteen only by the aid of M. Gambetta. An inquiry was immediately instituted, which demonstrated the falsehood of this accusation; and on the 4th of September M. Tony Revillon won by a majority of 2,000 votes. M. Gambetta, contrary to all expectation, came worsted out of the battle.

In conclusion, even Ministerial journals like the *XIXe. Siècle* acknowledge that the Extreme Left has won seventy seats. We may add sixty deputies, who form a part of the Republican Union, but who habitually vote with the Extreme Left. This makes a total of 130.

This is a political force.

The deputies of the Left Centre, the Left, and the Republican Union, make a total of 337. These will form the Government majority—that loyal majority of which M. Gambetta spoke at Neubourg, of which M. Jules Ferry spoke at St. Dié on the 11th of September, when he said, "The Left and the Republican Union: these are words which we pronounce for the last time, for it is agreed that henceforward we shall have no divisions."

There appears to be an excellent understanding just now between M. Gambetta and M. Jules Ferry. Both desire a majority based, not upon a programme, but upon a person. M. Jules Ferry adopts the policy of M. Gambetta, and M. Gambetta adopts the policy of M. Jules Ferry. Whether M. Jules Ferry wishes to secure a place in the Gambetta Ministry, or whether he simply intends to allow M. Gambetta to remain President of the Chamber, while he himself remains President of the Council, these are more or less Macchiavellian combinations the character, scope, and consequences of which are as yet somewhat difficult to define.

At Neubourg, M. Gambetta seemed to say that the whole duty of a statesman consisted in moving slowly. At St. Dié, M. Jules Ferry asserts that the new Chamber will have nothing to do but carry out "the dispersion of the secular orders and the reform of public instruction." It is little enough.

Unfortunately for these combinations, most of the deputies have been obliged to give pledges. M. Jules Ferry says: "There are politicians who, notwithstanding the re-election of five-sixths of the old Chamber, assert that the partisans of the *statu quo* are beaten, and that France has pronounced for a policy of progress. France has pronounced by acclamation for the policy I have just sketched to you; for it has re-elected the same men."

But M. Jules Ferry's conclusion is neither numerically nor politically correct. The greater part of the deputies were subjected by the electors to a pretty severe examination, in which they fared somewhat hardly; they had difficulty in explaining some of their weaknesses. They were



told : " We send you back once more to the Chamber because you are there already ; because we have a dread of new men ; because of the trouble of choosing them. But *don't do it again.*" They have almost all of them been forced to give pledges far stronger and more distinct than any they had given heretofore ; while the irrevocable defeat of the Bonapartist and Legitimist parties has taken from them every excuse for their immobility.

It is true that certain journals declare, with an ingenuous disregard of morality, that these pledges were but chaff to catch the electors. The *Temps* speaks of 300 deputies as being " a little ashamed of, and not a little embarrassed by, the declarations to which they have lent themselves." But M. Barodet has just put the Press in possession of a statement tending to expose the electoral programmes. One journal, the *Lanterne*, has collated these programmes, making difficulties thereby for a good many of the deputies, and at the same time for the Gambetta Ministry, if Gambetta Ministry there is to be.

M. Gambetta will find himself at once face to face with two problems—the revision of the Constitution and the separation of Church and State. He may find a way out of the first ; he cannot escape the second.

Lookers-on expect much of him. If he does not satisfy them, unpopularity will quickly succeed to popularity. In France, as in Rome, it is not far from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock.

The new Chamber will have to pay for the expedition to Tunis. Since 1871 French Assemblies have thought it prudent never to occupy themselves with foreign affairs. They must needs make up their minds to approach them now.

Economical questions are little understood in France ; the public is as yet indifferent to them. The London *Economist* points out that only a single French candidate had, during the electoral campaign, dealt with the subject of commercial treaties. It is true that this candidate was the opponent of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, M. Tirard, who, for his own part, was trying to shelve the question.

All the candidates promise the suppression of the active duties and of indirect taxation ; but very few have any formed opinion on these points.

It must be observed that there does not yet exist in France anything that can be called a true Reformist party—a party which masters certain questions and finds ways and means to bring them to an issue. Its time will not come till this Legislature has passed away, and till successive attempts have proved the powerlessness of the Opportunist party. Political programmes are vague as yet. Promises are vast, the means of realizing them obscure. It is among the members of the Extreme Left that the men must be recruited who are to create the true Party of Reform.

They have one great qualification. They are opposed, if not by their temperament, at least by their programme and by the necessity of their political situation, to a dictatorial policy. While M. Gambetta is for increased centralization, they all declare themselves partisans of communal autonomy. It was the Municipal Council of Paris which gave the impulse to this movement. They have all—I speak, at least, of the men who exercise some influence—a profound respect for individual rights. M. Gambetta, on the contrary, to be consistent with himself, misses no opportunity of showing his contempt for them. It was apparent enough after the Charonne meeting, when, abusing in the grossest manner those who had interrupted him as brawlers, bawlers, convicts, and bullies, he threatened to hunt them into the recesses of their dens, and to make a law against them,—against the poor populations of the towns,—increasing the stringency of the decree of the 9th of July, 1872, forbidding residence in Paris.

It is to the Extreme Left that we must look to preserve us from the encroachments of the State on the rights of the individual and of the commune—less, perhaps, as a matter of deliberate conviction than by the necessities of the conflict in which it is engaged against the Opportunist policy. And it is this which makes its strength; for the political task of this latter part of the nineteenth century is to determine the precise limit between the rights of the State and those of the individual.

To sum up: The Opportunist policy means a dictatorial and a stationary policy. It has a considerable majority in the present Chamber; but its future is threatened.

The policy of the Extreme Left is an anti-dictatorial and decentralizing policy. It has gained many seats in the recent elections. In a Chamber of 557 deputies it forms a minority of 130 members opposed to a compact Ministerial majority of 337.

The Monarchical and Imperialist parties, which may all be included under the title of the Clerical party, have but 90 seats.

M. Gambetta has come out considerably the worse for the struggle, in virtue of that old and vicious proverb, “nothing succeeds like success.”

The present Chamber is bound to decide the following questions: Revision of the Constitution; Separation of Church and State; and Reform of the Magistracy. It is equally bound to attack certain economical questions, the solution of which is required to appease social discords, and to prove to the labouring, the manufacturing, and the commercial classes, that the Republic is a better Government than those that went before it.

One word remains to be added. The odious practices of official candidature have not yet disappeared in France. The Prefecture of Police set spies on the active members of the committees formed to oppose the pliable candidates. Among the Collectivists and the disturbers of meetings there were some fools, but there were also some paid



knaves. M. Saint Martin, who took an active part in the contest against the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in the 1st *arrondissement*, had been for five years a teacher in the regimental school of the *Garde Republicaine*. He has been dismissed. In the *Morbihan*, the Prefect, M. de Montluc, has been suspended because a Legitimist candidate was elected instead of a Republican. In the *Haute Garonne*—the department of the Minister of the Interior, M. Constans—M. Merlin, the Prefect, has been suspended because a Radical, M. Duportal, was re-elected. Half a dozen Sub-Prefects have been sacrificed for not having secured the return of the candidates patronized by the Committee of the *rue de Suresnes*, which acknowledges no leadership but that of M. Gambetta. Our Governmental morals are still atrocious; and neither M. Jules Ferry nor M. Gambetta cares to improve them. Far otherwise; they only seek to augment the powers of the State that they, like the Empire which they blame, may use them to their own advantage.

YVES GUYOT.

## THE "SPOILS" SYSTEM IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

THE wicked attack made on the life of President Garfield has naturally attracted the attention, both of the American people and the outside world, to the political corruption which has generated the moral atmosphere in which such unprincipled scoundrels as Guiteau have their being.\* It seems absolutely certain that this wretched fanatic had no accomplices in his design on the President; and it would be absurd to connect his crime with any section, "stalwart" or otherwise, of the Republican party. But the wide and general discussion which has since arisen in the United States on the whole subject of appointments to office under the Federal Government, plainly indicates that patriotic Americans are fully sensible that the present methods of bestowing Government patronage are largely responsible for the abnormal state of things which gave nourishment to such a nature as Guiteau's. For many years the mists of corruption have obscured more or less the grand outlines of the American Republic. Doubtless the accounts of political turpitude circulated on this side of the Atlantic have been greatly exaggerated; for it has not been to the interest of the English governing classes that the bright side of American affairs should be too clearly seen here. To this day, among some English people, "Martin Chuzzlewit," and Mrs. Trollope's account of Cincinnati, are supposed to be on the whole fair pictures of American manners and customs. And so in the political sphere there is an equal ignorance as to the actual condition of things. Public men in the United States are assumed, by certain classes of self-satisfied Englishmen, to be universally corrupt; and it has doubtless been a surprise to many of them to find that President Garfield was an honest man. Still, when all

\* It will be seen that this paper was in type before the death of President Garfield.—  
ED. C. R.



allowances are made for English prejudice and ignorance, there can be no question that flagrant dishonesty has prevailed in the United States, extending through all grades of the public service, from weighers and gaugers to cabinet ministers and members of Congress. All well-wishers to Democracy should confess this fact, should discover its causes, and should seek to apply a remedy. For the matter is by no means interesting to Americans alone; the whole world is concerned in the matter. The nations of Western Europe especially, are destined to tread the path which the American people have trod before them; and they must, therefore, know what rocks and precipices to avoid. If popular government fails in America, it can be established in no other country; the future of the world is bound up in the future of the American Union. A few remarks, therefore, on the system which allots public offices in the United States to the agents and wire-pullers of the dominant party may be of some interest now to English as well as American readers.

The corruption in the United States has often been attributed by English writers to the working of Democratic principles in politics; and Englishmen of note have often shaken their heads with the gravity of a Burleigh when America was mentioned, and have predicted the speedy decay of a community which had determined to work out its destiny without the social and political appendages of the old countries of Europe. Of course, every fresh scandal confirmed, in their own eyes, the wisdom of their opinion; and when the Civil War came they believed that the Republican bubble was broken. Subsequent events may have led them to doubt whether a bubble is quite the most appropriate simile for the strongest and most prosperous nation on the face of the earth; but they cannot resist the pleasure of smacking their lips over such a *bonne bouche* as a scandal at New York or Washington. Now the fact is, that Republican principles are no more responsible for the corruption of American politicians than monarchy and aristocracy are responsible for the comparative purity of public men in England to-day. It is an historical fact that the court and aristocracy have been the great patrons of corruption in England, and that only in proportion as public affairs have been emancipated from their control, has a higher sense of political honesty prevailed; while, on the other hand, the system of official tenure in the United States is eminently anti-democratic, in that it gives to the President, and to members of both houses of Congress, greater powers than would seem to be compatible with true Republican principles. As the tares grow along with the wheat, so has the "spoils" system grown, as slavery did, among the Republican institutions of America. But to confound the tares with the wheat is to exhibit an utter want of discrimination as to what is, and what is not, the legitimate and natural outcome of American Democracy. Not one of the names of the great men in whom America glories can be identified with this pernicious growth. The founders of



the Republic—Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Adams, and Madison—have absolutely no connection with it. One cannot find that it played any part in the public career of Webster and Clay. Lincoln was nominated by the unofficial anti-slavery wing of the Republican party, while those who sought office were more favourable to Seward. No one would dare to insult the memory of Sumner by suggesting that he favoured a system of party reward that was initiated and maintained by his bitterest opponents; while Mr. Garfield was nominated at Chicago by a majority which looked with but little favour on the wire-pulling partisans, who were led by Mr. Conkling, in the interest of General Grant. Both at Cincinnati, in 1876, and at Chicago, in 1880, the representatives of the soundest and healthiest portion of the American people rejected decisively the claims of self-seeking politicians, and decided on behalf of honesty and integrity in public affairs. And the Democratic party likewise, in their nomination of General Hancock in place of Mr. Tilden, seemed to show that they were actuated by a similar spirit. Thus, if we inquire what is the real mind of the Republic, what are the honest and deliberate intentions of the American people, as expressed and embodied in the careers and acts of their most illustrious representatives, we must conclude that there is no connection between Republican government and political corruption. If we desire to see the most wide-spread and unblushing corruption, intimately connected with the system of government, we must refer to the history of England during the last century, or to the Russian despotism. Under these systems it seems, and actually is, natural, and perhaps necessary. In America it is an intruder, alien to the democratic ideas of the country; and hence the painful character of the attempts to expel it from the system. Corruption was acquiesced in by the English governing classes as a matter of course; it is treated in the same way in Russia. But it is denounced and resisted in the United States; and the vigorous efforts made by the American people to rid themselves of it proves the soundness of the Republic. So far, indeed, from being distinctively Republican, or due to a democratic system of government, is this political corruption, that I shall soon show that it has proceeded from those who have been the consistent enemies of progress and the defenders of slavery.

The regulation of official tenures is especially provided for in the 2nd section of the 2nd article of the American Constitution, by which it is enacted that the President "shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments." The American Constitution has often been described, and justly so, as a



monument of political wisdom ; nor can one properly find fault with this provision for the appointment to offices. Great power is undoubtedly placed in the hands of the President ; but the public careers of the early Presidents amply justified the people in reposing in them the fullest confidence. Washington, righteous in all things, set a good example herein, absolutely refusing, in cases of nomination to office, to be swayed by any private motives. "My friend," he says in a letter, "I receive with cordial welcome. He is welcome to my house, and welcome to my heart : but with all his good qualities he is not a man of business. His opponent, with all his politics so hostile to me, is a man of business. My private feelings have nothing to do in the case. I am not George Washington, but President of the United States. As George Washington, I would do this man any kindness in my power—as President of the United States, I can do nothing." During Washington's two administrations, from 1789 to 1797, he removed only nine persons from office, of whom six were collectors, one a district surveyor, one a vice-consul, and one a foreign minister. The latter was Mr. Pinckney, who was removed from Paris because too conservative to please the French Directory. The other dismissals were all "for cause," and were not dictated by political considerations. Adams, who succeeded Washington, removed nine public servants from their posts, but none on political grounds. Jefferson seems to have made greater innovations, for in his eight years of office he removed thirty-nine officials ; but he repeatedly declared that the removals were effected on solid and substantial grounds, and not for political reasons. Nor would Jefferson appoint any man to office who was a relative of his own. Madison, in eight years, made five removals. Monroe, in a like period, nine ; while John Quincy Adams, during four years, made but two removals. Thus, during the first fifty years of the Republic, justice and rectitude characterized the conduct of the executive ; the public service existed for the sole purpose of performing public duties, and not for the rewarding of political partisans. But with Andrew Jackson a change came.

No change, however, comes in a moment ; preparation must previously be made for it. This was the case in the United States. It would appear that the parentage of American corruption is to be traced to that dark spirit, Aaron Burr, the brilliant but unscrupulous intriguer, who will always be remembered as the assassin of Alexander Hamilton. Mr. James Parton, in his "Life of Andrew Jackson," has given us Burr's code of political ethics. That code contains these maxims :— "Politics is a game, the prizes of which are offices and contracts." "Fidelity to party is the sole virtue of the politician. He only is a politician who would vote unhesitatingly for the devil, if the devil were regularly nominated. One sin only is unpardonable—*bolting*." "No man must be allowed to suffer on account of his fidelity to his party—no matter how odious to the people he may make himself." "When there is a conflict between the party in the whole Union and the party in the



State, or between the party in the State and the party in the country, a man must adhere to the behests of the majority of his own local organization—that is to say, a private must obey the orders of his own immediate captain, though that captain may be in mutiny against his colonel." "The end and aim of the professional politician is to keep great men down and put little men up. Little men, owing all to the wire-puller, will be governed by him. Great men having ideas and convictions are perilous, even as tools." These, according to Mr. Parton, were some of the principles on which Burr acted; and as he was a prominent leader of the Democratic party, with brilliant powers and facile eloquence, it is not wonderful that he should have infected the party with his unscrupulous notions, especially when it is remembered of what elements the old Democratic party was largely composed. No sooner, therefore, had that party become triumphant under General Jackson, than the effects of Burr's teachings became visible. Jackson has always been a sort of hero in America, mainly owing to his defeat of the British, at New Orleans, in 1815. He was a man of tenacious will and of no ordinary powers, and he was emphatically the "people's man." He was supposed to represent the rough, unsophisticated nature of Western Democracy, and he was also a stout friend of the slave-holding system. He was secure in office, backed up by the people, and holding a much more autocratic sway than any of his predecessors. He believed firmly in his party, and was not much troubled by scruples. He was therefore a fitting instrument for effecting this important change in the character of the American Republic. General Jackson soon began to purge the public service of persons obnoxious to himself and his party, and to appoint to office those who had conspicuously aided in his own election. "The work," says Mr. Parton, "was promptly begun. Figures are not important here, and the figures relating to this matter have been disputed. Some have declared that during the first year of the Presidency of General Jackson 2,000 persons in the civil employment of the Government were removed from office, and 2,000 partisans of the President appointed in their stead. This statement has been denied. It cannot be denied that in the first month of this Administration more removals were made than had occurred from the foundation of the Government to that time. It cannot be denied that the principle was now acted upon that partisan services should be rewarded by public office, though it involved the removal from office of competent and faithful incumbents. Colonel Benton will not be suspected of overstating the facts respecting the removals, but he admits that their number, during the year 1829, was 690. He expresses himself on this subject with less than his usual directness. His estimate of 690 does not include the little army of clerks and others who were at the disposal of some of the 690. The estimate of 2,000 includes all who lost their places in consequence of General Jackson's accession to power; and though the exact number cannot be ascer-



tained, I presume it was not less than 2,000. Colonel Benton says, that out of the 8,000 postmasters, only 491 were removed; but he does not add, as he might have added, that the vacated 491 places comprised nearly all in the department that were worth having. Nor does he mention that the removal of the postmasters of half-a-dozen great cities was equivalent to the removal of many hundreds of clerks, book-keepers, and carriers." Jackson's dealings with the New York Custom-house (always an important institution under the United States Government) was characteristic of the new order of things. The previous holders of office were generally dismissed, and their places filled by persons who had aided the election of Jackson. He gave the collectorship to a person named Swartwont, who seems to have been the very *beau ideal* of a professional office-seeker. This man writes to his friend Hoyt, also a seeker for place, in the following terms:—"I hold to your doctrine fully, that no d——d rascal who made use of his office or its profits for the purpose of keeping Mr. Adams in and General Jackson out of power, is entitled to the least lenity or mercy, save that of hanging. So we think both alike on that head. Whether or not I shall get anything in the general scramble for plunder remains to be proven; but I rather guess I shall." Swartwont then goes on to recommend his friend "to push like a devil" if he wants anything. Hoyt seems to have profited by this excellent advice, and Swartwont, as we have seen, was right in his guess. The natural result followed. Swartwont made such good use of his time that, at the end of the first four years, he had \$210,000 of public money not appearing anywhere in his accounts. His services, however, had been so great that Jackson gave him the appointment for a second term of four years. Swartwont was evidently one of those who act on the principle of making hay while the sun shines, for in a very short time it was found necessary to appoint a Congressional committee to examine into the accounts of the New York Custom-house. Swartwont took advantage of this disagreeable and painful incident to say farewell to his native land, and to set out for Europe, having defrauded the Government of \$1,225,000. One scoundrel was gone, but another immediately filled his place, for Hoyt was appointed to the vacant collectorship which his friend Swartwont had quitted. The same system was continued; and in Hoyt's third year another committee from Washington reported that corruption prevailed in the Custom-house. Frauds to the amount of \$35,000 were found in stationery accounts; a cheat of \$30,000 was discovered in store-rent charges. The total defalcation under the man who "pushed like a devil" was \$300,000. The committee stated "that the inspectors, when absent from duty, were generally engaged in electioneering, and in procuring the naturalization of foreigners." They also stated that a "Custom-house tax was regularly levied and paid in advance of elections; and a refusal to pay it was invariably followed by removal from office." They further declared that there "were evidences



of official delinquency, if not of downright corruption, which have seldom, if ever, occurred in any civilized country on the face of the earth." Facts like these, it must be candidly admitted, did afford some ground for the belief of Dickens, who visited America during this disgraceful period, that she was "rank without ripeness, rotten without sun." It was a superficial and wholly absurd view; yet it had some sort of temporary justification. The other Federal offices in New York fell into much the same condition as the Custom-house. Price, the district attorney, was a defaulter for about \$80,000. The administration of the Post Office was disgraceful. Official business was neglected, public interests were ignored, and bribery and corruption were, in New York, the order of the day. Yet the party in power, led by President Jackson, stood stoutly by the rotten system, and defied the intelligent opinion of the best people in the country. And Mr. Marcy, of New York, proclaimed, in 1833, on the floor of the National Senate, the doctrine which has ever since been the charter of the office-seekers: "To the victor belong the spoils."

"The evil that men do lives after them;" and thus has it been with the system introduced by President Jackson. Van Buren was his successor in the presidential chair, and he had already, as Secretary of State, given his countenance and support to the new doctrine; as President he adhered to it as stoutly as Jackson, with the result that the cost of collecting the revenue, which had been one and a-half per cent. under President Adams, grew to five and one-quarter per cent. under Van Buren. The country was now fairly launched into the new era of administration by the "spoils" system. That system was plainly the offshoot of the Democratic party, and was maintained in full force by that party during its long control of the national government. This is the period of humiliation in the history of the United States. The slave power was in the ascendant, and of course that baneful power used every means to keep its organization intact. These were the days of the small and almost forgotten Presidents—Polk, Fillmore, Taylor, Pierce, and Buchanan (the last of whom will only escape the fate of oblivion by his treachery to the Republic). These men of straw, the nominees of the Southern slaveholders, could not afford to neglect any means of preserving the strength and integrity of their party, and they doubtless found the partisan system of appointment to office a valuable means to that end. They therefore accepted Senator Marcy's dictum, and worked the governmental machine after the most approved Jacksonian method. The noble American Republic, the greatest political birth of time, consecrated by the memories of Winthrop and Vane, of Franklin and Washington, had now become an instrument in the hands of a venal crew, who were willing to fetch and carry for slavery. As is usually the case, both parties speedily became corrupted by the pernicious doctrines. The Republican party, originally the organ of pure ideas, became, when in power, more or less of a machine; and the later



manifestations of political corruption have been more or less closely connected with it. The "machine" politicians, of whom we have heard so much lately, are leaders of a wing of that party; and while there seems no reason to charge those leaders personally with corruption, yet they must be pronounced patrons of corruption, since they accept and practise unhesitatingly the "spoils" doctrine. They are specially strong in the State of New York, and particularly in New York City. We have already seen how the chief developments of corruption, under Jackson and Van Buren, occurred in that city; and doubtless, owing to its mixed population and to other causes, it affords exceptional facilities for the operations of those whose business it is to superintend the working of political "machines." It is interesting, therefore, to see how the system has worked there since the days of its founders. The principal results have been twofold. Responsibility towards the Government of the Republic has in large measure ceased, and a personal, partisan responsibility towards the political manager or local chief has taken its place. And, in the next place, the work of the Government has been badly performed. A few instances will show this.

From 1858 to 1861 inclusive, Mr. Schell was Collector of Customs in New York. He owed his appointment to the fact of his being a strong Democrat, and he made use of his position to promote the interests of his party. In four years he removed 389 out of 690 officials under him. To him succeeded Mr. Barney, a Republican—for the Government of President Lincoln was now in power. Mr. Barney removed no fewer than 525 out of 702 officials in his office. Mr. Draper, his successor, made 117 removals. Mr. Smythe, who succeeded to the office in 1866, removed 830 out of 903 officials during three years' tenure of office. Mr. Grinnell was his successor, and he effected the removal of 510 officials out of 892 during sixteen months of office. Mr. Murphy followed, and removed 338 officials during eighteen months of collectorship. The scandals of this gentleman's administration resulted in a committee of investigation from Washington. It would thus appear that, in the period of five years from 1866 to 1871, there were 1,678 removals from office in the New York Custom-house, or more than one for every day, Sundays excepted. These were not even removals on party grounds, for the Republican party was in power during the whole of this period. They were removals on mere sectional grounds, effected as one section or the other of the party happened to be dominant in New York for the time being. The second result of this very mischievous system of appointment to the public service, was that the duties of that service were badly performed. One of the Commission reports on the question stated, that, "under the present system, the larger number of the United States weighers, who receive \$2,500 per annum, render but little, if any, personal service to the Government; the weighers' clerks, receiving \$1,200 per annum, in some instances perform no duty." The report also states that "in some districts sixty or eighty persons are



employed where thirty-five would be a sufficient number." It may be said with truth that the United States are by no means peculiar in this respect, for the grossest anomalies exist in the British and Continental customs' services. But while we look, as a matter of course, for obsolete abuses slumbering calmly under the protecting wings of European governments, venerable from age, and covered with the accumulated dust and rubbish of centuries, we expect better things in the United States. In this particular matter our reasonable expectations are scarcely fulfilled, for the New York Chamber of Commerce, in 1874, estimated that while it cost the United States about \$7,000,000 to collect the duties on imports of the value of \$642,000,000, it cost Great Britain, in the same year, \$5,000,000 to collect duties on imports of the value of \$1,800,000,000. A Commission appointed by the Government also demonstrated that the expense of collecting revenue duties in the United States had been more than three times as large as in France, more than four times as large as in Germany, and nearly five times as large as in Great Britain. The administration of the Post-office in New York shows in a still stronger light the evil results of this system. For upwards of forty years this important institution was managed by partisan politicians, who were placed there as a reward for party services. Accordingly, the chiefs of the office neglected and were ignorant of their duties. Assessments for party objects were made on the salaries of the officials, on pain of ejection if refused. We are told that officers still in service at the New York Post-office have seen half the sorters at a large table too drunk to discharge their duties, while bags of neglected letters accumulated in the office. Under one postmaster there were huge peculations of public money; and, in short, the shadow of scandal and disgrace rested over the Post-office of the Empire City. Such were the results of the system which unscrupulous partisans had introduced for their own profit and aggrandizement.

But although the Republican party had been to some extent infected with the corruption which their opponents had initiated, it is to that party that the nation looked for reform, and it is, perhaps, that party which will finally effect the reform demanded. It was, of course, out of the question that reform of this kind should be undertaken during the period of the Civil War. The nation was otherwise engaged. Nor was the succeeding period of the reconstruction of the Southern States more favourable. But under the administration of General Grant the first attempts in this direction were made. General Grant is regarded as rather a friend of the "spoils" system than otherwise, and certainly some malodorous public scandals were unearthed during his term of office. But none the less certain is it that he, as President, made the first appeal to Congress for aid in reforming the public service. That appeal was made in 1870, and it resulted in the law of March 3, 1871, under which a Civil Service Commission was appointed. In his message to Congress, General Grant had said: "The present system does not



secure the best men, and often not even fit men, for the public places. The elevation and purification of the Civil Service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States." Congress accordingly authorized the President to prescribe fitting conditions and regulations for the admission of persons into the Civil Service, and for two years it made an appropriation for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the Act. But although the Commission was appointed, and although the President made repeated appeals to Congress for its assistance, that body, after the first two years, refused to make any further appropriations for carrying the law into effect. It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to assume that, while the President would have been glad to be relieved from the unceasing applications of swarms of office-seekers, the majority of members of Congress found the existing system too well adapted to serve their own political ends to be willing to give it up. Still, something had been done; the Commission had been established, and the system of examinations for public appointments had taken place under its auspices. The satisfactory character of these results had been set forth in the report of the Commission, made to President Grant, in April, 1874. That report was transmitted by the President to Congress, together with a special message, containing these words: "Herewith I transmit the report of the Civil Service Commission. If sustained by Congress, I have no doubt the rules can, after experience gained, be so improved and enforced as to still more materially benefit the public service and relieve the Executive, members of Congress, and the heads of departments, from influences prejudicial to good administration. The rules, as they have hitherto been enforced, have resulted beneficially, as is shown by the opinions of the members of the Cabinet and their subordinates in the departments; and in that opinion I concur." Congress was, however, deaf to the President's appeals, and refused to render the necessary pecuniary aid. The examinations, therefore, were suspended. This is only one of several instances where the wisdom and patriotism of the President has far exceeded that of the Congress. General Grant's successor adopted his views on this subject. Under President Hayes, further trials of the examination system were made at Washington and New York; and in his message of December, 1879, Mr. Hayes said of them: "In every instance they have been found to be as salutary as they are stated to have been under the administration of my predecessor. I think the economy, purity, and efficiency of the public service would be greatly promoted by their systematic introduction, wherever practicable, throughout the entire civil service of the Government, together with ample provision for their general supervision, in order to secure consistency and uniform justice. The reports from the Secretary of the Interior, from the Postmaster-General, from the Postmaster in the City of New York, where such examinations have been some time on trial, and also from the Collector of the Port, the Naval Officer, and the



Surveyor of that city, and from the postmasters and collectors of several of the larger cities, show that the competitive system, where applied, has in various ways contributed to improve the public service. The reports show that the result has been salutary in a marked degree, and that the general application of similar rules could not fail to be of decided benefit to the public service." In his annual message of December, 1880, President Hayes reiterated his previously expressed opinion, stating that he is persuaded "that the facilities which such a Commission will afford for testing the fitness of those who apply for office, will not only be as welcome a relief to members of Congress as it will be to the President and heads of departments, but that it will also greatly tend to remove the causes of embarrassment which now inevitably and constantly attend the conflicting claims of patronage between the legislative and executive departments." It seems quite evident, from the foregoing evidence, that the Executive has been earnestly desirous to put an end to this partisan system, and to substitute a system of appointment by merit; but the legislative branch of the Government has not shown itself active in the matter; nay, it has even crippled the efforts of the Executive by refusing to supply the needful funds. Nevertheless, a Committee of the Senate was appointed to consider the question, and that Committee drew up a report (ordered by the Senate to be printed, February 16, 1881) strongly condemnatory of the "spoils" system, and favouring appointment by competitive examination. The Committee reports to the Senate a Bill having for its object the carrying out of these principles, "and earnestly recommends its passage." The preamble of the Bill declares that "common justice requires that, so far as practicable, all citizens duly qualified shall be allowed equal opportunities, on grounds of personal fitness, for securing appointments, employment, and promotion in the subordinate civil service of the United States." The bill provides for the appointment of commissioners, who shall devise rules for examinations of a competitive character, whereby applicants shall enjoy equal chances of entering the public service of the American Government. The report of the Committee is an able and valuable document, in which the experience of Great Britain on this matter is referred to, and her example commended to the attention of the American people.

The above brief *resumé* indicates some of the steps which have been taken to put an end to the unfortunate methods of appointment introduced by President Jackson. It may be supplemented by a still briefer statement of the reforms actually effected in the principal hotbed of partisan corruption, the City of New York. I have already given some account of the Custom-house of that city under the old *régime*, showing the deplorable condition of things under the Swartwouts and the Hoyts. In 1871, President Grant appointed to the Collectorship of Customs in New York, Mr. Arthur, who is now Vice-President of the United States; and shortly after his appointment the new rules, which had been established



by the law of the 3rd March, previously referred to, came into effect. The enforcement of these rules was very imperfect, owing to the attitude of Congress, and owing to the fact that appropriations for their enforcement ceased, as has already been stated, after two years. Nevertheless, even under these circumstances, the results have been favourable. Mr. Arthur himself bore his testimony. "There can be no doubt," he said, "that the increased strictness required by the new system has in this respect been beneficial. It has excluded many unfit persons, and deterred a much larger number from applying." The Naval Officer of New York stated that "the civil service rules have been adhered to, and that the examinations which have been had have resulted favourably." Under President Hayes, Mr. Merritt (now Consul-General in London) was appointed Collector, and the Custom-house was still further improved. An honest and efficient man was now at the helm, and the result was plainly perceptible. Very few removals were made by him, and not one of them was without good cause—partisan reasons having nothing to do with them. The cost of collection was also reduced, and other valuable results ensued. What was the cause of this change? Doubtless, the character of the Collector had something to do with it; but he himself was appointed—spite of the opposition of Mr. Conkling, whose nominee Mr. Arthur was—because of his ability and fitness for the post. And Collector Merritt himself signed a joint report, which was presented to the President in November, 1879, in which occur these words: "These examinations, and the excellent qualifications of those admitted to the service through them, have had a marked incidental effect upon the persons previously in the service, and particularly upon those aspiring to promotion. There has been, upon the part of the latter, an increased interest in the work, and a desire to extend acquaintance with it beyond the particular desk occupied; and thus the general *morale* of the entire service has been raised." The reforming era set in, not only in the Custom-house, but also in the Post-office of New York. In the year 1873 was appointed, for the first time during many years, a postmaster who thoroughly understood his important duties. This was Mr. James, now Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of President Garfield. Mr. James soon commenced to clear out that Augean stable. He worked with vigour, tact, and knowledge, and accomplished results of the greatest importance, completely transforming the administration of the Post-office, and effecting, at the same time, an important saving in its expenditure. Collections and deliveries of letters became more frequent, mails much larger than before were handled with less cost, and drunken and incapable officials were discharged, giving place to honest men. Here again, Mr. James, in common with the Collector of Customs, bears testimony to the system of appointment by merit. Referring to the rules, he says, in a report to the President, dated November 8, 1879: "I have no hesitation in saying that the results have been salutary in a marked degree, and that from



my experience so far, I am satisfied that the general application of similar rules could not fail to be of decided benefit to the service."

I have thus very briefly detailed the more important reforms worked out during the last few years, partly in order to show English readers, who know little of the matter, that much has already been done, and done in spite of the greatest obstacles. The people of England read in the newspapers about political scandals in the United States, but they learn little or nothing of the attempts made, under most discouraging circumstances, to get rid of such scandals and to give the Republic an honest and efficient governmental system. My second reason for alluding to these reforms is to indicate the direction in which alone it would appear a remedy can come. That remedy is to be found in a method of appointment by which the partisan system shall be broken up, and promotion by merit substituted.

Competitive examinations seem to be the only means whereby the civil service of the United States can be purified and invigorated. A large body of active reformers in America are engaged in attempting to impress this upon the mind of the people. On the other hand, the present system of nomination is upheld by many who have no sympathy with the wire-pullers, and no liking for corruption. The attitude taken up by the latter seems to have been determined in some measure by the strong statements made by the friends of reform. Thus, Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, says that the American civil service is the worst on the globe. Commenting on this, the *Boston Traveller* remarks that such reformers "publish a libel on the Republic, and wantonly defame the characters of a large, intelligent, and honest body of their countrymen." Certainly, no one acquainted with European officialism, and who considers, on the other hand, the splendid work which has been done in many public departments, both state and national, in America, can endorse such a sweeping statement as that of Mr. Curtis. But, on the other hand, this may truly be said, that if the "spoils" system had been always and everywhere absolutely applied, the American public service must have sunk into depths of infamy indicated by the careers of Swartwont and Hoyt. The principal objection made to the system of competitive examinations, as urged by the American reformers, is that it is "English," and that what is adapted to the aristocratic atmosphere of England could not work in the free air of America. This argument, if it can be called such, is a counterpart of the absurd English cry about "Americanizing our institutions." Taken by itself, it is both worthless and indicative of intellectual insularity. It is generally the most bigoted and least enlightened who have no other argument against any reform than that it proceeds from a foreign source. The argument in this case is particularly meaningless, because, in the first place, civil service reform in England has been essentially a democratic movement; and in the second place, appointment by merit rather



than by influence is clearly a democratic principle. As previously stated, the palmiest days of corruption in this country were the days when the aristocracy reigned supreme, and when their nominees, however incompetent, were placed in all the best posts in the public service. Our own days of partisan appointments and political corruption are connected with the names of Harley and Walpole, Henry Fox and Newcastle, Bute, Grenville, and the Bedfords; that is, with the distinctively aristocratic *régime*, with the Whig and Tory oligarchy. If we had no Swartwonts and Hoyts, we had Bute's hack writer, who received a public pension of £600 per annum, and his poet, Dalrymple, who was gratified with the Attorney-Generalship of Granada. If we had no defaulting postmasters and district-attorneys, we had such public officials as George Selwyn, who, as Mr. Trevelyan tells us in his "Life of Fox," "was at one and the same time Surveyor-General of Crown Lands, which he never surveyed; Registrar in Chancery at Barbadoes, which he never visited; and Surveyor of the Meltings and Clerk of the Irons in the Mint, where he showed himself once a week, in order to eat a dinner which he ordered, but for which the nation paid." During this time the people had no voice in the affairs of their government, but had to submit to be plundered by the aristocracy. And it was during this very time that every office under the British Government, from ambassador down to tide-waiter, was obtained through influence, and in no case by merit. The system of promotion by merit has been introduced of late years in England, where the people have become more and more the depositories of real power. The new method has, therefore, been coincident with the rise of democracy; and so far, instead of being peculiarly "English" or "un-American," it is rather in accordance with American principles, though not in harmony with American practice. Then, again, the new system is, in itself, essentially democratic. In a country like America, where not only primary, but also the higher education, is open to all, the principle of examinations gives absolutely a fair field and no favour. To limit appointments to office to a class of men who profess a particular political creed (as the present American system does), is fully as objectionable, from a democratic point of view, as to limit it to a class holding a special religious creed; while the patronage of party wire-pullers is not one whit more respectable than the patronage of a duke or an archbishop. In this respect, therefore, the English system is really more democratic than the American, apart altogether from its superior purity.

But American speakers and writers maintain that to adopt the principle of promotion by merit in the public service is to create a vast conservative, permanent bureaucracy. This, perhaps, is, in some respects, a stronger objection to the proposed reform. As I do not altogether share the admiration expressed by Mr. Curtis and other



American reformers for the English civil service as it exists at present, I am bound to admit that, in my opinion, it would scarcely be well for the American people slavishly to imitate the English system. In England, there can be little doubt that every reforming minister is seriously hampered by the unreasoning conservatism and official routine displayed by the permanent staff of his department. Mr. Forster, for instance, assumes the control of Irish affairs with the most excellent intentions; but he is soon caught by the web of officialism at Dublin. The War Office seems to break down in its arrangements, whether we are engaged in conflict at the Crimea, in Central Asia, or in South Africa. Reforming zeal is strangled with red tape; and the officials are very often ignorant of the exact subjects with which they should be most familiar. The tone of the Civil Service is distinctly and unmistakably conservative, and all innovations are frowned upon by the "Circumlocution Office." These things are, undoubtedly, more or less true; and it is true, on the other hand, that the reports—scientific, commercial, statistical, and industrial—which proceed from the public service of America, whether under the Federal or State Governments, are models of what such documents should be, and are entirely unapproached in any European country. The departments of the American civil service are also generally characterized by a courtesy and an intelligence conspicuously lacking in the civil service of England. English officials do not seem to understand that they are the servants of the public; they aspire to be masters, and their boorish rudeness is peculiarly odious. But while strongly emphasizing this, I do not think it affords any countenance to the American argument against the examination system. Two things must be remembered in connection with the English service. First, that its habits and tone have been fixed under the old method of appointment by influence; and second, that its bureaucratic character is determined by the fact of the pensions accorded by the Government. In the United States public servants are happily not pensioned, unless they have lost a limb in the service of the Republic; there would, therefore, be no strong tendency towards the formation of a strong, conservative, anti-reforming bureaucracy. People could do as well in private life, in business or the professions; and there would be no such powerful inducement, as some Americans seem to imagine, to enter the service of the Government, especially when the only portal by which entrance could be effected was a rigid, searching examination. But much of the talk about a bureaucracy has very little meaning: for if a country is to be served well by its public servants, it must have a well-trained, permanent staff of officials. Men who are thrust into office ignorant of their duties, with the liability of being turned out in four years, cannot form a thoroughly efficient body. On this point an able and well-informed American writer, Mr. Albert Stickney, has said



very truly: "If our public service is to be efficient, we shall always have, under any system, a permanent class of office-holders. We have it now. The question with us is, whether these permanent office-holders shall be our best men, or those who gain and keep their places by the manipulation of an election machine." The wonder is that the public service of the United States has been on the whole so good as has actually been the case. It has been so good that, with a properly regulated system of appointment on the sole ground of honest merit, it would be by far the best in the world. In a democratic country the only safe and legitimate principle in reference to these matters is contained in the maxim of Napoleon, *La carrière ouverte aux talens*. The people of the United States, with their keen insight, and their thorough grasp of Republican principles, must come to see this, and to apply it in their political life.

This principle goes farther down into political life than is at present imagined. What will be exactly the final stage in the development of Republican Government? what will be the ultimate form assumed by democracy? None can say. But it is certain that every country is at present in a transition stage, and that the existing political arrangements are in large measure provisional. Mr. M. D. Conway reports that Carlyle, who was supposed to be no friend to American democracy, said to him, "I believe it even probable that the rule of men competent to rule—as against both sham nobility and the ignorant populace—will be first established in the United States." Perhaps in these matters Carlyle was more far-sighted and much wiser than many who simply laughed in a superficial way at his diatribes against democracy supposed. Carlyle's *ends* were the ends of democracy, he only questioned the wisdom of the means. And not only such men as Carlyle, but unquestioned friends of republicanism like J. S. Mill, Mazzini, and Mr. John Morley, have criticized severely many of the modern democratic methods. Such serious criticism is indeed essential to the constructive movement, for that movement failed both in 1793 and 1848 precisely for lack of it. The grandeur of the modern state is fatally marred by the mean and unworthy passions, the petty ends, the shallow trickery, the blustering and imposture which come to the front in public life. Something better and greater than the manœuvres of a Conkling is looked for from the fatherland and pioneer of democracy, the great Republic of the West. It is felt that there the problems which rend society asunder should receive their solution; that there the whole life of the commonwealth should be brought more and more into harmony with the highest laws. The American Republic is founded on the doctrine that "all men are born free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is true that the Republic has already made this more than a dead dogma, but it must yet be translated into a more living reality. Governments,



says the Declaration of Independence, are founded to effect these great ends. They do not, therefore, exist to serve the purposes of partisan fighters, who manipulate matters in such a way that the spoils fall to themselves. Democracy is thus profaned; its objects set aside. The republic becomes a prey for the plunderer, and political machinery is converted from a means to an end. Each form of human civilization seems to have its own special difficulties to contend with. The final form, that of democracy, wherein the freedom of all is acknowledged, and the aspirations of all are unbounded, is called upon to contend with the enemy whereby the common heritage of all is converted into the patrimony of a few, and these often the least worthy members of the community. The United States must meet and overcome this difficulty if democracy is to be established there on a basis of justice and enduring right. The "rings," the banded armies of capitalists and of wire-pullers who "run" the machine of government for their own aggrandizement, are as dangerous to the American as the clerical faction is to the French Republic. And already, not only in Europe, but in America itself, we hear the Western Republic spoken of as a "middle-class" republic; a government which has abandoned its high professions of freedom, and is conducted in the interests of the moneyed classes and their satellites. I do not wish to pay too much deference to the wild utterances of the Socialists, but some of their criticism of the United States is just. New York financiers, Chicago speculators, silver-kings and railroad-kings, control to a large extent the American Government, and make use of its officers and public servants for their own ends. The great hope for America is that the people have the matter in their own hands. They have to contend with powerful rings and combinations of politicians, it is true. But they have no such formidable obstacles as beset the progress of the European peoples. The standing armies, the monarchies, the aristocracies, the huge debts, the crushing taxation, the old inveterate abuses, which flourish in Europe, can take no root in the New World. The continent of America is consecrated to simple humanity, and its institutions exist solely for the progress and happiness of the whole people. All the more is it incumbent on the American people to rescue their republic from the unscrupulous and greedy factions which enable, too often, the aristocratic classes here to point at the American Union the finger of scorn. The mere reform of the civil service will not, it is true, accomplish all this; but it will prepare the way, by the encouragement of talent and industry, and by the discrediting of partisan factions, whose only *raison d'être* is the securing of spoils.

There is good hope that this reform will be carried out. The leading manipulator of the "machine," Mr. Conkling, has been defeated in the New York Legislature, on his attempt to re-enter the Senate. He had



thrown down the gauge of battle, and it was taken up with vigour, and has produced results which must have considerably astonished Mr. Conkling and his partisans. The illustrious victim at the White House is committed to a policy of reform ; and the defeat of Mr. Conkling shows that the President, if his life should happily be spared, will receive the enthusiastic support of the Republican party. But whether President Garfield lives or succumbs to the murderous attack of the office-seeking assassin, but one course is open to American citizens—viz., to destroy a system which has done its best to strangle the Republic. Their conscience is now aroused by a dastardly crime, and it is for their leading reformers to strike home with the vigour which an energetic republic inspires.

WILLIAM CLARKE.

## CIVILIZATION AND EQUALITY.

A FAMILIAR COLLOQUY.

BY the beginning of the London season Mrs. Hervey had returned from Cannes, and had been busy in Berkeley Square alike with fashion and with politics. Young Mr. Seacorts had been a constant frequenter of her house, which had been made all the more attractive by the presence of a beautiful niece; and when not engaged in discoursing to this young lady, he had often recurred, with her aunt, to the subject of modern Radicalism. Mrs. Hervey was the staunchest of staunch Tories, and had rarely about her even any moderate Liberals. What, then, was the surprise, one day at tea-time, of Seacorts, when he heard the name announced of an actual and avowed Radical! It was the name of Mr. Lovel—the accomplished, the genial Mr. Lovel, who had the gift of conversing with men of every opinion, and of yet retaining his own. He was full this afternoon of news of the Irish Land Bill—a matter that, to Mrs. Hervey, was of more than theoretical interest; as she had an Irish estate which she was told was of some beauty, and which she had vague thoughts of visiting. An animated conversation arose with regard to landlords. The views advanced were naturally very different, but though they might have made a political discord, they made a social harmony; and when Mr. Lovel at the end was pronounced to be a “dreadful Communist,” so charming were the lips that bestowed the name on him that he received it with a bow, as though it had been a flower for his button-hole.

“To change the subject,” said the niece, as he was rising to take his leave, “I should so like to show you my private little collection of china. Communist though you are, you are a collector, I know, yourself; and I have had one or two pieces given me which I really have a right to be proud of.”

Seacorts begged that he might be allowed to come also; and the



three went upstairs to the young lady's sitting-room. There was much opening of the glass doors of cabinets, much taking down of vases, and cups and saucers, and much grave discussion as to marks and dates.

"There," said Miss Hervey, at last, "is the real gem of my collection. It was given to me on my last birthday by my great-uncle."

"Beautiful!" exclaimed Mr. Lovel, with all the air of a connoisseur; and then presently with a start, "Why, surely," he said, "I have seen this vase before. It was in the collection, was it not, of the Duc de —, which was sold at Christie's some five or six years ago? To be sure it was. I remember the whole thing now; and it was knocked down at something over four hundred pounds. Beautiful!" he repeated. "I only wish, Miss Hervey, that it was mine."

"And if it was his," said Seacorts, "do you know what our friend would do with it? He would have it ground into fine powder, and make every man in the street swallow an equal pinch of it. That is the Radical's ideal of the right distribution of property."

Mr. Lovel laughed with his usual frank good-nature. "Yes, I know," said he, "that is what you Conservatives think of us; but you understand very little of what is really our aim and spirit. Mr. Seacorts and I, Miss Hervey, have had many and long discussions about this; and I have heard from your aunt the fame of what he said about our party at Cannes."

"I must admit," said Miss Hervey, "that for a Communist you are very kind and forbearing; but you know, Mr. Lovel, if we were to speak the real truth to you, though we do call you a Communist, we don't in our hearts even think that you are a Radical. We believe with Mr. Seacorts that Radicalism is the religion of envy; and though numbers of people may no doubt envy *you*, you have certainly little temptation ever to envy *them*. I shall appeal to my aunt when we go back to the drawing-room; for I have heard so much from her about your charming villa at Twickenham, about your china, your engravings, and your collection of Roman pottery. Have you ever been there, Mr. Seacorts?"

"No," replied Seacorts, laughing. "I believe our friend is afraid to show it to me, and so he always asks me to dine with him when he knows I am engaged elsewhere."

"Will you dine to-night?" said Mr. Lovel. "My brougham is at the door; I will not ask you to dress, and I will drive you down immediately."

Seacorts smiled. "I have been engaged to dine out to-night for the last three weeks. Didn't I tell you, Miss Hervey? That was always Mr. Lovel's way. However," he went on, "I have just received a telegram which announces the illness of the mother of my intended hostess. The dinner party is put off; and if he does not repent of his proposal



when he leaves, I am able to accept it. I am, at this moment, very much at Mr. Lovel's service."

"Then, in that case," said Mr. Lovel, "I fear it is high time for us to be moving. I am carrying off Mr. Seacorts," he said, at parting to Mrs. Hervey, "to show him the den of a Socialist and a conspirator. I know he expects that in every one of my Roman vases he will find an infernal machine hidden for blowing up the Lord Mayor or the Russian Emperor; and that the printing press of the *Freiheit* is now concealed in my wine-cellar. However, I don't despair of at least partly converting him, and of showing him that there is some difference between Bakunin and Mr. Gladstone."

"I believe," said Seacorts, when he and Mr. Lovel were in the brougham together, "that we really seem to you to consider Mr. Gladstone as a Nihilist. I am not saying this as a joke; though *Nihilist*, perhaps, was a wrong word to use. Let me say, rather, a Communistic conspirator. You think that it is in that light that we look on your illustrious leader, and that we look on the Liberal Party as a sinister and revolutionary conspiracy."

"Of course," said Mr. Lovel, "you are putting the matter too strongly. But upon my word, Seacorts, the fears of the Conservative party do seem to us to be even grotesque in their groundlessness. I hope you won't mind my plain-speaking. I'm sure I shall not mind yours."

"I know you will not, and that is one of your chief charms. My dear Mr. Lovel, you are a delightful person to discuss a matter with, because you court plain-speaking, and are never put out of temper by it."

"And why should I be? Upon my word I don't see the reason. Opposition of any kind gets upon the nerves of some people; but if one's nerves are healthy, why should one be put out by it? Of course, I suppose the opposition to be really honest. Soldiers on opposite sides may fraternize after the battle is over; and just as killing a man in battle is no murder, so calling him a fool in argument is no rudeness."

"Well," said Seacorts, "I'm not quite so sure about that."

"Of course," said Mr. Lovel, "there are ways and ways in which a man may be called a fool; and in argument, as well as out of it, it can, no doubt, be done offensively. But what I mean is this: the very fact that men belong to different schools of thought implies that on some point or points they think each other either fools or knaves. Now, I venture to say that neither you nor I think the other a knave; but we each, on some point or points, think the other a fool. Why should we mince the matter? There is really no offence in it. Used in this way, what do we mean by *fool*? We mean a man who, in our opinion, is incapable of seeing some truth. What to us means one thing, to him means quite another. He is afflicted, in our eyes, with



an obstinate intellectual blindness. The Protestant and the Catholic, the Liberal and the Conservative, each, in so far as they differ, appears in this light to the other. I think this of some of the most eminent men I know; they think the same of me; and just as I think that in their judgment there is no arrogance, so I think that in mine there is no impertinence. The one thing to which I look forward this evening is to learn the real points on which you think me a fool."

"Well," said Seacorts, "and I will do my best to show them to you; though difference of opinion may imply, to my mind, some other charge beyond that of folly or knavery. It may imply an overlooking of facts, as well as a misreading of them; and that is the chief sin I should like to bring home to you."

Host and guest, meanwhile, were being hurried rapidly out of London. They had passed the Park with its long concourse of carriages; they had passed Kensington Gardens with their more quiet shade. Holland House, too, and its elms were now far behind them. The buildings each moment were becoming more scattered, and between them were green expanses. Lines of trees began to make shady hedgerows; a bridge was crossed, below it were a broad water and barges; and then came in quick succession villa after villa within walled gardens, and shaded with old cedar trees. At last the brougham stopped at some tall doors, hanging on brick gate-posts. A girl looked out of a small lodge window at one side; in another moment the doors were thrown open, and the brougham, passing up a short but charming avenue, had paused presently before a white stone portico. Indoors were some low anterooms, with faded Turkey carpets, and old-fashioned marble tables supporting busts and vases. The staircase was hung with a number of fine drawings, some being original sketches by famous masters; and Seacorts noticed, as he glanced through an open door or two, certain mahogany cabinets, that doubtless contained treasures. Mr. Lovel told a servant to bring dinner directly; and the gentlemen, having made all the toilet they meant to make, took a few turns in the garden, that they might give a last edge to their appetites. The turf was soft and green. Over a red-brick billiard-room ran a long blue westeria; five great cedars at a distance were spreading their "level layers of shade;" farther off still was a belt of scarlet rhododendrons; and to the west, beyond the now flowerless laburnum trees, the cool clear sky was the colour of a pale laburnum flower.

"Well," exclaimed Seacorts, delighted, "if this is the reward of Liberalism, where is the modern workman who would not do well to be a Liberal?"

"Come," said Mr. Lovel, laughing, as he took the other by the arm, "there at last is the dinner-bell. Let us finish our talk indoors. I know," he resumed, as they were beginning the soup, "what, with regard to us Radicals, is your favourite thesis. You say that our motive principle is neither more nor less than envy."



"Then," said Seacorts, "according to my own favourite thesis, I shall very soon be a Radical myself. I have envied you your villa from the first moment I entered it; and now with still greater vigour I have begun to envy you your cook."

"I am much obliged to you for your compliment. But compliments are the last things I was looking out for. I want you to give me a little of your plain-speaking. I want you to convince me of my folly, or else, what I should call, expose your own. Let us have a little friendly bout together; or rather, let me be your victim, and you do the worst you can on me. Come! if you are shy of beginning I will throw down the gauntlet. You say that the motive of Radicalism is envy. I, on the contrary, say it is compassion. For my own part, I enjoy life myself, and I wish others to enjoy it. I enjoy life, because I am a healthy man. I wish to diffuse the enjoyment of it, because I am a Radical. You see I don't blush at praising my own position. I have set myself up on a pedestal, and I am inviting you to knock me down from it."

"You are inviting me, then," said Seacorts, "to do the very thing I have no wish to do. Not only would I not knock you down from your pedestal, but I would, if I could, even make it a little higher. You belong to the party of compassion, you say; and I am quite willing to believe it. You are a man of taste, of education, and of polished manners. You must excuse me for saying all this. If you are not going to call my accusations rudeness, you must not call my praise flattery. Well, besides being privately what I have just said you are, on your public side you belong to a certain party which you believe to represent the progressive instincts of humanity. Is not that so? It is a party that looks forward, and not behind. It desires the attainment of what ought to be, not the conservation of what is. It has no reverence for what it thinks obstructions; and sooner or later it expects to sweep away kings and aristocracies, and all such stereotyped inequalities. How soon these are to be done away with is another question. Not to-morrow, you will say, or even next day. I don't suspect you of hiding gunpowder under the House of Lords; but still in your mind the years of that assembly are numbered; and not of that special assembly only, but also of all similar ones."

"Go on," said Mr. Lovel as he finished a glass of champagne. "You are quite on the right track. I don't in the least hesitate to declare myself a genuine democrat."

"Exactly," said Seacorts, "you think, with so many others, that the chief movement the modern world is making is a movement towards democracy."

"Can you deny it?"

"I do not deny the movement: what I dissent from is what I conceive to be your view of it."

"Do you deny that it is a movement for good?"



"That, Mr. Lovel, I am not prepared to say.

'The drift of the Maker is dark, and Isis hid by a veil.'

The movement is a fact—I do not deny that much; but I think it quite possible that it may lead to the most utter ruin."

"I am not a Positivist," said Mr. Lovel, "nor do I go to a chapel to adore Humanity. On the contrary, I believe in God, and, what is more, I am very grateful to Him. But this I do believe, that the democratic movement is the movement of true progress, and that it is a movement towards righting some of the greatest wrongs of life."

"I too," replied Seacorts, "say that it *may* be this; but I say also that it *may* be quite the reverse. Now, Mr. Lovel, I am going to begin pitching into you. We both agree as to the fact of a certain movement. You call it the democratic movement. Now, I say that to call it that is to give it a question-begging name. It assumes one of the gravest points that I conceive to be at issue."

"And is it not democratic? Does it not everywhere express itself by a constant cry after democracy?"

"At present it does. But it is one thing to feel a want, and another to know what will satisfy it. To my mind the leaders of the modern movement have given an entirely wrong, and a possibly fatal, diagnosis of it."

"To what leaders do you refer?"

"To all its leaders, from Rousseau to Karl Marx; and what I mean by my accusation is this. The sound, practical common sense of men lets them struggle for nothing but what they think proximately attainable. The democratic leaders have been teaching them that they can attain the unattainable. They have been debauching and distorting the growing aspirations of the masses, and fixing their eyes on a mere mocking mirage. Now listen," Seacorts went on, seeing that Mr. Lovel was about to speak: "you will, of course, deny this; but I maintain that you are not in a position to do so. Speaking to you personally, and to your own immediate party, I say that your programme for the future is too vague for you to be able rightly to say whether it is a possible or impossible one. You, Mr. Lovel, I may venture to say safely, have no distinct scheme for the complete reconstruction of society."

Mr. Lovel smiled, and looked at Seacorts with a half-puzzled expression. "Certainly," he said, "I don't suppose I have; and if I had such a scheme, it would not be worth much. Societies change and grow; they are not built to order. What we have to do is to feel our way gradually, and each day or each decade will bring its own light with it."

"That is hardly in keeping," said Seacorts, "with the great motto of Proudhon, *Destruam et reedificabo*."

"My dear fellow," exclaimed Mr. Lovel, "what on earth have I to do with Proudhon? I have not the least wish to destroy society. On



the contrary, I think that were it now reduced to ruins, all these abuses and evils which we are so anxious to get rid of would most probably repeat themselves in the process of reconstruction. Do you honestly think me a Communist, and a foe to property? If I were, should I live as I do live, in my own quiet villa, with the public shut out from me by trees and garden walls? If I were a destroyer, should I be an art-collector?"

"Certainly not," said Seacorts; "but still, Mr. Lovel, as I shall try to show you, you have a close connection with Proudhon for all that. And why should I stop at Proudhon? The *Pall Mall Gazette* is, I think, your favourite newspaper; but I maintain your opinions are connected with those of the *Freiheit*. Yes—you may look incredulous; but I assure you I have a serious meaning."

"It seems to me," said Mr. Lovel, "that the only serious meaning you can have is one too obvious to make it worth your while to utter it. Proudhon advocated the doing away of abuses; so, too, no doubt, did the *Freiheit*. You may if you like call both Proudhon and Herr Most Radicals. But people who think as I do, think of them as mad Radicals. You should always remember that in the train of every party are a certain number of misguided enthusiasts, some of whom indulge in impossible theories, whilst others advocate inadmissible practice. The one sort of man is the dreamer; the other is the criminal."

"I am much obliged," exclaimed Seacorts, "for what you have said just now. There are several things in it that I will take as texts. I may call, you say, both yourself and Herr Most Radicals. Suppose I call you both Liberals instead. It is a wider word—allow me to use that."

"Certainly."

"Very well, then, what I want to remind you is that the Liberal party is a very heterogeneous body; and that though it consists apparently of men who are pushing in one direction, they are doing this with a vast variety of aims; and amongst these men there are very many with mad aims."

"Certainly," said Mr. Lovel, "men with mad aims, supported by mad theories, and sought for by mad means."

"We will drop the means," said Seacorts, "for the present. We will talk only about the theories. This is the point I am aiming at, and this brings me back to Proudhon. What was Proudhon's great maxim? 'Property is theft.' Let me take another, common to the whole school of Socialist writers. 'The source of all social evils is inequality.' Let me take another, and one more important still. 'The source of all wealth is physical labour.' Now, here are some of the theories that make your Radicals mad Radicals—that inspire them with a longing, more or less definite, for the entire destruction of the existing order of things. I want to fix your attention, if you will let me, on a few points like these."



"For one moment, pardon me," said Mr. Lovel, interrupting him. "Before you go on I have one remark to make. In a certain sense I don't dispute your facts. Doubtless during the last hundred years many misleading theories have been set afloat in the world, which have caused and are still causing mischief. This fact is sad, but it is not really alarming. Civilization is in no way menaced by it. The Socialists you are so afraid of are nothing but the camp-followers of the Radicals; or, if you would sooner it were put in this way, rational Radicalism is the appeaser of that discontent which is at the bottom of mad Socialism. We have already agreed that we are trying to convince each other of folly; and your folly thus far seems to me to be this—not that you see false facts, but that you see them in false proportions. And yet I am wrong," he went on after a moment's pause. "I think you are wrong to some extent even in your facts. Let us take these maxims you were just now speaking of. As for property being theft, I am not going to defend that; though even that may have some germ of truth in it. But let us take the others. 'The source of all social evils is inequality;' and 'The source of all wealth is physical labour.' Now, put these, with unchanged meaning, into a slightly different form, and you will see that they embody the principles of all social progress. The aim of all social progress is to raise the condition of the poor; and what is that but to diminish inequality? Go a little farther, and how is this to be done? By securing to the labourer the due reward of his labour. The fundamental question is not the nature of the ideal social state we aim at, but the degree to which a sane man can fancy the human race may approach to it. You have read Cabet's '*Icaria*,' have you not? What a charming picture he gives of the life there. About the charm of it there can be no question; only a sober man knows that we can only make a distant approach to it."

"I have read Cabet's '*Icaria*,' certainly. It is a sort of Paradise of social equality, and, so well as I can remember, the description of it was, as you say, charming. But as to its being a picture we should look at to guide our actions, there I utterly dissent from you. As a dream, it is pretty; as more than a dream it is utterly misleading. You have admitted in what you said just now all the gravest charges that I have to make against you. Your Utopia is the Utopia of the Socialists; your philosophy is at bottom the same as theirs. Your only defence lies here. They say, 'We will achieve equality;' whereas you say, 'We will approach towards it.'"

"And do not Conservatives say the same thing?" cried Mr. Lovel. "Your party, I suppose, would like to raise poor wretches out of the extreme of misery; and there at once you have one step towards levelling."

"I am going," said Seacorts, "to answer that by a parable. A steam-engine, we will say, is very wasteful; it burns more coal than is necessary. Clearly the thing to be aimed at is to improve the heating arrangements, so that the required heat may be given by the least



quantity of coal. Very well. The Conservative regards inequality in the social structure as the engineer may look on fire in the engine. His aim may possibly be to reduce it to a certain point; but not in his wildest dreams does he dream of doing away with it. My complaint against such pictures as that of Cabet is that they are mere mischievous tricks played on a deceived imagination. They represent, as it were, steam engines, with nothing to generate steam. The vapour is under pressure with no boiler to compress it. And you, Mr. Lovel, and your friends—you sensible, shrewd, humane English Liberals, in your ideal of society as it should be, commit just the same error. You look upon inequality as a Upas tree to be destroyed; whereas it is only the elm-tree on which the vine of life is to be trained. You admit that your Upas tree can never be quite cut down; but you will do whatever cutting you can. We do our cutting; but with a very different object. We are pruning the elm-tree we wish to see flourishing; not hacking at the Upas tree that we would, if we could, eradicate. Will you let me go on speaking? I have something more which I am very anxious to say. My view of the situation is that the entire Liberal Party, from the men of your school or of Mr. Gladstone's to the wildest and most sanguinary Socialists, are all led astray by an utterly false philosophy; only in the case of educated men like yourself, your sound judgment and common sense, unperceived by yourself, is practically paralyzing what you imagine to be your theories. I say 'practically paralyzing;' but thereby hangs a tale. I should very much like to speak about that afterwards; and then we shall come to something very like personality. But first I want to have a more general question out with you—the question of this modern social philosophy which is offered us as the *rationale* of the entire democratic movement; and a part at least of whose doctrines you accept like the Socialists."

Mr. Lovel laughed and hesitated. "Say," he said, "in a very modified way."

"Exactly," said Seacorts. "But I maintain that they are false every way. I maintain, not that they go too far in the right direction, but that their direction from the very first is wrong. I maintain—and this is what I want to submit to you—that the ferment of popular opinion that has marked the present century, the ferment of opinion, and the uneasy desire for change, will never come to good, till the whole fabric of our so-called social science has been reconstructed. I am eager on this subject, and perhaps my tongue runs away with me. But it is not unnatural: it is for this reason. I have been preparing—in a disjointed way, it is true, but still carefully—certain criticisms on the modern Liberal fallacies. And in saying this, I am paying the highest tribute I can to the common sense of mankind. Even the wildest revolutionaries seek for their proposed excesses some rational, some scientific justification. They are only able to excite themselves and their followers, for any time together, by appealing to something



that they fancy scientific truth. This is why I attach such importance to the study of social science; and why I see it to be so dangerous in the state in which now it is. Science!" he exclaimed, getting more eager as he went on, "it is at present not a science at all. It is a pseudo-science—a jargon of loose phrases. Listen, Mr. Lovel—I don't want to bore you, but will you allow me to read to you one or two of these criticisms of mine? I have them here in my pocket-book, and I should much like to see if they in the least commended themselves to your judgment."

"I shall be delighted to listen," said Mr. Lovel, "more especially as I as yet do not quite catch what you are driving at. Social science is a vague word. At a Social Science Congress it includes, I believe, the subject of Lady-helps. I should like to know the meaning that you attach to it. For my part, if I might make a criticism in advance, I should observe that political economy, which is a part of social science, seems to me by no means a pseudo-science. It has been as carefully and as accurately reasoned out as any science of any kind."

"That may be so," said Seacorts. "But I am not going to run a tilt against political economy. Let that structure be as sound as you like. What I am going to ask is, what foundation does it rest upon? It rests upon the broad and most universal facts of human character. For instance, if men had no desire to live, if they were just as willing to die, if they had no impulse to reproduce their species, and so on, the modern science of political economy would, for such human beings, have no significance whatsoever. Its validity rests, therefore, on the facts of the human character. Now, what I say with regard to our political economists is that they have roughly assumed these facts: they have never really analysed them. A rough knowledge, of course, we all have of them; but not a scientific knowledge. It has been well said that science is organized common sense. But common sense with regard to the human character no one has ever organized, and by those who have tried to do so it has been only disorganized. I have tried to express this view in the first little fragment that I will read to you. I have used the word *social science* for the science I have in view. The name is only a makeshift, till I have thought of something more distinctive; but I think my various criticisms will make my meaning clear enough."

Seacorts produced his pocket-book, and began to read as follows:—

"Social science is, in our century, what physical science was at the dawn of Greek philosophy. Karl Marx, for instance, one of the most advanced of Socialist writers, is in his method, and his main conclusions, in a position like that of Thales. I quite admit that he is a great collector of facts, but he knows not how to read them. His predecessors have the same faults as himself. He reproduces all their fundamental errors. These fundamental errors are not many; but as they are few in number they are great in magnitude. They may be



summed up in a few well-known sentences, and when I have quoted these, it will be clear enough what foe I am fighting. 'Property is theft.' 'Capital is fossil labour.' 'Physical labour is the source of all wealth and all culture.' So says Proudhon; so say the modern German Socialists: and the whole Liberal party, if it does not consciously endorse these doctrines, at least more or less timidly, is pledged to many of their corollaries. Now, of the sentences I have just quoted and the view expressed in them, I venture to say this. So far as truth is concerned, so far as scientific value is concerned, they are worth no more than the renowned doctrine of Thales, that the original source of all things is water. The world is the product of water. Wealth is the product of physical labour! The two propositions may well stand side by side, unless, indeed, the last be not the crudest, as it certainly is the most mischievous. Wealth is the product of physical labour! That one sentence is like a gigantic tombstone, under which is buried alive an unsuspected science. What a depth of ignorance is betrayed in it! What a world of facts is overlooked! What a——"

Seacorts stopped suddenly and smiled. "Well," he said, "I see I go on like that for some lines more. I need not trouble you with my exclamations, as they are not meant to be published; but, numerous as they are, they have really barely relieved me of the intense amazement that overcomes me when I consider this matter. Here we have had a century of talented writers, all busy on the same subject, and latterly trying to treat it in a scientific way; and there, before their eyes, or rather under their feet, is the very science they are in search of, offering itself to their study! But they—they are altogether blind to it; they utterly pass it over! How else would they utter that monster fallacy, that physical labour is the source of all wealth, and of all culture?"

"Surely," said Mr. Lovel, surprised at all this vehemence, "in a very great measure it is the source."

"In some measure, yes; but we don't want to be told that. It is one of the sources—true: but it is only one. Suppose a cunning detective tracks some thieves down a dark alley, and catches them. I am asked to explain the means by which he tracked and caught them; and I answer, his left foot or his knee-cap. That answer is just as adequate as to say that wealth is the product of labour. You can't have wealth without labour, certainly; just as the detective could not have run without his left foot: but that is all. Let me read you another of my paragraphs. They are mere memoranda, but they will still show something of my meaning. 'In constructing,' I say, 'the science of society on a true basis, one of the first things to be done is to arrive at the true relation between labour and wealth, and to substitute a true formula for the present false one. Physical labour *per se* is the source of nothing but the barest necessities of life. Physical labour is the source of poverty—poverty, in opposition to two things: to starvation, or non-existence on the one hand; and to wealth and culture on the



other. I am using these words tentatively. Before the subject can be properly treated, we require a more accurate and an ampler terminology. It has occurred to me that the term *livelihood* might be used with advantage to denote the necessities of life; and that by way of making a convenient antithesis to this, we should use instead of *wealth* the term *luxury*. Adopting this language, I should state my case as follows:—Physical labour *per se* is the source of nothing but livelihood. Luxury is livelihood with a good deal added to it. It includes livelihood, but it is differentiated from it by the said additions. In the same way, to produce luxury, we require physical labour, with a good deal added to it; and what differentiates the causes of luxury from the causes of mere livelihood is emphatically not physical labour, but other causes added to it. Social science hitherto has entirely neglected these causes; or has given them an attention so slight that it has been the same thing as neglect."

Seacorts paused, and began turning over his pages. "Go on," said Mr. Lovel. "What are these causes?"

"I believe much," said Seacorts, "in the value of comprehensive formulas—I mean their practical, their popularizing value. 'Capital is fossil labour:' that seems to me an admirable formula, except for one reason—namely, that it embodies a falsehood. I want to get a formula as neat and as pregnant as that, and which shall at the same time embody the truth. I have tried many, but I am not quite satisfied with any. Here are several of them. 'Capital is fossil ambition.' 'Capital is fossil skill.' 'Capital is fossil cupidity.' 'Capital is fossil genius.' Then again I have been obliged to add to these, 'Capital is fossil luck.' All these phrases are mere suggestions. I am not satisfied with any of them. But the fundamental fact I have tried to express is the same in all of them, and is perfectly clear to me. And yet even this burdens me; for, single as it is itself, it has many sides, and can be put in many ways. I have here a whole pageful of aphorisms, in which I have tried to deal with it. I will read you one or two of them. 'It is assumed by the present school of thinkers that inequality is produced by our existing social arrangements. The truth really is that our existing social arrangements are the results of our inherent inequality.' 'No man, except criminally, can ever become wealthy but by conferring on others a something which those others think a benefit: thus men are wealthy in proportion as their good offices can be multiplied.' 'Karl Marx maintains that the profit of the capitalist is the difference between the value of the work done by the workman and the wages for that work which the capitalist pays him. It is really a fraction of the value which is added to the workman's work because he does not work singly.' I have jotted the following down, not as an accurate fact, but as an example. 'A mechanic, working by himself, finds the value of his work to be four shillings a day. Working under a capitalist, it becomes six shillings a



day; but the capitalist pays the mechanic only five shillings, thus daily pocketing one shilling for himself. This shilling represents, not the full benefit, but simply a fraction of the benefit, the capitalist does the workman. Of course in certain cases the capitalist may extort more than he gives; but that is not because he is a capitalist, but because he is an extortionate capitalist.' Here again is another of my sentences. 'The profits of capital are the percentage paid by the workmen for having their work organized.'

"Allow me," said Mr. Lovel, "to interrupt you for one moment. Labour organized is of course more productive than labour isolated. That is little more than a truism. But why should we need some few capitalists to organize it? Why should we not substitute co-operation? Why should we not have joint-stock companies, in which the operatives are the shareholders? It is in that direction that I look for the hope of the working classes."

"Schemes of that kind," said Seacorts, "I have often thought about; and the more I have thought about them, the more hopeless have they seemed to me. They all, to me, seemed formed in ignorance of certain primary laws of human conduct and exertion. Of course schemes for such co-operation as you speak about have been of many kinds, and many are the quarrels amongst themselves that the Socialists have had about them. But all these schemes have one and the same failing. They all try to eliminate what they think an evil, but what really, so long as human nature remains unchanged, is essential to the production of wealth. What I speak of is the superior position, the superior power, the superior pay of those few who direct the operations of the many. Convert, if you will, all our manufacturing establishments into so many joint-stock companies, in which the operatives are the shareholders; and they will have to pay skilled managers to direct their operations—managers who will be simply capitalists called by a new name—and for this reason. It may be laid down as an axiom that, other things being equal, a man's interest in any business increases in proportion to the money he expects to gain by it. In proportion, then, as the profits of a business are diffused, the interest in the business becomes relaxed; it is therefore in the interest of the many that the interest of some few should be intensified. A thousand men paying one man a shilling a day might quite commonly find that they increased their own incomes by exactly the same sum. It is quite true that while they were each earning their tens of pounds, this other might be earning his thousands: but what of that? It would be a dearly-bought luxury that of ruining a millionaire, if the price I must pay for it is reducing myself to destitution."

"I confess," said Mr. Lovel, "I don't quite follow you in all this."

"Possibly not," said Seacorts. "I am not, please to remember, trying to prove my position; I am merely roughly stating the positions which I wish to be proved. To prove them we must have recourse to



the study of a missing science, which I may call with sufficient accuracy the Science of Human Motive. It is curious that when all speculative philosophy should be insisting so strongly on the psychological fact that motive is essential to action—that action, in fact, is little but the puppet of motive—our practical, our political philosophy should leave motive out of sight altogether.”

“I don’t want,” interposed Mr. Lovel, “to stop you in what you are saying now: but before we go further may I say one thing which I wanted to say just now? You were speaking of the profits of the capitalist. Now, when the capitalist has secured these, the labourer is left for the most part with little but what you call a livelihood. You maintain also—I do not forget this—that such a livelihood is the natural reward of labour. Now, I have often heard it said (though possibly it is only an approximation to the truth) that one man on an average could produce food sufficient for nine people. Surely if this statement be anything like correct, the natural reward of labour must be more than mere livelihood.”

“I am glad,” said Seacorts, “you have alluded to this matter. It is very much to the point. Let us accept the calculation you mention, for the sake of argument. In some cases it is no doubt an over-statement: but it is an under-statement in others. Well, what does it mean? You say an average man *can* produce so much. I think the word *can* is in these cases a very confusing one. I should prefer to use the word *will*. *Can* refers only to a potential world—a dream-land. *Will* refers to the world of realities. When we say that a man *can* do a thing, we mean that he *will* do it if he has sufficient motive. But there you see is the whole question begged. Suppose I want to go in fifteen minutes from Charing Cross to Paddington. It is little comfort to me to know that my cab horse *can* trot twelve miles an hour unless I know also that the driver will make him do so—will, in other words, supply the horse with the motive. In the same way, what a man *can* produce is of no practical moment until we take it in connection with the motives that shall make this potential production actual production. But of what we *can* do we shall do only just so much as we are induced to do; and to say, for instance, that a man can produce daily enough food for nine men, only means, if it means anything, that under no circumstances will he produce more than this, not that under any circumstances will he produce as much. An excellent illustration of this is to be found amongst some sub-tropical savages, of whom it is said that one in a single day can collect enough food to support himself for six months. How easy is livelihood for these men! Could any Socialist dreamer dream of more than this? And what is the result? Do these men rise from livelihood to luxury? Not a single step. They remain mere idle savages. Their surplus powers, with which they might do so much, are practically non-existent, because there is no motive to develop them.”



"And supposing," said Mr. Lovel, "that all this is true, what are we to gather from it, with regard to capital and labour?"

"We are to gather this," said Seacorts, "that the labouring classes of themselves, as a homogeneous body of equals, will never produce more than suffices for their own livelihood. 'Progress is only possible through differentiation and through inequality.' On this point I have jotted down a few aphorisms, and that is one of them. Here is another: 'The many can only rise through the ambition and talent of the few.' 'Ambition is as necessary to the growth of genius as sunlight to the growth of corn.' 'Without exceptional rewards exceptional talent is impossible.' I have many more sentences to much the same effect, which I have written as they occurred to me; and, as applied to the present state of society, the upshot of all is this—that unless it were possible for the few to make fortunes, the many would be in a state far worse than they are at present. Unless it were possible for the few to make fortunes, inventions would cease, commerce would languish, and there would be a slow relapse of society into listless or violent barbarism. And to me it seems that the reason is very obvious. Unless it were for the increased reward to be achieved by the higher labours—by the exercise of ingenuity, of commercial foresight, of political sagacity, and so on—these higher labours would be chosen by no one. The life of a Prime Minister is more anxious than that of a day labourer. Rob the former of all his prestige, of all that fame and honour which is the noblest reward that a man can take delight in—rob him of all the physical ease which can make intense thought tolerable, and would he not far rather, in that case, take to planting cabbages? Who, I ask you,

'Would breast the blows of circumstance,  
And grapple with his evil star,'

unless that most just and most glorious hope was encouraging him that he some day should

'Stand on Fortune's crowning slope,  
The pillar of a people's hope,  
The centre of a world's desire?'"

"With most of your argument," said Mr. Lovel, "I should probably quite agree. But are you not mixing up two things here—the noble ambition of the minister and the mere cupidity of the manufacturer?"

"Of course," replied Seacorts, "in a conversation like this of ours, one can only put things roughly. Ambition and cupidity are doubtless different things, but in one way they are allied. They are both forms of personal, of individual desire, and the object they aim at is some form of self-distinction. What we are in want of is a generic name, uncharged with any moral associations, which shall include all such desires, whether base or noble, whether for fame or money. There are many names existing which might be used, but they are either already appropriated (as *ambition* is) to a particular species of the desire, or else some notion of moral contempt or blame is attached to them. Could we only disinfect the word *selfishness* of such a moral impli-



education, I think that might serve our purpose. At any rate, for the moment, I will borrow it from our common language, and invest it with a technical meaning. I mean, then, for the time being, by selfishness, all those desires of which the object is some special gain for self. Now, if ever the matter comes to be treated scientifically, it will be seen that this selfishness divides itself into a great number of kinds. There is personal selfishness, for instance, there is family selfishness, and there is national selfishness. Again, any of these may be in their very nature beneficent or maleficent, base or noble. Take, for instance, the ambition of a statesman. That ambition may be either for fame or power simply; or for fame and power gained by doing good. The fact that I want to make clear is, that, no matter how noble may be the statesman's aims, the natural, the legitimate hope that sustains him in the pursuit of these is the hope, not only that they will be attained by some one, but that they will be attained by *him*. You may call this a weakness, if you like. I can't help that; I know it is human nature. All history teaches it: all biography teaches it; every successful man, or every man who has wished to be successful, will, if honest, acknowledge the truth of it. Consider one of the greatest events in the world's history—the discovery of America by Columbus. Did not personal ambition of some kind—in other words, did not one of the highest forms of selfishness inspire Columbus, and make him capable of his enterprise?"

"Of that," said Mr. Lovel, "I have no doubt. Ambition to the statesman or the discoverer, is as much of a practical incentive as the hope of an extra shilling is to a cabman. But what strikes me is—if you will allow me to say so—that all this is too evident to need being insisted on. Our common sense surely shows it us."

"True," said Seacorts. "And what is science? It is common sense organized. What I say is, here are a whole field of facts, which our common sense bears witness to; and what we want is that this common sense be organized. At present it teaches us nothing; or at any rate not enough to guard trained and laborious thinkers from falling into the most fatal errors. Had our common sense in these matters ever been raised into scientific knowledge, the monstrous fallacies on which Karl Marx and the whole democratic school found all their theories, and through which they gain all their influence, would never have been possible; the philosopher would never have taught, the people would never have believed them. 'All wealth and all culture'—think once again of that sentence—'is the product of physical labour.' Was it physical labour that discovered America?"

"At least," said Mr. Lovel, "it was not desire for money that led to the discovery."

"Perhaps not," replied Seacorts; "but it was desire for some kind of inequality. Columbus was a man of exceptional powers, and he desired to externalize these, and to make them leave their impress on the world."



"But a man," said Mr. Lovel, "in desiring to do his best for others, need not desire any form of inequality that goes against the democratic ideal."

"That," said Seacorts, "may be proximately true of a certain class of men. But even in that case, remember, these men are not physical labourers. I do admit, however, that scientific speculators and scientific discoverers form a class of men whose ambitions and whose motives do not seem *directly* to aim at what the democrats would call inequality. But there are three things to remember. First, the leisure needed for abstract research and discovery presumes inequality, even though it does not aim at it. Secondly, the scientific temperament is a very peculiar one. It can, in its intensity, belong only to a small section. The unswerving zeal for knowledge for its own sake would, if common to all men, put a stop to all ordinary industry. Thirdly, scientific discoveries neither advance wealth nor general culture, till they are applied by practical men; and certainly to stimulate the practical genius—let alone the scientific—those rewards of wealth and social consideration are needed of which I have just now been speaking to you. I believe that under a scientific treatment of the subject, the philosophic motive and the religious motive would occupy a place by themselves. Were these motives analysed, they would be found to be composite; and in their composition the desire for self-distinction would be found in an unusually small degree; but yet for all that it would be there. Consider how scientific men squabble for the honour of a discovery. I don't care, however, now to insist upon this point. It is a matter of detail, and neither one way nor another does it affect my proposition with regard to the product of wealth and culture—the proposition that the cause of wealth and progress is the genius and the enterprise of individuals; and that this genius and enterprise is only brought to the surface by the prizes offered through a state of social inequality."

"You take," said Mr. Lovel, "rather a cynical view of human nature; and you overlook, I think, two important facts. One is the existence, side by side with selfishness, of compassion and of unselfishness; the other is the fact, with regard to the power of individuals, that popular movements create leaders, far more than leaders make popular movements."

"That last statement," said Seacorts, "is in some cases true, in others partly false. Still, for argument sake, I will grant it is quite true. What then? Let it be that the movement makes the leader. Still the leader is necessary. No matter what be his genius, all the same he has to be generated. Again, you speak of compassion. Now, under what circumstances is compassion possible? It is a feeling proper to one in a superior position for one in an inferior position."

"Surely," said Mr. Lovel, "one man in misery may compassionate others in misery."



"The sight of abject misery may perhaps produce such a feeling in him: but let the man who feels this compassion be in no higher position than the object of it, the compassion will cease with the alleviation of the misery. It will cease long before there is any question of wealth. Compassion may tend to secure men a livelihood. Compassion unattended by ambition will never add to livelihood luxury. You said just now that my view of human nature was cynical. My dear Mr. Lovel, it is not the question whether it is cynical, but whether it is true."

"And as you put it," said Mr. Lovel, "I believe that it is not true. I can never believe that the one motive power of human progress is selfishness."

"Put badly," said Seacorts, "the proposition, I admit, seems not only shocking; but exaggerated; but its exaggeration and its cynicism will both disappear if we only take a wider and more careful view of it. Let us put the highest virtues out of the question; let us put out of question those counsels of perfection which even the Christian Church admits can be followed only by the few, and by those only through the aid of special grace—put, I say, these virtues out of the question, and the case will then stand thus. The highest character that a human being can attain to is based on the very lowest. It is composed of the lowest human impulses; only it consists of these transfigured. They are transfigured, they are not destroyed. How low and brutal in their original state are those passions to which the continuance of our species is due! Well, those lowest passions are transfigured into the highest. They are purified, they are raised; but they are not destroyed. In the same way may be raised that selfishness that I have been speaking about. That is the passion that is at the bottom of all the progress of our race, just as another passion is the source of its continuance; and the two passions, alike base in the beginning, may be made alike noble with the advance of culture. Remember how anti-Catholic writers attack a celibate priesthood. They say the institution is unnatural, that its practice depraves where in theory it was meant to purify. Now, the Church against this charge has her own defence to offer. She claims that her priesthood has special grace vouchsafed to it. But were this not so, the charge would seem a very just one."

"I think it," said Mr. Lovel, "exceedingly just, myself."

"From your own point of view, no doubt. Very well, then; to produce a civilization in which men shall not accumulate is no whit more impossible than to produce a state in which men shall not marry. The accumulative instincts are as natural to man as are the philoprogenitive. You can no more eradicate the one than you can the other; and the attempt in each case would but aggravate what it tried to destroy. Look at the history of Sparta. The Spartans were vowed, if I may say so, to a kind of pecuniary celibacy; and what was the result? That the men who would die for their



country one day would sell their country the next—that the exalted hero was always in danger of becoming a venal scoundrel. But ——” Seacorts suddenly stopped. “Is that ten striking?” he exclaimed. “Upon my word it is! I’ve an evening party I specially want to go to; and I’m afraid I must ask you if Twickenham boasts a cab.”

“Certainly,” said Mr. Lovel. “If you must really go, I will have a cab sent for. But I don’t call this fair at all. You’ve been knocking me about all this time, and now, just when my turn might come, you get up and make off with yourself.”

“Ah,” said Seacorts, laughing, “you admit then that I have been knocking you about, do you? The shaft that you thought meant for the Socialist hits the Radical?”

Mr. Lovel laughed too. “Well,” he said, “I admit I’m fairly caught there. But it was civility, not truth, that led me into the trap. For really, my dear Seacorts, if I am to speak seriously, so far as I am concerned, you have been fighting a man of straw. I admit, quite as fully as you do, that the schemes of the Socialists are impracticable; but I contend that, as a Radical, I have nothing at all to do with them—I mean as a political Radical. For the word Radical may stand for two things—a political Radical and a social Radical; and though you can hardly be the latter unless you are the former, you can very well be the former without being the latter. You may have the firmest faith in capital and in property, and yet may be anxious to develop popular government. I admit, however, for my own part, that I am something of a social Radical also. But come,” he went on, “what I want you now to do is to see if you really can do what I just now said you had been doing. I want to see if you really can connect your criticisms of the pseudo-science of the revolutionaries with what I consider the sound sense of the educated English Radicals—or, if you like the word better, the English Liberal party.”

“That’s just what I want to do,” said Seacorts. “I said, some time back, that I had some personalities in store for you. I will now bring them out. Remember, however, they are not levelled at you, the man—only at you, the politician. I know you read the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and that in a general way you approve of its tone and principles.”

“I do,” said Mr. Lovel, “even in spite of the mysterious connection you declare it has with the *Freiheit*.”

“It is exactly that connection,” said Seacorts, “that I am now going to speak about—the connection between the moderate Liberals, or the sane Radicals, or whatever we like to call them, and the mad and essentially insane Revolutionary party, that would bring about reform by infernal machines and petroleum.”

“My dear Seacorts,” said Mr. Lovel, smiling, “as an answer to that, let me just confront you with a fact. So little have the Radical



party to do with the revolutionists that they are at this very moment at daggers drawn everywhere. I say nothing of the prosecution of Herr Most by our own Government; I will point to a far stronger case in Germany, where, at a recent election for the Saxon Diet, the two opposing candidates were, not a Liberal and a Conservative, but a Radical and a Revolutionary."

"That," said Seacorts, "does not in the least alter my case. Nobody knows better than I do that the Liberals are not revolutionists in intention; but all the same without knowing it they encourage revolutionaries in fact. Let me correct myself. I will say, not revolutionaries, but the revolutionary spirit—the way of looking at things, the hopes, the temper, and the theories, that amongst the discontented and ignorant must inevitably tend towards revolution. I maintain that the general philosophy of society which the Liberal party adopts, by which more or less vaguely they are animated, and whose phrases they are always using, is that same false philosophy which has maddened and misled the Socialists. You are all of you infected with that false theory of equality. Look at the language used by many excellent Liberals with regard to the House of Lords."

"Well," said Mr. Lovel, "I am free to confess that I would abolish that House myself, were it in my power to do so. But it is not because I envy the Peers, but because I think that in their corporate capacity experience has shown they are not a wisely-judging body."

"No doubt," said Seacorts, "that is your view of the matter; and I can quite conceive that there might be, though I do not believe there are, rational and even Conservative grounds for reconstituting our Second Chamber. For instance, the Second Chamber might be made elective, with a very high property qualification for the members. You would, I suppose, not object to that on principle?"

"Not in the least," said Mr. Lovel, "I object to the Lords, not because they are great men, but because, as a body, they are prejudiced great men."

"No doubt," replied Seacorts, "as I said just now, that is your view of the matter. But how does that view of yours appear to your more ignorant supporters? You object to a lord because he is stupid, not because he is great. Your disciples read your lesson quite differently, and learn to object to him because he is great, not because he is stupid. What comes out of your lips as the voice of criticism, reaches their ears as the voice of envy. And here—I come at last to my personalities—I have to tax your party with doing a thing unconsciously which, if done consciously, I should really call wicked. They appeal to the people for support, and they gain their support through the very passions which they themselves condemn, and are resolved to hold in check. They don't mean to do this; they don't know they are doing it; but, as a fact, they are doing it all the same. They find that certain language used by them, certain principles advocated by them, have a sudden effect on a large



and an ill-instructed audience. Their success intoxicates them. They conceive themselves to have been speaking such evident truths that human nature at once responds to them; and they utter them again with even greater vehemence. They little dream of the thing that is really happening. They are conjuring with spells that bear a double sense—one to the wizard that speaks them, the other to the spirits who obey them. What that last meaning is your party have not learnt yet. They do not yet know the likeness of the spirits they have been invoking; and if ever these last should grow powerful enough to reveal themselves, those that have raised them will be as terrified as the Witch of Endor, or as the fisherman that unbottled the Efreets. My charge against you English Liberals is that you are doing a dangerous thing. You are conjuring in a magical language of which you are but partly masters. Well, there's my charge against you; and I suppose it does amount, as you said it would, to something like a charge of folly."

"Yes," said Mr. Lovel, laughing, "you have fulfilled my prophecy. And so that is the way, is it, in which you think my party fools? Well, argument is long and time is short. I shall not have time to-night to defend our folly; so let me ask you, before you go, how you would recommend us to cure it."

"In the first place," said Seacorts, "I should recommend you to realize it. If once you understand that the folly is a folly, you will see pretty clearly the line to be taken in retrieving it. To me it seems that your whole mistake is due—or at least a great part of it—to the pestilent pseudo-science of socialistic quackery. The political philosophy of the present generation of Liberals rests on the same fundamental errors which the Socialists do but exaggerate—or perhaps I should say, which they do but develop logically. All your philosophy is tainted with wrong notions of liberty, and with wrong notions of equality. Your house, really, is divided against itself. You are pledged to a philosophy which can never be made to harmonise with your practical every-day convictions. What I should demand of you and your party—it is easy to demand when one knows one will not get anything—what I should demand is, that you utterly and entirely repudiate every phrase that seemed to hint you were in favour of equality as such,—equality, that mad and maddening dream, which can never on this earth exist but for a moment, and then only for a moment of ruin and consternation. Equality is a popular word: it is connected with popular doctrines; but these doctrines are popular only because the people do not understand them. They are in reality but so many *ignes fatui*, and in the pursuit of them the people will be the first to suffer. At present, these things can only be put vaguely; but what I am trying to convince you of is that they are capable of scientific expression. There is a wild notion current that a democracy is omnipotent—that it can do what it will with the social fabric. And for the time being no doubt



it might change many things. But there is one thing that it cannot change; and that is human nature. It could as easily abolish the desire for food as the desire for private property. Indeed, on the Continent, the Socialist party have already reduced their schemes to an absurdity; as one of their primary proposals is the abolition of family affection. The home and the family are both to be destroyed. My dear Mr. Lovel, these proposals of course are but the ravings of criminal lunatics; but my charge against you Liberals is, that even your good sense, as misunderstood by the ignorant, is practically tainted with something of the same lunacy; even more than this, that you are popular with the ignorant masses in proportion as you seem to be tainted by it."

"The cab is come for Mr. Seacorts," said a servant at this juncture.

"You see," said Mr. Lovel, "you are destined to have the last word. Have one more glass of claret also; and, whilst you are drinking it, answer me one question. Much of what you say as to the pseudo-science of the Socialists seems to me very true; and I have no doubt it has not yet been properly put to the world. At the same time I deny altogether its connection with the English Liberal party. What, however, I want to ask you is this. It seems to me that your desire for a true science has no other end than the damping men's hopes in progress, and making them see that their present miseries are irremediable. Is that so?"

"Very far from it," said Seacorts. "A Conservative, according to my view of him, may be as true a philanthropist, as ardent a friend of progress, as the most advanced Liberal. Only he discerns that the surest road to ruin is the cheering of certain hopes that are impossible, not in degree only, but in kind. He longs as much as the most advanced Liberal to improve the condition of the labouring classes; but he knows that those men and parties do them the greatest of all evils who tell them to look for improvement in utterly wrong directions—who, professing to take them out of the house of bondage, only lead them into a wilderness, and a wilderness beyond which there is no promised land. You believe in co-operation. So do I, to a certain extent. Let our workmen, when they can, try to co-operate: let bodies of them try to become corporate capitalists. In some cases it may succeed: in other cases it will not. But, in all cases, what we should try to teach the people to aim at is to make the poor richer, not to make the rich poorer. The way to distribute riches is not to destroy them. As I said this afternoon at Mrs. Hervey's, you won't decorate every cottage with Sèvres by pulverizing priceless vases and giving every cottager a pinch of the grey powder. But, as I have said already, all this question will be confused and confusing as long as that science of human action and motive on which all political economy and all schemes of improvement rest is handled only by quacks and charlatans, and, scientifically speaking, is still a *missing science*."

W. H. MALLOCK.

## ENGLAND AND AMERICA OVER THE PRESIDENT'S GRAVE.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD, before these words can appear in print, will have been laid in his grave with highest honours, amidst a public grief not only deeper but also far wider than an Emperor ever challenged when all lands were one Roman realm. It seems to be certain that never before did so many human beings, so widely-sundered, share together in a common feeling, or, short as the period of it must still be reckoned, go on doing it for so long. In fact, in the universal mourning for General Garfield's death, the narrow limits of the leisure for indulging public emotion were actually pushed back and are left enlarged. The very magnitude of the commiseration for the dead President has, so to speak, nearly swallowed up the cause of it, and has ennobled his fate beyond all mere calculation of strict desert. His patient bravery in struggling with an eighty days' death-agony, inflicted in the most commonplace way by the pistol-shot of a cowardly assassin, has, thanks to this outburst of international feeling, given President Garfield as good a title to historic place and rank as if he had been a great ruler, a supremely victorious soldier, a mighty reformer. In one word, if the world could forget how the President's death arrived, or even let slip the memory of how heroically he bore his sufferings, it would have to remember how all men mourned him, for that has in itself developed into an event of lasting interest.

Is there any explanation for this significant heightening of international emotion? The present writer, who happens to be fresh from a visit to America, his mind still under the promptings of beholding the situation from that side of the water as well as this, seems to himself easily to understand it. It is, he believes, all well accounted for by the fact that, at last, there has been a wholly unobstructed play of the natural sympathies of kinship between the two English-speaking peoples.



This has never before taken place, quite unhindered, in respect of any occurrence of supreme importance in either country, owing to historic causes, which, happily, are failing to operate. President Lincoln's too closely resembling death offered the instance nearest approaching it, but there were great partial obstacles even then. Let us, however, trust that in future it will be the rule, and that we shall come to wonder that we were so much surprised at first feeling the full strength of the natural English-American sympathy. Foreigners, we admit, may fairly insist that we should pause here to speak aside a moment with them. The above explanation seems to leave all but ourselves outside the account, and will sound to others as narrow, even if it should not be said to smack of insular pride. But we are forced to adhere to it. England it is that has given to every other quarter the cue for this outburst of universal emotion; and America knows it. The sight of a prompt, fully-shared unity of feeling, which obliterated the dividing ocean and made the two great peoples of the same speech practically one community, of itself touched the hearts of other nations curiously looking on, for it was a spectacle rarer than the assassination of a ruler. It is, in fact, impossible for nationalities which are neither American nor English to say or know how much they have been kindled into enthusiasm as spectators, how greatly their proper pity at the Washington tragedy has been reinforced by witnessing the joint grief of the two chief mourners. But the sympathy of England had in it, for her own part, no foreign echo; it got no increase of its pathos from company, nor needed any; wholly self-prompted, its sorrow was all-sufficient, unthinking that bystanders shared it even. England's thought was full only of America; she only gazed fixedly straight across the Atlantic, while other countries must, perforce, when thinking of America, remember us also, and look a little this way to see how we were affected by the news. All this is in the nature of the case; history has so settled it, and foreigners must needs bear with it. It would be most ungracious in Englishmen to seem wishful to push aside one figure in the shadowy *cortège* of kingdoms and empires which the imagination could faintly picture accompanying the dead President's progress to the Capitol, and, later, as crowding for a moment about his grave; but all others must at least give England special place. She has a right to stand somewhat nearer than the rest. Indeed they would not think of refusing her this; the ties of relationship are at such times always recognized. And, when this standing room by the assassinated American President's grave is made for England, it is our generous-hearted Queen who is seen advancing there as our representative. It was by the truest instinct of response that her timely-offered funeral wreath was made the chiefest garland of the honoured victim. With this apology to other countries, an English writer may go back to consider the causes why England herself felt so keenly.

Apart from the inscrutable feelings arising out of kinship, with all



the community which that carries of history, of speech, of intellect, and general predisposition, it seems impossible, we again affirm, to find any adequate explanation of the unstinted, the overflowing, and, in a sense, the even unreasoned sympathy, which our home public has shown for America in this calamity. President Garfield's energetic, self-made career was one which all Englishmen must admire, and—taken along with his earliest official acts—it gave every likelihood that he would have proved himself a worthy successor of the best of those who had filled the high post before him. But, so far as the great world is used to reckon matters, promise is not the same thing as performance. He had, indeed, earned distinction in the field, and had won some importance in Congress; still, even the sentimental yearning to exaggerate eulogy, bred by the sadness of his fate and the brave meekness with which he met it, can blind no one to the truth that the most notable event of his life was the assassination which ended it. It is for what he suffered, not for anything he did, that General Garfield must now for ever be remembered. Had he been spared, his country and other lands might have owed to him great things, but the actual achievement of doings of that class lay in the future. Scarcely a year ago President Garfield's name was almost new to Europe; in America itself, despite his having victoriously led the Northern troops at Chattanooga, he was, when the last Presidential contest opened, scarcely recognized by his fellow countrymen amidst the better-known candidates. The emotion which has accompanied his fall was, therefore, not a tribute earned before, and which the world's wonder had been long constrained to hold itself ready at any time to pay, if the need arose. It is a nearly unknown man for whom England had such ready grief so soon as she saw America mourning for him.

Nor can it truly be said that any great dispute of interest to mankind hung upon either General Garfield's life or death: his championing the cause of purity against official corruption was to his credit, and it had importance for his own country. But to other communities it only signified indirectly whether New York Custom-house officials should continue to put their hands into the public purse. What, for instance, is such an issue as that to men outside the United States, when contrasted with the critical anti-slavery struggle between North and South, which finally settled whether the one species of our fellows should or should not claim property in the other? Yet there is no denying that the martyred President Lincoln, who with his blood sealed that dispute, was not honoured with such general grief as marks his successor's fate. It is to be hoped that President Garfield's death will help eventually to destroy the system of official corruption; the Americans are not the people we take them for if it does not; but it cannot be said, at this moment, that it has done this, nor even that it may not temporarily favour the wrong side. If, consequently, there were no



marvellous performances in General Garfield's life to give reasons for the unprecedented regret so well accorded him, so, too, it has to be added that General Garfield's death does not carry with it any decisive practical importance making the vastness of the honours quite intelligible. It is an instance in which emotion finds sufficient reasons for itself in itself. His assassination was a gratuitously awful crime, and, in a public sense, signified scarcely anything at all to any cause or question. But England could not have sympathized more keenly had he been the representative of some high principle in the fate of which she herself was much concerned. So far from this, the plain truth is that there is not the shadow of an issue in the lamentable affair which has the slightest bearing on her interests. For no one can suppose that it will really affect our Irish Question. Whatever of fellow-feeling with America England has displayed, beyond what is due to being touched in the same degree as all the rest of the world by witnessing a long-drawn scene of domestic woe, is not intelligible to herself even, save on the score of being spontaneous, uncontrolled, sheer sympathy with America's own emotional agitation, for which America had private and more telling reasons.

This is a fact of much significance to ourselves, and to the world at large, for it is an instinctive witnessing to the radical unity of the two peoples. Can there be any truer sign of kinship than that of a common, uncalculated sorrow when calamity befalls one side? Other nations must henceforth lay their account with the circumstance of this magnetic relationship between the English-speaking communities on the opposite shores of the Atlantic. For it will, unless we are wholly mistaken, go on increasing in the future. At least, the question which we now wish to raise is this,—Ought it not to do so? If President Garfield's death, by means of the flashing forth of emotion which has so singularly accompanied it, can but lead the two countries better to see the desirability and the possibility of their practical oneness, the wicked crime of his premature death will have been made to subserve a high and, one might almost say, a holy use. There could not be a nobler international memorial than this for a good, brave man, who fell innocently at the most public post of duty in his own community.

It is, of course, easy to dash such a hope by cynically uttering some stale commonplace about sentiment having no place in national affairs. But the present is rather a moment for cynicism being silent, in place of speaking loudly. The astonishing outburst of feeling we have just witnessed shows that, after all, there is a possibility of something besides commonplace in the world. This had, indeed, been already proved a hundred times over, and especially in matters between ourselves and America. Again and again have we suffered in days gone by from her emotional mood towards us being a wrong one. And no doubt we have injured ourselves and her in the same way. But at this moment it



fortunately happens, sad as is the event giving the occasion for it, that the pulses of England and America beat precisely at the same rate—the hearts of the countries are in unison; and is it a very wild notion that this unanimity may possibly favour a coincidence of intellectual view, if the mental appeal can be made luckily to hit the right lines of feeling? Rather the present writer firmly believes that if America and England are ever to come into agreement as to their commercial policy—which after all is what decides all other relations between peoples—it will be brought about in great degree by mutual feeling breaking down those prejudices on the American side which have shown themselves steel-proof against the exactest reasoning. Let it be remembered that Englishmen persistently aver that the American maxims on these matters are demonstrable errors. Well, is it supposed that any hope we have of they themselves perceiving and admitting this lies in expecting the American intellect by-and-by to become a little smarter? It has been proved to us, in quite a variety of ways long since, that Yankee wits are not really suffering from any dulness. If we are intellectually right on these points of political economy and the Americans intellectually wrong as to them, it can only be that they are blinded by prejudices. No syllogism a little more neatly constructed will cut through those wilfully retained sophistries; such scales would not be knocked off the eyes by literal contact with new statistics. But, for ourselves, we are not wholly without faith that they may in the end fall in another manner.

In a single sentence we can explain the grounds of this hope. What America lacks is not politico-economic information, but a bolder and, we venture to say, a worthier commercial ideal. It is her imagination, not her intellect, that needs stirring. Believing this, nothing in the world is further from our intention than occupying space here with Free Trade arguments. It is a heightening of courage which America wants, prompting her to realize her own true place and purpose in the world; and if that only could visit her, much more than Free Trade *versus* Protection would be decided by it. If, however, such a world-wide emotional phenomenon as that she has just beheld arise in her own honour is not a rousing stimulus to this higher-pitched thinking, there is indeed but little hope of it soon coming. The event has shown that so commanding is America's position, so immense the pressure of her own greatness on other nations, that a domestic sorrow happening to her unwittingly agitates the heart of the whole world; yet all the while she is trembling behind her half-closed ports, waving off commerce, deprecating international exchanges, and praying that the manufacturing skill of other peoples, less favourably placed by far than she is, may not overwhelm her with speedy ruin by the offer of their products. To only one cargo is she willing to give free, untaxed importation—*men*, whose strength and skill, acquired in other lands, she can instantly turn to her own profit. Her custom-



houses bristle with tariffs against ships bearing any other load. Can thoughtful Americans dispute the truthfulness of this picture, or are they satisfied when looking on it? Our hope is that they may come to feel anything but proud of it, and that the sympathetic bearing towards them of other countries, which we are here commemorating in connection with President Garfield's death, may tend to bring about a change.

The easy reply may be expected from some interested party in the States, "Oh, we know what all this means. You are seizing the occasion to push the English nostrum of Free Trade." It really is not so. The impression, deepened on the mind of the present writer on every fresh occasion of his standing on that great continent, is yet so vivid from the recent visit named before, that he can honestly affirm that in everything said above he was thinking more of America than of England. What it is here sought to urge is a larger view than that which would be bounded within a consideration of the disadvantages Great Britain undoubtedly suffers from the present fiscal policy of America, although a reasonable patriotism would fairly warrant that narrower argument. But the key-note meant to be sounded in this paper utterly forbids the making of any *ad misericordiam* appeal. The only way in which we could here reason from merely English grounds would be to try and convict the States of *shabbiness*,—if such a word may be allowed—in respect of our grievances. Nor do we think it would be difficult to do that, if only our Transatlantic brethren were in the right emotional mood for listening. We claim for our own country that she, a small island in these corners of the seas, has really adopted the cosmopolitan ideal of universal intercourse and free exchange, the propagation of which fitly should devolve as a first duty upon the gigantic mistress of the New World. It is this old community, the smallness of which serves our big relative as matter for joke, which had the hardihood more than a generation since to adopt a system of commercial doctrine which alone fits in with making the best of the wide world for the common good of all in it, though to carry the maxims out it had to match its industrial skill against every comer. Only by practice of these English principles can the earth be peopled, differing races be made known to one another, the products of all climes be enjoyed, and a guarantee of universal peace among mankind be finally, if slowly won. This is the world-bettering task at which England has laboured for more than three decades, and is still labouring; and America lets her labour, she herself really adopting the petty rôle which this island might have had some excuse for accepting. Surely America will some day see for herself how humiliating it is for that quarter of the world which is plainly meant by Nature to dominate the others, to thus wrap itself up in a timorous trading isolation, warning off all bringers of goods which human hands have made elsewhere, lest the fingers of the millions in her own wide-reaching realms should not equal them. Is it quite worthy of big America to show this fear of little England's industrial competition, meantime sending us not



only wheat by millions of bushels, pork by the ship-load, and other things in corresponding quantities, down even to machine-made horse-shoe nails reckoned by hundreds of tons; the latter, perhaps, as a charm on her own part against her fright becoming a panic. This shall be considered "'cuteness," if our big and timorous cousins so wish, and we will be sympathetic with them over it, for are we not in the present article avowedly relying on the logic of emotion? But, from our side, the sympathy could not be regarded as very hopeful, unless a little embarrassment went along with it in their case.

If we were reasoning the matter seriously, however, on any formal principles, there is one further consideration which could not be omitted. It is not the worst part of the case that England is left solitary by America to fight single-handed for that modern ideal of the world, which alone, as we believe, fits in with the use of steam and electricity, and every other scientific aid to the general intercommunication of mankind. But, in addition, our small community, whenever trying its hardest in pushing on this mission of leading the common progress, increasingly finds itself hindered by America in ways she does not intend. It is she who is for ever being flaunted in our face as a decisive instance in favour of isolation and exclusiveness. France, in the present rather petty haggings she insists on over a new Commercial Treaty, quotes American protectionist prosperity to us with an air of controversial triumph. So again, in Germany, Prince Bismarck, when urging Protection in furtherance of social doctrines which Americans no more than Englishmen think progressive or pointing to real liberty, crosses the Atlantic for his great monopoly example. It is the same wherever England turns,—in the case of her own Colonies even,—she finds America, and always America, obstructively in her path of argument. It is assumed that everything is finally settled when American prosperity is quoted to us; and the present writer can state from his own experience that the one infallible resource of the controversialist on the other side of the Atlantic is to unfold the brightly coloured panorama of America's well-being. "See how everything is flourishing! What more would you have?" So he says, just as the Frenchman twelve years ago proudly said, "Look how France is flourishing under the Empire; why should we seek for any change?" But change came, and France, instead of sinking in the crash of the effete *régime*, rose in the simple majesty of her own industry, and showed that she was prosperous, not because of the Empire but in spite of it. No such violent test can come in the case of America, but we are equally persuaded that there is no more real connection between her prosperity and Protection than there was between French wealth and the Empire. America owes her greatness to far other causes than her prohibitory tariffs. Indeed, when one thinks of the vast resources which have come to America as sheer gifts from Nature—her boundless virgin soil, her untrodden forests, her inexhaustible mineral stores, her climates favouring every fruit and crop, her teeming seas—when one thinks of these, it is scarcely possible for



him to hear with patience all these advantages ignored, and prosperity attributed to the mere barring out of the skilled handiwork of other nations. In the unfairest way—in a way which Englishmen need not hesitate to admit is often most keenly irritating—the large part of America's well-being which is owing to the unique causes named, is jumbled up confusingly with other causes—all being set down as proof clear and positive against English views. Some silly people among ourselves even, though luckily they are too few to need much dwelling on, have had their intellects obfuscated in the same way. Surveying the whole scene, it may, in fact, be soberly and sadly said that the politico-economical doctrines of universal inter-relation and co-operation among mankind, which our chief thinkers have made it the great task of England to spread, would at this hour be further advanced throughout the world if America were blotted out.

This charge of hindering the world's progress will not be palatable to American ears, but is it not the plainest, most easily demonstrable truth? The American gospel of industrial isolation, what bearing has it, or can it have, possibly upon the world at large and general progress? Such a gospel is for America only. According to her own doctrine, taken strictly, the world beyond her own limits should be non-existent; and in that case, doleful for her to think of, there would be no outside markets to which she could ship her superfluous products. We need not labour the point further. Taking the case at its lowest and narrowest, it is an actual fact that, as things stand, American prosperity has furnished a sophism which perplexes and darkens the whole Free Trade reasoning which England is irrevocably pledged to put forward as her own; and it is, also, a further fact that in her commercial arrangements with the nations of Europe, England inevitably finds her treaties with them made the harder and the worse from their being able to quote America against us. Only let it be imagined that our gigantic relative had had, as we from our point of view are forced to call it, the courage to adopt Free Trade, how different the case would stand at this day? No shred of rhetoric even, not to speak of reason, would have remained for use by statesmen who are afraid of progress, or by incompetent manufacturers and traders who shake in their shoes at the thought of open competition. What we earlier spoke of as the modern ideal for a world in which mechanical science is to play her part, would by this time have decisively overcome the old, pre-scientific ideal, and rulers everywhere would have found themselves perforce committed, by the mere activity and example of the two great English-speaking peoples, to the freest intercommunication and widest exchange of products.

Is it never to be looked for that this picture will fire the imagination of America, and nobly touch her with an ambition equal to her destinies? Why, if it does not happen, those destinies themselves can only be haltingly reached, if they can be attained at all. But we set out in these remarks with being hopeful, and we shall venture to maintain that strain, for we again repeat our belief that, if the emotional



accord just now so signally shown between the two peoples continues and increases, the needed intellectual rectification is sure to come. Sheer sympathy must in the end cure all, and put everything right between America and us. A practical, actual, living confederation of all the communities using our speech is the ardent dream of every public and private man in whose veins flows one drop of the true mother blood, and it is fated to be realized, for there are indications of its being intended in the very frame of things. But such a union evidently is too big a thing to be manufactured; it must grow. The only way in which it can really be helped forward is by our multiplying inter-communication between the countries, and increasing their points of contact. Do this, and all else will in time follow. Writing in English pages it is on Englishmen that we ought specially to urge this; for not a few of them need emotionally rectifying towards America no less than Americans towards England. It is not wholly to the other side of the Atlantic that we are looking for advantage from the recent outburst of feeling. The generous response of the American heart ought to tell here. Our own experience prompts us to say to every Englishman who can find or make the opportunity,—Visit the United States. Reciprocated intercourse is the only practical suggestion which the case in its present stage admits of, and the only one it needs. For what obstacle is there now left to unity of feeling between the two peoples? Canada once was a possible source of trouble, but we are convinced that she has now finally ceased to be so. We ourselves spoke on the spot with scores of Canadians and Americans, and we feel sure that the "Canadian Question," as it used to be styled, has no longer a spark of danger in it. True, it is not settled, but the mode of its settlement is. Everything that we heard and saw confirms the reasonings which have been put forward in these pages by Mr. Goldwin Smith and other writers, to the effect that the present kind of connection between Canada and this country is artificial, and must somewhere and some time be expected to fail in keeping the Dominion from swinging by natural tendency more or less into another adjustment of economico-political relation. No artfulness of tariffs can in the end fight successfully against geography, climate, and the social magnetism of an astonishingly prosperous neighbour living on the other side of a paper line, that, but for the custom-houses built near it, has only geometrical breadth. But all this it is now absolutely assured will be left by America to settle itself just when and how the mere gravitation of circumstances may determine. In the meantime, what need is there for anybody to trouble in the matter?—indeed, who is doing so? America certainly is not; Canada herself is not; and, if only the English-speaking communities were at one morally and sympathetically, then we venture to ask, without any fear of our patriotism being questioned, would it be a sufficient reason why all Englishmen should plunge themselves into grief that there was no longer a Canadian Viceroy? For that would be the only real change



in the situation, if America ever adopts English political economy, as every true political economist on our side the water is bound to believe she in the end will do, unless emotional moods never rightly rectify themselves. At any rate, it is a case in which we could not help ourselves if we wished the hardest and tried the most; and the only way of making the best of the event, if it comes, is the cultivation of the accord of feeling between England and America which this article seeks to promote. Among all who speak our tongue geographical demarcations ought to subserve only the uses of historical picturesqueness. It should be for us together to supersede the ancient systems under which goods must halt on barricading frontiers, bales and packages certifying their nationality, and paying tax, before their contents can be worn or eaten. England has now long been trying to abolish this suspicion and distrust of nations; and, as we have said, America only hinders her in it.

It is not in the least within our intention to do anything like preach to Americans, but we cannot but think that there must be many reflective minds among them now asking themselves how it is that party feeling there can show the exacerbation which could alone make this recent assassination possible, even with so reckless and miserable a criminal as Guiteau? Here in England the fanaticism of political partisanship is daily cooling; in America, which should be of all lands the one where politics should least embitter private citizens, the fire of party visibly grows hotter. Is there no explanation of this puzzle? There is, indeed; and it may be given in a single phrase—the *spoils system*! It ought, for the bulk of Americans, to be no small recommendation of an economic change, that it would thin her ranks of place-seekers, and diminish the possibility of misappropriation of the public money.

But we have no warrant to be hortatory, and we pursue that line of appeal no further. Turning to speak one last word on the sad event which has prompted this paper, it is not the miserable crime of the wretched assassin which will ensure General Garfield the continuance of his strangely won fame; fortunately for himself and for mankind, a great emotion, electrically spreading across the sea, and uniting America and England in an instant flash, has taken up that poor event into its light, hiding all the pettiness of it, and making the sufferer remembered, not for the accident of his ending, but for the grief with which he was mourned. But ~~it~~ would prove a still worthier honour done to President Garfield's memory if his death should, by softening the hearts of all the English-speaking peoples, favour their welding hereafter into one, and thus happily determine the fate of mankind the earlier towards peace and progress. Let thoughtful men on both sides of the Atlantic indulge the hope since that may help to realize it.

THE EDITOR.

## NASEBY AND YORKTOWN.

**A**FTER the union of America and England at the grave of Garfield, when the two nations, to use the fine words of Mr. Dudley Field,\* had been together walking with the choicest of American chiefs through the valley of the shadow of death, the Centenary of Yorktown came in with a bad grace. It was a spectre of the ancient night of enmity overtaken by the sunlight of a complete reconciliation. The Centenaries of Lexington, Bunker's Hill, Saratoga, and all the rest of the military series, in addition to the political Centenary of the Declaration of Independence, had been celebrated before Garfield's death; and even on those occasions the feeling, so far as it was warlike, had an air of laborious resuscitation. The Centenary of Independence was divested of any possible significance, as a display of obsolete hostility, by the formal participation of Great Britain. It became a birthday festival of the American Republic, to which her English kinsmen had been bidden. Then we saw more plainly than ever that the war of the American Revolution had not been really a conflict between the two nations, but between two parties, each of which had its adherents in the mother country as well as in the colonies, and that the net result had been, not a victory of the United States over England, but of constitutional principle and progress over personal government and reaction.

On comparing the three great revolutions which preceded that of France—the Dutch, the English, and the American—we find that they are closely connected with each other as scenes of one great drama. But in the successive stages of the battle, the conflicting forces present themselves under different aspects, and in different combinations. Those forces are religious, intellectual, and political: as embodied in history—the Reformation, the Renaissance, and the Revolution. In the case

\* In a speech at the Social Science Congress at Dublin.



of the Dutch, the Reformation predominated: with it went victory: Protestant Holland achieved her freedom, while Flanders, which had remained Catholic, though it took part with Holland in the political insurrection, fell back under the yoke of Spain. The political struggle was against foreign domination, which, however, would not have been resisted, had it not been for the religious tyranny. The domestic institutions of Holland remained, after the Revolution, in all essential respects, what they had been made before it by the free spirit of a strong Teutonic race, and the democratic energy of great commercial cities. In the English movement, again, though the Reformation and the Revolution went hand in hand, and the Renaissance was identified with both of them in the persons of Milton and other intellectual leaders, the religious element was the strongest. It was so, at least, in the earlier stage of the movement, which was incomparably the most important, though the title, Revolution, has been appropriated to the compromise, more glorious in name than in reality, of 1688. It won Marston and Naseby: it produced Cromwell, who unquestionably took arms, not in the cause of republicanism, for in fact he was hardly a republican, but in that of evangelical religion. After Cromwell's death, the religious cause having been wrecked for the time by its errors, the political element got the upper hand, Puritanism being thenceforth represented only by political Nonconformity; and the final outcome of the struggle was the establishment of parliamentary government. In this case the political tyranny, against which the nation rose, was domestic, and the result was a great and critical change of domestic institutions, supreme power being definitely transferred from the Crown to Parliament.

In Old England the religious cause was wrecked, and the heads of its illustrious chiefs were set to rot on Temple Bar. In New England it found, not only an asylum, but a sphere for the foundation of its polity, both civil and religious, far better than the country encumbered with the ruins of feudalism, and filled in its less civilized parts with ignorant peasants, the hereditary liegemen of monarchy, aristocracy, and clerisy, which the Puritan refugees had left behind. A courteous offer, made by aristocracy, in the person of some Puritan noblemen, to transfer itself to the New World, on condition of being duly acknowledged and installed in its proper privileges, was not less courteously declined by the Puritans of Massachusetts; and the Anglican Church, the chief support of the monarchy, with which its own life was bound up, was excluded with a strict vigilance which has been styled by Anglicans persecution; as though the exiles, who had sacrificed everything, and braved the horrors of the wilderness for the sake of their faith and their liberty, were bound to admit to the home, which their own hands had made, ecclesiastical emissaries who would at once have become active conspirators, at once religious and political, in favour of the tyranny of the Stuarts. A man might as well be called



upon in the name of religious liberty to open his house to a cobra. What no genius, not even that of an assembly of Cromwells, could have done in the England, much less in the Great Britain and Ireland, of those days, was done on the virgin soil of the New World. The critical transition from feudalism to modern society was thus triumphantly effected, the principal relic retained of the grave-clothes of the past being a religious intolerance, very far less intense than the intolerance of Torquemada or even of Laud, surely destined, in the end, to melt away before the public education instituted by Puritanism itself, and in the beginning perhaps hardly separable from the heroic enthusiasm which had drawn the sword against the Stuarts and, preferring the direst exile to apostacy, had firmly planted the Puritan Commonwealth in the niggard soil and wintry climate of New England. Historical precisians are always reminding us that the original founders of the Colony were not Puritans proper, but Congregationalists. The statement is true, but the fact is unimportant, since the organizing forces which impressed their character on the general result were clearly identical with those which gave birth to the Commonwealth of England. To the British Revolution of 1688, though canonized by Constitutionalism and idolized by Burke, no importance attaches comparable to that which attaches to the success of the Puritan colony. The American Republic does great injustice to her own antiquity, she docks her annals of a century and a half full of most fruitful and memorable effort, she gratuitously stamps herself an upstart, when she dates her life from the Declaration of Independence instead of dating it from the arrival of the *Mayflower*. The Revolution was the vindication, not the commencement of national existence. Washington was the preserver of the Commonwealth, but Cromwell, as the chief of Puritan statesmen, might with more reason be regarded as its founder. The statue of the Protector, which cannot be received at Westminster, where it would break the constitutional harmony, and dwarf the kings, might find an appropriate site at Washington. Placed there, with Milton's lines for an inscription, it would symbolize in a noble form the birth of the social principles which are now those of the New World.

In being a struggle against an external yoke, and in leaving the groundwork of domestic institutions unchanged, the American Revolution resembled the Dutch. It differed from the Dutch and resembled that of 1688 in England in being almost exclusively political, though the State Church of England was no doubt preparing to extend itself, in connection with the encroachments of the Crown, at the expense of Colonial freedom, while, on the other hand, there was in the colonial ranks a powerful body of Presbyterians from Ireland, which had been driven into exile by Episcopal tyranny, and fought against the bishops as well as against the king. In the case of America the yoke to be broken was that of the Mother Country or rather of its king, whereas in



the case of the Dutch it was that of an alien despot, a consequence of which was that the cause of George had a larger party of adherents in America than that of Philip had in the Low Countries.

It now and then transpires that one of our Colonial Governors has a faith so firm in the perfect excellence of the system which he administers, as to believe that, but for untoward accidents, he or one of his official brethren might now be ruling with beneficent sway the fifty millions of the United States, receiving the incense of their loyal addresses, and preserving them from the evils of unbridled democracy. But, beyond the circle of that very special class, hardly a man would now be found to doubt that the separation was inevitable. Few, perhaps, are aware that it had been practically ratified by Cromwell, who left the Colonies entirely to themselves, treating them simply as kindred communities most dear to the heart of England, while he firmly welded together, by a legislative union, the three commonwealths of the British Islands. His policy was reversed in both its aspects by the Restoration, which desired at once to put its prior despotisms in Scotland and Ireland out of the controlling jurisdiction even of a Cavalier Parliament and to stretch the arm of reaction to the Puritan and Republican settlement in New England. Curiously enough, the Restoration policy, though not historically identified either with the strength or glory of England, is virtually embraced by the high-flying Imperialists of the present day, who, in their scheme of Imperial Federation, propose, while they withdraw self-government from the Colonies, to dissolve the union with Scotland and Ireland in order to reduce the Empire to its Federal elements. With the Restoration, and its attempts to extend Stuart Monarchy and Anglican Episcopacy to the other side of the Atlantic, commenced a series of intermittent and fitful conflicts between centralizing Imperialism and Colonial self-government, of which the American Revolution was merely the culmination and the close. In the name of liberty, the House of Hanover had taken the throne of the House of Stuart: but once firmly seated, and rid of the last Pretender, it bethought itself that its trade was kingship, and furtively renewed, by the hand of George III., the Stuart attempt to establish personal government. The first Stuart had apparently quelled resistance in England, and was on the high road to the fulfilment of his designs, when he encountered a fatal resistance, stirred up by Laud's precipitate violence, in Scotland. A service like that rendered to English liberty by Scotch independence, in the time of Charles I., was rendered to it by the American Colonies, in the time of George III. Evidently, the Whigs felt that the Colonists had come to their rescue, and they received the tidings of Saratoga and Yorktown, with feelings akin to those with which Pym and Hampden had received the tidings of Charles's discomfitures in his campaigns against the Scotch. With a Parliament so corrupt, so separated from the nation, resting on so narrow and weak a basis as that of England in those days, who can say



how far George III. might have gone had he not been confronted by the framers of the Declaration of Independence.

It has been said that if Chatham had lived and ruled he might have made peace and preserved the connection. Undoubtedly his name was great, and his hold upon the hearts of the Colonists most powerful. But what was Chatham's remedy? Renunciation of the taxing power, on a ground of distinction really fantastic, while the commercial tyranny was to be retained in its full force. To the retention of the commercial tyranny he committed himself in the most decided terms. Though the Colonies were to be allowed to tax themselves, they were not to be allowed to manufacture a nail for a horseshoe without the permission of the Imperial country. But the commercial tyranny was the cause: the taxation was only the occasion of the quarrel. A trifling stamp-duty or duty on tea would not have called to arms a community of traders living in comfort and disposed to peace. Of the leaders of the movement in Boston, many were connected with the contraband trade. A repeal of the Stamp Act and that imposing the tax on tea, however unconditional, however graced with the manner of Chatham, would only have left the way open to a deeper and more hopeless disagreement. To the restrictions on colonial trade and manufactures England clung with deplorable tenacity, and when we arraign monarchical reaction for having brought about the rupture, we must remember that the blame ought to be shared by mercantile greed and its colonial system. Burke tells us that the Tory squires and rectors ardently supported the war. It was their nature to do so; but so also did some who, though neither squires nor rectors, and perhaps Liberals in certain respects, wished to keep the colonies in commercial subordination. By the same policy of narrow commercial selfishness, maintained with the same blind injustice, the connection with Ireland as well as that with the American Colonies was placed in jeopardy, indeed was virtually lost for a season. Behind the fiscal and the commercial question, however, lay the still deeper question of self-government, which was perpetually being raised by the attempts of royal governors to make themselves and their administration independent of the Colonial Assemblies, and dependent only on the Crown. One of these disputes could hardly have failed in time, and within no long time, to come to a fatal head. It is true that loyalty to the connection was almost universally professed, and that it continued to be professed by Washington himself among others, even after the commencement of the quarrel. But anyone who has lived in a colony knows the influence of conventional opinion. It was hardly possible that the thoughts of those who were writhing under the oppression of the commercial system should not sometimes have been led onward to the political system by which it was sustained. Paine's pamphlet calling on the American people to declare for independence was ably written as well as happily timed; yet it would scarcely have produced such a harvest of sudden converts if the soil had not been



prepared for the seed. Pamphlets not less able have often fallen dead for want of a similar predisposition. Among the forces which impelled towards a rupture is to be numbered a certain amount of revolutionary sentiment imbibed from French writers by speculative minds—certainly by that of Jefferson, perhaps by that of Franklin. This element gained force in the struggle from the general excitement of revolutionary feeling as well as from the French alliance and the presence of Lafayette. Growing into a practical love of France, even of the France of Robespierre, even of the France of the Directory, even of the France of Bonaparte, it impelled the United States into the war of 1812. When the struggle had begun there was added to the elements of rebellion the fierce and intractable pride of the Southern slave-owner, whose impatience of control, as Burke acutely discerned, was closely related to his love of mastery over his slave, and who was destined one day to show his temperament in a different cause.

The American Revolution was the sequel of the English, as the Georgian tyranny was a faint renewal of that of the Stuarts. But the grandeur of the second act of the drama could not be equal to that of the first. In the first, the issue was much broader; the struggle was between the Reformation combined with the Revolution on one side, and all the powers of Reaction on the other. In the second, the cause was almost exclusively political: the ostensible cause was less than political, it was fiscal; and not only material, but somewhat technical in its character; in itself it would have been rather a poor issue on which to wreck an Empire. An issue of first-rate magnitude lay beneath, but it was not plainly seen. Of the first act the scene was Europe—that is, the civilized world—whose destinies hung on the event, for, had English Protestantism fallen, Dutch and German Protestantism would scarcely have survived. Puritan enthusiasm, Renaissance culture and speculation, a political grandeur derived partly from Greece and Rome, practical energy and enterprise freshly inherited from the heroes of the Elizabethan era, combined in the case of the leaders of the seventeenth century to produce a group of figures altogether unrivalled in history. In the case of the American revolutionists these conditions were wanting; they were wanting both among the traders of the North and the planters of the South, though the husbandmen of New England were the material out of which the Ironsides had been made. In the work of Mr. H. Cabot Lodge, on the "English Colonies in America," we have a very vivid and interesting picture of Colonial Society before the Revolution. There was evidently much solid worth, much intelligence, much civic virtue, much commercial enterprise and energy, but the element on the whole was not one out of which heroic forms could be expected to arise. Puritanism had subsided into something rather tame and mercantile. Eating, drinking, and dress occupied fully their due space in life. Dependency had not failed to produce its usual effect on public and private character. There was a tendency in some quarters to



mean social pride and to social distinctions of an artificial kind. Already we discern the prototypes of those most respectable citizens of Boston, who wanted to hang Lloyd Garrison for preaching against slavery. All this told, when the stress of real war came, in decline of enthusiasm, want of loyalty to the common cause, unwillingness to bear the common burdens, backslidings which at last brought the cause to the brink of ruin. The greatest man was a Southerner, not one whose principles had in any degree been formed by slave-owning, but an English gentleman from a Southern State, and a military man with a character not cast in the Bostonian mould. To Washington nobody who does not regard violence and unscrupulousness as essential to heroism will ever deny the name of a hero. It is true he was a hero rather of duty than of splendid achievement, but on that very account his example is more valuable than that of any meteor of history. His military exploits are his least title to respect, in fact exaggeration of them by patriotic historians has done some injury to his deserved fame. In action he was great, but in bearing and forbearing greater. His history and correspondence must be read with care if we would know through what trials, what perplexities, what disappointments, what provocations, what caballings, what misconstructions, what ill-treatment of himself and his army, what fractious opposition, what mutinies, what hours of utter gloom, he went, with unquailing courage, with unwavering loyalty, with calmness outwardly undisturbed. As an ever-burning light of hope amidst the darkness of adversity, he resembles Cromwell, unlike as the two men are in other respects. The general resemblance is greater to William of Orange and to the Duke of Wellington; to William, who, through his whole career, was the patient and indomitable leader of an ill-cemented and fractious coalition, while he was unsustained by the splendour of victory in the field; to the Duke, who, as the commander of the army in the Peninsula, crossed by the perverse folly of the Spaniards, and not well supported at home, was called upon, like the great American, to display in the highest degree the powers of endurance and self-control. In style, Washington's despatches somewhat resemble those of the Duke; and they are pervaded by the same unbroken calmness, though we know what feelings that calmness must often have veiled. Not for a moment does he lose his dignity, however strong the provocation may be. He not only saved his country in the war; he saved her from becoming, as Jefferson and the fanatical French party would have made her, a vassal of the French Republic, and being dragged after it in its career of robbery and crime. Nothing but his towering popularity could have quelled the storm of passions and kept the Republic in the path of reason. In the building of the constitution, if his skill as a political architect was not greatly felt, the impressive moderation of his character was, and the weight of his influence was cast on the right side. His disinterestedness was absolute; it extended not only to place or pelf, but to selfish objects of every kind. To no



citizen did his country owe a debt of more unmixed gratitude. Nor is the figure of Alexander Hamilton unworthy to be placed by the side of those of the great members of the Long Parliament. There is great elevation and dignity in the character as well as breadth of statesmanship and richness of political culture in the mind. It was hardly possible that Hamilton should be free from illusions about the British Constitution by which Blackstone and Burke, as well as Montesquieu, were led astray. Great was the loss to the infant Republic when he fell by the hand of a rogue whose infamy has not failed, like that of the vilest Jacobins, to afford an exercise for the love of paradoxical rehabilitation. About Jefferson, opinion may well be divided. No doubt he grasped more firmly and presented more fully than his rivals the democratic idea. Few will contend that he was absolutely disinterested, truthful, or straightforward; between him and Washington there was evidently a want of accordance in character as well as in opinion. His passionate love of liberty, in contrast with his practices as a slaveowner, reminds us of the sentimental professions of Rousseau; and in one passage at least of his writings we trace an unpleasant affinity to the bloodthirsty philanthropy of Robespierre. His spirit made the war of 1812, and it is nearly identical, if we mistake not, with that which wrecked for half a century the cause of liberty in Europe. We meet his anti-national tendencies and his violence again in the Secession of the South. Benjamin Franklin all allow to have been gifted, wise, benevolent, a memorable and even a wonderful man; but his "Poor Richard" philosophy does not appeal to the imagination, and in his political character there is a touch of demure wiliness inherited from the worst part of the Puritan, who, though grand, had the defects of his opinions and his time. Beneath the veil, which, from want of reports, covers the proceedings of Congress at Philadelphia, rests much that needs concealment; of that the administration of the war, the conduct of finance, and the complaints of Washington afford too abundant proof. All revolutions stir the meanest as well as the grandest and most terrible passions of humanity; it is a reason for avoiding them, if by patience and compromise they can be avoided. When they take the form of a civil war, the best men are drawn away to the camp. Westminster was inferior to the New Model Army, though probably not so inferior as was Philadelphia to Valley Forge. One dire legacy of some revolutions the Republic escaped. The struggle in her case having been for emancipation from external dominion, not for the attainment of a social ideal, she escaped the consequences of disillusionment. She was not afflicted with the political infidelity and cynicism which are bred by the explosion of chimeras, the wreck of extravagant hopes, the collapse of overstrained aspirations, the demoralizing transfer of allegiance from one to another of a succession of ephemeral governments. She had no Barras, Talleyrand, or Fouché, nor even such men as some of those English ex-republicans who took the pay of the Restoration.



If the American revolutionists were not the equals of the Roundheads, still less were the American loyalists the equals of the Cavaliers. Lord Cornwallis, whose judgment as a royal commander, and at the same time a man of the utmost good sense, is decisive, compares the conduct of the loyalists to that of the yeomanry in Ireland, whom he describes as taking the lead in rapine and murder. At the outset the king had many respectable friends; perhaps it would be more correct to say that the revolution had many respectable opponents; but the folly of the Ministry and of the royal commanders soon drove almost all of them to the other side. The party ultimately consisted of the officials and those who were socially under official influence, a few Tory gentlemen, traders specially interested in the commercial system, and a number of the lowest and wildest people, who indulged their love of plunder and outrage in the name of loyalty. The Quakers of Pennsylvania passively adhered as a body to the king, less from political principle than from love of peace and regard for the interest of trade. Almost unmixed mischief was done by the loyalists to the royal cause, which could have been saved only by a combination of military superiority with a strict maintenance of the proper attitude of the Government as the guardian of order and the protector of all who had remained in its allegiance, or whose submission had been received. Outrages no doubt were committed on both sides. Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys were hardly behind any Tories; but the outrages committed on the royal side were by far the most numerous and the worst.

Independence was an event worthy to be celebrated to any extent short of confounding it with the birthday of the nation. But it has always appeared to us that there was something rather hollow, not to say bombastic, in the celebrations of the revolutionary battles. The same conviction seems to have dawned on the minds of the Americans themselves. The *New York Sun*, a journal of the highest literary eminence, has some frank and manly words about the surrender of Cornwallis:—

“The approaching centenary of Lord Cornwallis’s surrender has naturally called forth a good deal of occasional literature, purporting to describe the incidents of the important campaign which ended at Yorktown. The reader of these books and pamphlets is particularly struck by the absence of that tone of exultant and extravagant panegyric which before the war of the rebellion used to mark the allusions in school histories and Fourth of July orations to the part taken by the colonists in the revolutionary struggle. The colossal proportions and sanguinary character of our contest with the seceding States has given us new standards of comparison, and taught us what really constitutes strategical capacity and military renown. It is probably no longer possible even for a boys’ debating club in what Dr. Holmes would call ‘a fresh-water college’ to gravely discuss the question whether Washington or Napoleon was the greater general. We have learned that good generals are able, when armies are nearly matched, to win battles instead of losing them, and that only they can be classed in the small group of great commanders who beat their opponents, not with a superior, but with an inferior force. We have learned that vapouring and posturing and



shutting our eyes to facts cannot hinder the application of these fundamental tests, and that, tried by them, very few of the military reputations made in our War of Independence proved to be of sterling value. It is doubtful, indeed, whether any of the colonial generals, with the possible exception of Greene and Arnold, gave evidence of conspicuous ability, either in far-sighted strategy or in a broad and instant grasp of tactics on the field. It is true that there was an equal lack of first-rate capacity on the other side, and that, with the one exception of Cornwallis, the British had not a single commander competent to plan an extensive campaign or direct the movements of a considerable army. As for Burgoyne, Howe, and Clinton, they were, as Lord North declared, a terror to the Ministry at home rather than to the enemy. We can now see that the Revolutionary contest was essentially a struggle, not of skill, but of endurance, and it may also be conceded that without the intervention of France the English would have tired us out. As to the Yorktown affair, there is no doubt that the loss of Cornwallis's services was a graver injury to the British Government than the surrender of a force which, when the siege began, did not exceed 8,400 men; and this disaster need not and would not have ended the war had the Ministry of that day exhibited a tithe of the energy and resolution evinced by the younger Pitt in the far longer and far more exhausting contest with Napoleon."

In anything like an equality of valour, discipline wins; such is the universal verdict of military history. Between Cavalier and Roundhead there was an equality of valour and no great disparity of discipline, neither army consisting of regular soldiers; though at first the Cavaliers had the advantage because they were gentlemen accustomed to command, and their soldiers were tenants and servants accustomed to obey. But between the armies in the revolutionary war the disparity of discipline was very great, even after the reorganization of the Continentals by Steuben at Valley Forge. It was not possible, therefore, that there should be a Marston Moor or a Naseby. The capture of Boston—we speak with all the diffidence which becomes civilians talking of war—has always appeared to us a grand achievement. Certainly it was in the highest degree creditable to the moral qualities of the American commander, who had to hold his lines and hem in a most formidable enemy with hardly a barrel of powder left, and with an army which was always dissolving. We doubt whether this feat was or could have been afterwards equalled. It was inevitable that regular troops should assert their usual ascendancy whenever they could get fair battle of their foe. Cornwallis was pent up, "like a cat in a hole," by immensely superior numbers, while the French fleet cut him off from the sea. What the event of a pitched battle on anything like equal terms would probably have been he had shown at Camden. Burgoyne, when he had blundered into the close country round Saratoga, was like a man who has fallen into a pit, and whom a woman can knock upon the head. Princeton, which has been inflated into a battle, was a partial and indecisive collision, hardly rising above the dignity of a skirmish. Trenton, which has also been styled a battle, was of the utmost importance as a cordial to the drooping spirits of the nation, and proved that daring was combined with prudence in the commander; but it can hardly be called an engagement at all; it was a night surprise, by a dashing movement, of two battalions



of Hessians heavy with their Christmas potations. Bunker's Hill was a Royalist victory, though the stolid Howe wasted much blood in attempting to execute a parade march up the face of a strong position. The Continental army and its unconquerable chief, by continuing to make head in the field, prevented the submission of the country. This was their real achievement; and their qualities were shown not so much in fighting as in endurance, in wintry marches with scanty clothing and with shoeless feet which left the road stained with blood, in bleak and hungry campings with the evidences all around of the neglect with which the politicians of Philadelphia treated the soldiers of Valley Forge. That mutiny did not come earlier is more wonderful than that it came at last. The militia were easily beaten, as militia always are, when they faced the regulars on the field; but by their tenacious, though desultory hostility, they made it impossible for the victorious armies of the king to occupy securely the conquered districts. Together with these forces on the side of liberty fought the vastness and wildness of the country, the incapacity of the king's generals, among whom Cornwallis seems to have been the only good soldier, the immense distance of the royal army from its base, and the active sympathy of the party favourable to the Americans in England, which weakened the arm of Government, and forced it, on the first serious reverses, to make peace. Even so, the king would have conquered for the time had not France come to the aid of the Colonists. He would perhaps have conquered, notwithstanding the intervention of France, had Rodney appeared at once upon the scene.

A comparison of the merits of generals who have commanded upon different scenes and under different circumstances must always be precarious, even when drawn by a military man. Not only the battles won are to be considered, but the quality of the enemy, the generalship on the other side, the freedom of action allowed to the commander, and the extent of the resources in his hands. Frederick and Napoleon enjoyed perfect freedom of action and absolutely controlled the powers, one of an empire, the other of a warlike kingdom. They were opposed—Frederick throughout, and Napoleon while he was making his reputation—to pedantic generals, with spiritless though highly drilled soldiers, who laid down their arms by thousands as soon as their line was broken. We feel that we are almost talking at random when we say that Washington seems to us about the peer of Wellington, whom he resembled in tenacity, in coolness, in sterling sense, in the union of enterprise with caution. Each, no doubt, was far inferior in genius to Napoleon; yet had Napoleon met either of them in place of Wurmser or Alvinzi, it is possible that there might have been an end of his career.

Civil war is perhaps the severest trial of national character. If, amidst the tempest of passion which it lets loose, the laws of humanity are in any tolerable measure observed, the character of the nation must be high. In this civil war, atrocities, as has already been said, were



committed on both sides, though chiefly on the side of the Tories ; but the Revolutionists on the whole displayed the mercy, clemency, and regard for the laws of civilized warfare which the Unionists displayed the other day in the War of Secession. They proved that they were of kin to the English who fought against Charles—not to the French, whose civil wars, from the days of the Armagnacs and Burgundians down to those of the Commune, have always been hideous orgies of cruel hate. The proscription of the Loyalists when the struggle was over was vindictive and most unwise—most unwise, because it perpetuated the quarrel in the form of a territorial secession, and founded a hostile community on a continent which ought to have remained united ; but it must be owned that the provocation had been great, for it was natural, if not just, that the Tories should bear the blame of the deeds done by the king's troops as well as of their own.

The saddest incident in the war, perhaps, is the execution of André, the controversy about which has been recently revived. That André would have suffered had he been an American, and had he fallen into the hands of the king's generals under similar circumstances, we take it to be beyond doubt. Yet it is impossible not to wish that the fame of Washington were free from this stain of blood. Why spies deserve to be hanged is not very clear to a civilian's mind. Alfred was a spy in the camp of the Danes, and the moral difference is not obvious between surveying an enemy's position in person and surveying it through a telescope or from a balloon. But André was only in a technical sense a spy. If he went within the American lines it was through stress of circumstances and by desire of the general. He had come at the instance of the American commander to negotiate for a return of that officer to the Royal allegiance, which would in effect have put an end to the civil war. Arnold's honour was not in André's keeping. Tampering with the enemy's officers or soldiers is surely not forbidden by any rule of morality. Franklin was ready to be a party to an attempt to corrupt the Hessians. Arnold's case, however, belongs to the equivocal state of relations which civil war engenders, one side regarding the position as that of regular belligerency, while the other side has not yet dismissed the ideas connected with rebellion. His monument at Westminster is the natural tribute of the power for which he risked and lost his life. If any monument is to be erected on the scene of his execution, it ought to be like the *triste bidental* placed by the Romans on the accursed spot touched by the fiery wrath of heaven. Its inscription ought to warn the beholder against the passions which lead to civil war.

If any one is disposed to glorify revolution, and to prefer it to peaceful reform, he may learn wisdom by reviewing the consequences of this which of all revolutions, saving the Dutch, was the most inevitable and the most clearly salutary. England, perhaps, suffered least, though the blame chiefly rested on her Government. She lost money, but she was rich. Rodney's victory and the defence of Gibraltar redeemed her



military fame. She forfeited her union with Ireland for a moment, but recovered it in a better form, though at the horrible price of a '98. Politically, the success of the Revolution was a victory in every sense for her own liberties. Commercially, the overthrow of her iniquitous monopoly was indeed to her a blessing in disguise: her trade with the Colonies increased rapidly from that auspicious hour.

National character is deepened and strengthened by a successful struggle for independence: in this respect the Americans gained by having to fight for their liberties, instead of being allowed to enjoy them without fighting. Perhaps confederation was facilitated and rendered firmer by the same means, though it had already begun to form, and must have come in time, probably in no long time: for its advantages, both in the way of security and free trade, are overwhelming, and the Continent, though vast, is physically one. On the other hand, a Revolutionary bias and an exaggeration of the mistrust of Government were precisely what the political characters of the people, in the critical hour of its formation, did not need. That the ruler was the natural enemy of the citizen, that every rebellion deserved sympathy, that every man had a right to overturn any Government which did not please his fancy, were sentiments to which the insurrection against George III. gave birth, and which were destined at a later day to bring the Union into mortal peril. Nothing can be clearer than the connection of Secession with the Revolution, nor had anybody given utterance to the principle of Secession more unguardedly than Abraham Lincoln. People little acquainted with the politics of the United States are still puzzled by the name of the Democratic party. It comes from Jefferson and his adherents, who upheld the democratic doctrine of State Right against the Conservative doctrine of a strong Central Government maintained by Hamilton and the statesmen of the English school. Behind State Right, Slavery intrenched itself against Abolitionism, which it with reason feared would some day be master of the Central Government; and thus the narrowest and most reactionary of oligarchies became invested with the strange title, Democratic. But with the interests and the passions of the slave-owner conspired the old spirit of Revolutionary violence and the notion that it was the right of every freeman to change his Government at his will. In the character of Calhoun, the demagogue of slavery, we have the connecting link between Thomas Jefferson and Jefferson Davis. The immediate sequel of the Revolution was the war of 1812, which ruined the English party, raised Jackson with his train and his Spoils System to power, and, sweeping away the last remains of Conservative tradition and influence, brought the nation face to face with the problem of reconciling authority to democracy, which its patriot statesmen are still struggling to solve.

But of all the consequences of the American Revolution the worst was the loosening of the avalanche from the mountain side in France.



French finance, which before had been retrievable, was made desperate by the war, and at the same time a fatal excitement was kindled by the exploits of Lafayette. It has always appeared to us that, of all the calamities in history, the French Revolution was far the greatest: we mean, of course, the sudden crash, and not the general movement. If any one deems this a paradox, and believes that the occurrence of the Revolution was either inevitable or desirable, let him consider to what an extent liberal ideas had taken peaceful possession, before 1789, of all the governments of Europe, and how fair was the prospect of a calm transition from mediæval to modern life. Nor can any reason be assigned why Turgot, or a group of Turgots, should not have effected reforms which would have arrested the catastrophe. No one surely can imagine that the European movement gained by being thrown at the critical juncture into the hands of the ignorant, brutalized, and villanous mob of Paris. A crew of galley-slaves and savages, maddened by ill-usage and misery, becoming masters for a year of all the powers of a great centralized monarchy, did what it was certain that they would do, and produced a reaction not less certain. The natural sequel was the military despotism of a brigand of the highest genius in his line, a man, as himself frankly avowed, out of the pale of moral civilization, who in the way of material havoc, was enabled, owing to the highly organized and sensitive condition of society in his day, to do more mischief than a dozen Attilas; while the effects of his moral ravages seem likely to be felt to the end of time. Terrorism and Imperialism—when will the world be rid of both these fiends?

One evil consequence of the American Revolution, at all events, seems numbered with the past. The cannon in saluting the British flag at Yorktown fired the last volley over the grave of the old feud. Entire goodwill now reigns between that part of the English race which fought under Washington and that which fought under Cornwallis. The British monarchy is fully included in the reconciliation, and if the Tory aristocracy can hardly help being hostile at heart to the Republic, it suppresses its feelings in deference to the general sentiment of the people. Such hostility as there now is to England in the United States is the offspring, not of the American Revolution, but of Irish emigration. This, too, will gradually abate when, by the operation of a better Land Law, and by the concession of a liberal measure of local self-government, the last of Irish grievances shall have been removed. The political and commercial federation of the Empire, excluding the people of the United States, is a dream which nobody has yet practically tried or seems likely to try to realize. The moral federation of the English-speaking race, including the people of the United States, is a possibility which verges on realization.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

## THE BUSINESS CAPACITY OF THE CLERGY AND LAITY.

*"Nescis, mi fili, quantulâ sapientiâ gubernatur  
mundus."—OXENSIJRENA.*

THE famous Lord Clarendon was the first to put into the form of an aphorism the observation that the Anglican clergy, as a body, habitually exhibit more inaptitude for the conduct of business than any other class of men.

Not many judgments of the kind have been so long-lived, or pressed so often into service, especially in very recent times, when the question is beginning to be asked very seriously, why the clergy of the Church of England should be the only body of citizens in the Empire who are prohibited from managing their own affairs, and should be hampered and thwarted by Acts of Parliament to a much greater extent than even habitual criminals are. The reply is frequently of this kind:—"You parsons are so thoroughly unpractical, are such bad men of business, and have so little touch of the public feeling and wishes, that if you were allowed to manage your own affairs, you would make shipwreck of them entirely, and not improbably bring about a large measure of social disturbance." No doubt, this answer is, more often than not, consciously insincere, and is really prompted by hostility to the institution of which the clergy are officers, and to the creed of which they are the teachers; and as it is thought that restriction of freedom may act adversely to the expansion of the one and the propagation of the other, any argument that will seem to justify such restriction, without admitting its motive, is readily caught at. Especially is this true of that section amongst the clergy themselves which is fanatically Erastian, and which has been cleverly ticketed with the descriptive label, "Broad without Uction," in distinction from the really devout and earnest section of Broad Churchmen, as seen in such representative men as Maurice, Kingsley, and Bishop Cotton. It dreads nothing so much as any increase of spiritual activity in the Church as



a whole, simply because that involves a sifting of claims and values, which must needs reduce it to its true level in character and influence; and it is therefore anxious for the artificial support of the State, which is naturally inclined to side with those who so loudly proclaim themselves its champions in all possible collisions between the ecclesiastical and the civil spheres.

Instead of undertaking at present to enter upon the intricate discussion of the relations between Church and State, which generally leaves the disputants where they began, from the lack of any common standing-ground, it may be well to look into a couple of questions which underlie the practical aspect of the debate, and to ascertain how far the charge of business incapacity is a true bill against the clergy; and, what is a still more important inquiry, how far the laity, who on that ground claim to manage the affairs of the clergy for them, can make good their own claim to the opposite quality of practical good sense and knowledge in the conduct of business.

A very good defence might be set up by accepting the accusation as proved, and at once putting in the demurrer, "If so, what then?" For it is plain enough that in the Gospels and Epistles the shrewd, hard, keen, worldly temper, abundantly exhibited eighteen centuries ago by astute Hebrews, supple Greeks, and masterful Romans, and devoted, just as now, to the acquisition of wealth, power, or reputation, is constantly spoken of as something inherently inferior to the genuinely Christian type of mind, and as indeed incapable of intelligent sympathy with spiritual ideas and motives. To plead, then, that unworldliness is antecedently less likely to blunder, when dealing with spiritual questions, than worldliness is—and it is to be remembered that the debate is seldom about mere temporal accidents and endowments, and the like—is, after all, not such a foolish argument as is commonly assumed, and can be honestly dismissed only by such as reject, not only the supernatural aspect of Christianity, but its ethical value as a guide of thought and conduct. Take, for example, a question about which there has been much uproar at intervals lately, and for which the intervention of the Legislature has been several times invoked—that of private confession. On such a subject, the opinion of one person gifted with spiritual insight, and who has, besides, some knowledge of the mass of secret sin which seethes under the respectable surface of society, and of the acutely painful burden their own share of it is to myriads of men and women, is of more value than a thousand judgments uttered by coarse-grained persons, with unsensitive consciences and habitual inability to see any particular harm in sins of which the law takes no account, or which do not obviously tend to temporal loss or public discredit.

But it is not necessary to put the discussion on this footing, as it can be argued out from other points of view. In the first place, then,



It is plain to any student of history, that there is nothing in the ecclesiastical calling, abstractedly, which weakens capacity for affairs. A long line of famous churchmen, who were foremost as statesmen also, stretches from the early Middle Ages down to very modern times. It is needless to count the bead-roll, as such names as Suger, Alborno, Beaufort, Ximenes, Wolsey, and Richelieu will sufficiently exemplify the fact. The Jesuits have been even too famous as adroit diplomatists and men of the world, and the Turkish Foreign-office itself never trained more skilful agents than the Vatican has continued to produce for centuries from amongst the Monsignori of the Roman Curia. Amongst ourselves, but the other day, Samuel Wilberforce, though lacking in the higher powers of statesmanship, would certainly bear comparison, as an administrator of affairs and as a manager of men, with all, save one or two, of the Ministers of the Crown who held office during his life; and it has been often remarked that in Connop Thirlwall, who was but an unsuccessful Bishop, one of the greatest possible Chancellors was lost to the English judicature.

Yet it is true in no inconsiderable degree that the English country clergy do give ground, as a class, to Lord Clarendon's censure. But what are the reasons? A very little inquiry discloses them, and they prove to be accidental, not inherent; removable, and not ingrained. Chief of these are the isolation of the rural parsonage, and the rarity of direct contact with men. The ordinary clergyman passes, fresh from university and college life amongst his equals and superiors, to a rustic charge, where he at once falls into a completely unintellectual society, and where, from the necessary conditions of life, he can rarely see such men as the neighbourhood does provide, since they are absent from home all day, and too much tired at night to be very companionable. There is thus none of the sharpening of wits which comes of the life of cities, possible for him; and though, as he moves from one curacy or benefice to another, he may here and there light on a cultured squire's family, or a clear-headed and well-read doctor, yet they cannot be counted on as "common objects of the country," to be found in every second parish or so. Further, as promotion by merit is practically unknown in the Church of England, especially in its higher grades, there is none of the stimulus applied which urges on men in every other profession. A lawyer, whether barrister or solicitor, must be able to do well for his clients, and support their interests against the keenest attacks from men of his own calling, retained on the opposite side; and if he fail herein, he cannot get sufficient employment to keep him. A doctor must earn the reputation of being successful in the treatment of disease, and of being diligent and attentive in looking after his patients, else his practice will fall away to nothing, and leave him to starve. But a clergyman may spend himself day and night, and make his parish a miracle of organization, without increasing his chances of preferment;



or, contrariwise, he may be thoroughly idle, dull, and inefficient, without in the least barring his way to benefice, canonry, deanery, or bishopric. Once more, the non-political temper of the Church of England, its refusal to identify itself habitually with any party in the State, shuts the clergy out, not unhappily, from that whole range of electioneering tactics and political organization in which the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland and the Nonconformist ministers of England are alike versed and proficient. And lastly, the very fact that the State does interfere to the extent actually visible in ecclesiastical concerns; that Convocation can pass no canons, however devoid of coercive sanction; that diocesan synods have practically disappeared for centuries; that talk, and not action, has been alone permitted to the clergy as a body, has necessarily dishabituated them for the conduct of affairs, and they are reproached with an impotence which is entirely the fault of their critics. But no such inaptitude is displayed by the American clergy, who are not held in civil fetters; nor, so far as temporal questions are involved, by the clergy of the disestablished Irish Church; although these latter had suffered as long as their English colleagues from civil encroachment, and from local causes had nothing like the same experience in the management of parochial machinery of all kinds. And, indeed, this last named category, if carefully looked into, will go far to acquit the clergy of business incapacity. Until the establishment of the Post Office Savings Banks, the parochial penny-bank was in thousands of parishes the only means for the encouragement of thrift; the National schools, conducted by the clergy, supplied education for more than seventy per cent. of all the children of the poorer classes (and Nonconformist jealousy of this fact was the one efficient cause of the extravagantly costly, burdensome, and socially hurtful Elementary Education Act of 1870); the coal and clothing clubs, the district visiting societies, the choirs, guilds, and other like bodies, represent in their totality an enormous mass of distributive, financial, organizing, and administrative work habitually carried on by the clergy—and that, too, after full deductions for such parishes as are inefficiently worked, or where these various agencies are relegated to lay hands—in a fashion which contrasts very favourably with the management of any public department whatever, except the Post Office; while it is to be noted that the clergy have usually only the help of untrained volunteers for most of this work, and not the skilled labour of business clerks. And the Church Congresses, Diocesan Conferences, and similar assemblies, now becoming general and frequent, are using the facilities afforded by the abundant means of quick and cheap locomotion, to break down the rustic isolation which was the great damper on clerical energy. The clergy are getting to know better, not merely one another, but all those laymen who are actively interested in ecclesiastical matters, and who are able to bring a current of outer air into the hitherto imperfectly ventilated clerical meeting, and are not



themselves by any means the mere clericalized devotees who might be found sparsely representing the laity at a French or a Belgian Church conference. Thus, the clergy are getting trained by degrees to regular discussion and debate, and to all the preliminaries of legislation; so that the moral enervation, caused by the weekly custom of delivering their opinions authoritatively, without any right of reply on the other side, is being steadily cured. No shrewd observer of the time and its tendencies can doubt for a moment that all this portends a coming separation of Church and State, whether that measure be good or bad in itself, and that all the preparations for independence and self-government are, half unconsciously, being unceasingly pushed forward on all hands.

When Clarendon uttered his aphorism, none of the correctives to clerical disadvantages of position and training existed, except a living and active Convocation; but the very small number of clergymen whom it assembled was quite insufficient, in those days of difficult and costly transit, to affect seriously the tone and level of the collective body.

Now let us look for a while at the other half of the picture. In the first place, then, if the Erastian theory be true in fact, the Church must discharge its duties as a factor in the nation most effectually when the clerical body is least independent, and most under State control; and the most efficient section of the clergy will be that which is directly nominated by the State.

What are the facts? The time when the clergy as a body counted for least in the country, when the Establishment was all in all, and the Church little or nothing, was not that of the Tudor tyranny; for then, constantly and hurtfully as the Crown interfered, there was still much legislative and corporate activity on the clerical side. The real era of State supremacy was initiated by Walpole, under whom Convocation was suppressed—a violation of the Constitution as gross as the attempts of Charles I. and II. to suppress Parliament—and every trace of independent action and spiritual vitality was deliberately stamped out by the Government and its Whig bishops. And the result was, as all students know, the enfeeblement of the Church—even as a moral schoolmaster or policeman—to the verge of actual extinction; the spread of infidelity and immorality; the creation of countless jobs and abuses—amongst them the rank development of the traffic in livings from a mere germ to its subsequent huge dimensions; and the establishment, generally, of a condition of things which undid the recovery of the Church after the Restoration, and made the rise of modern Nonconformity inevitable. This last fact is peculiarly significant, for the Erastian ideal of the present day is Arnold's foolish notion of making Church and State convertible terms, in the sense of making the creed and polity of the Government that of the whole nation. But even when George II. ascended the throne, ten years after the silencing of Convocation, Dissent had



dwindled to less than one-twentieth of the population, and was in a fair way to disappear altogether. Its present ratio to the population, which cannot be less than thirty per cent., and may be more, is the legacy of the Erastian triumph, which has thus proved itself the chief obstacle to national unity in religious belief and practice.

It is quite beside the immediate question to consider whether Nonconformity be, on the whole, in its spiritual character, a better or worse method than the Church. The real point to labour is that, as the former is centrifugal in tendency, but the latter centripetal, no approach to that particular kind of unity which Erastians desire can be had where the former is a powerful element, though it may be attainable under the latter. And no surer way of aggrandizing Dissent has ever been devised than hampering the free action of the Church by civil interference, not only because of the rooted hostility of modern Nonconformists to the very idea of State-Churchism, but because those forms of spiritual activity which attract thoughtful Dissenters into the Church, must be inevitably cooled and checked by any mere legalism, such as is inseparable from Parliamentary control. Those who know anything of the many congregations which have been gathered into the Church out of Nonconformity during the last few years, know well that the chief attraction has been those very doctrines and practices which Parliament and the secular pseudo-ecclesiastical courts have endeavoured to put down; for the devout Nonconformist is intensely repelled by the coldness and indevoutness of the Broad Church platform; while he has got already in his own system, and in a fuller, freer, and more consistent form, all that Church Evangelicals have to offer him. He can borrow all that he admires among their possessions, without sacrificing his liberty or breaking his old ties, and therefore they have no influence with him; and he comes in all cases, save those where mere social considerations, apart from any religious motives, prevail, to get what his own society does not even profess to enjoy and to offer. It may be true, as is often said, that the matters in question either do not exist at all—being merely imaginary—or that they are hurtful where they do exist; but that, too, is beside the present inquiry, which is simply as to the inducements which really do cause a Nonconformist immigration into the Church, contrasting with the remarkable exodus of the last century. It is thus plain that the State miserably mismanaged Church affairs, when left entirely in its hands; nor is it so much as credible that the Church, if left to itself under George I., II., and III., could have made any worse mess through clerical incapacity.

Next, what is the truth respecting that part of the clergy who are directly Crown nominees? Lord Westbury's Act for selling the advowsons of a large number of Chancellor's livings to private patrons, is in itself a confession of failure, so far, in the distribution of public patronage; for the avowed motive of that Act was the interest of the



Public at large, inasmuch as there was greater likelihood of private patrons, most probably in many cases residing in, or closely connected with, the parishes whose advowsons they purchased, knowing the local needs, and appointing a good incumbent, than an overworked Minister of the Crown could do. This argument for getting rid of the patronage of all the poorer livings, seems one which might, not unreasonably, have led to the transfer of the remainder in like manner.

But the real stress of the indictment against the State lies in the history of the Episcopate and the Cathedrals since the accession of the present dynasty. No impartial inquirer can avoid being struck with the curiously low level of personal eminence which has been attained by the bishops of the last century and a half, as compared with the judges of the like period, though drawn from a much smaller area of choice, and from a profession which has produced fewer distinguished men.

No fairly eminent appointment to Canterbury has been made since Wake died in 1737; York, yet more unfortunate, has to go back to Cardinal Wolsey, dead in 1531, for a distinguished name in its succession; London has been better off, for Blomfield, though neither theologian nor statesman, did much towards the reforming movement which has so changed the standard of clerical work and morals; while Gibson, Sherlock, and Lowth, stand high amongst the bishops of the last century. But if we examine the whole list, without the invidious inclusion of the prelates of the present reign, we shall find, in addition to the five names above, only the following since the accession of George I., not counting translations of such as were consecrated earlier, but admitting distinction and fitness of any sort as a claim to be reckoned, and not excluding on the ground of actual failure in office, which may not have been foreseen: Chandler, Bishop of Lichfield in 1717, translated to Durham; Butler, of Bristol in 1738, later at Durham; Warburton, Gloucester in 1760; Shute Barrington, Llandaff in 1769, afterwards of Salisbury and Durham; Hurd, Lichfield in 1775, afterwards Worcester; Horsley, St. Davids in 1788, later at Rochester and St. Asaph; Watson, Llandaff 1782; Marsh, Peterborough 1816; Van Mildert, Llandaff 1819, later at Durham; Copleston, Llandaff 1820; Kaye, Bristol 1820, later at Lincoln; Lloyd, Oxford 1827; Philpotts, Exeter 1831; total, 18 (including 5 names of the first series) in 114 years, and only one name of the first class, Joseph Butler, amongst them.\*

Now, instead of taking the whole judicial bench during the same period, though composed of only half as many members as the Episcopate

\* Thomas Wilson, of Sodor and Man, was not a Crown nominee. Swift's account of the Irish Bishops of his day is instructive. He says that the Government doubtless chose men of great piety and learning for the office, but that unfortunately they were always waylaid, on the road from London, by highwaymen, who robbed and murdered them, and then travelled over to Dublin in their clothes and with their papers, and so were consecrated in their stead.



let us test merely the five highest posts—Chancellorship, the two Chief Justiceships, Master of the Rolls, and Chief Baron. We find the following eminent names :—Lords Cowper, King, Hardwicke, Camden, Thurlow, Eldon, Erskine, Lyndhurst, Cottenham, Mansfield, Ellenborough, Kenyon, Loughborough, Bathurst, Wynford, Tenterden, Denman, Abinger, and Sir Vicary Gibbs. That is to say, 19 notable appointments to 5 posts, as against 18 to 28. And if the puisne judges were to be added, the contrast would become yet more remarkable; while it is also to be said that even the less distinguished judges in almost every case took intellectual rank above the ruck of the Episcopate.

Not only so, but the Episcopate has invariably failed in foresight, breadth, firmness, and statesmanship, at every crisis which has occurred in the Church of England since the Hanoverian dynasty succeeded to the throne. It is needless to cite details, and the mention of its attitude towards the Wesleyan revival in the last century, and the Oxford movement in this one, will be enough. It has always regarded its function to be that of a drag on the coach when going *up* hill. Given the momentum of a popular movement *down* hill, and their Lordships pull off the drag, and charge along, whipping and spurring, like so many Swiss postilions.

Then, as regards the Cathedrals. In these, the Crown appoints the deans, and the great majority of the canons, with a success to be measured by the Cathedral Acts at the beginning of the present reign, which treated these great minsters as being mere nuisances to be abated, since it was not feasible to get rid of them altogether; while the late Dean Alford, in the pages of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, albeit praising them as the one surviving bulwark against the advance of Ritualism, declared them to be, even then, still the weakest and most ineffective part of the whole Church system in England.

So far, then, no very good case can be made out for the State management of ecclesiastical affairs. But now let us turn to the assumption which really underlies the demand for its continuance,—that of the superior capacity, knowledge, and success in business matters which the laity exhibit.

It will be unnecessary to survey the whole field; and the selection of Parliament, of the legal profession, and of commerce, will be admitted to be the most favourable to the laity which the circumstances admit, for any reference to the War Office, the Admiralty, or the department of police, would tell heavily on the clerical side.

Beginning with Parliament: the mere fact that two large measures of reform have within living memory been needed to purge it, even partially, of corruption and of inefficiency as a representative body, is enough to create a presumption against it at the outset. What the Upper Chamber has contributed to the solution of questions of the day as they arose, may be read in a recent volume, "Fifty Years of the House of Lords;" and the indictment is at least as heavy as any count that can be



brought against the clergy in respect of unpractical ideas, narrow views, and obstructive action. Nor do matters mend much when we turn to the Commons. No more abject breakdown than the Lower House has exhibited in the mere attempt to carry on the routine of its own business during the last two or three sessions has ever been made by any national assembly. And apart from that discreditable episode, its habit of grasping at vast masses of topics with which it could never have the time to deal, even if it were otherwise fitted, and the consequent choking of the flow of work, is anything but business-like; while its method of debating and amending measures introduced into it is such as to make too many of the Acts it passes clumsy, ineffective, and unworkable. Besides this constantly recurrent fault, it is matter of common remark that a mere personal dispute on the most trivial detail, if scented beforehand, and thought likely to call up one or two prominent persons, will secure an attendance of members such as the gravest concern of public and imperial interest can seldom or never collect.

Once again: part of the heavy price we pay for a constitutional government is the incessant postponement of the common weal to the exigencies of party. Such a thing as a conference between the chiefs of the Ministry and the Opposition, as to what measures, and in what form, are really needed for the public advantage, so that they may be enacted with the least delay, friction, and faultiness possible, is practically unknown, and even chimerical. The aim of each side is to vituperate and obstruct the proposals of the other, even if exactly what it would itself bring forward if the *ins* and the *outs* were changed; and patriotic postponement of selfish interests is not so much as thought of, save in those rare cases where the whole House is seized with an epidemic, and passes an Act in a rush, and, on Mr. Bright's unimpeachable testimony, is always entirely in the wrong when so doing. As a business assembly, therefore, Parliament can claim no high honours; and it is not so transparently clear that Convocation, if reformed, would mismanage ecclesiastical affairs more than the Legislature does civil ones, even without taking into account such startling changes of face and consequent reversals of Imperial policy as the three successive Parliaments of 1868, 1874, and 1880, have exemplified, a fact inconsistent with the Legislature having been on the right road at all during one at least, if not two, of those periods. And if we look specifically to the ecclesiastical legislation of Parliament, no great impression of wisdom can be gathered from a record which includes such entries as the Five Mile and Conventicle Acts, the Test and Corporation Acts, the Ecclesiastical Titles and the Public Worship Regulation Acts, all brought in for bad ends and with bad results; while even such well-intentioned measures as the Cathedral Act of 1840 (3 & 4 Victoria, c. 113), and Peel's Parishes Act of 1843 (6 & 7 Victoria, c. 37), have worked hurtfully; the former by so depleting the Cathedrals that now in their reviving



activity they have neither staff nor funds adequate for the calls on them ; the latter by multiplying pauper districts and wastefully spreading resources which needed concentration. Further, it is the lay patrons in Parliament, aided by Nonconformists unwilling to see the Church purged of a scandal, who prevent that abolition of the traffic in livings, for which both the clergy and the public are calling. As to the Executive, we have merely to look at the handling of the Eastern Question and the Irish Question in the last half-century to judge of its wisdom either abroad or at home.

Now let us turn to the lawyers. The main things to be desired in the laws and tribunals of a nation are that the first should be clear, consistent with one another, based on broad and firm general principles, and workable without undue friction ; while the latter should be cheap, speedy, impartial, and certain in their action, that justice may be readily attainable by all who seek it. It seems the bitterest irony even to name such qualities when we contemplate the impassable and unwholesome jungle of English law, the costly and dilatory methods of procedure, in despite of such reforms as have lessened the terrors of Chancery and abated the technical verbiage of special pleading. Nothing has been rarer in the history of English jurisprudence than the appearance of a great constitutional lawyer with the intellect, the knowledge, and the will to go down to first principles, and to contend against the clumsy tangle of mere case-made law, the growth of precedents, singly weak, and collectively misleading. The obstacles which conveyancing alone has put in the path of agricultural improvement, and, indeed, of any useful way of amending the civil relations of the land, are known to every publicist ; while the heavy cost of litigation, and the impossibility of even guessing whether any judgment will stand on appeal, gives the client with a long purse, however bad his cause, nearly as great an advantage over the poorer litigant as if the courts sold their decisions as venally as any Turkish Cadi, seeing that no man without abundant money to spare can encounter the outlay inevitable in the preliminary skirmishing at Judges' Chambers, not to say the event of carrying the suit from the tribunal of first instance to the successive Courts of Appeal. And if we desire a crucial example of legal incapacity in dealing with a practical subject, it is only necessary to review the successive Bankruptcy Acts of 1831, 1849, 1854, 1861, and 1869, all of which have proved dismal failures ; while that of 1861, drafted and introduced by Lord Westbury, usually accounted the greatest lawyer of his day, has been the worst of the five, and proved so hurtful to the interests of commerce that it was practically repealed after a very few years' trial. And the lately issued Report on Civil Procedure is itself the severest condemnation of the whole current legal system.\*

\* One remarkable paragraph in this Report has some bearing on the present discussion. It recommends the abolition of juries in civil cases, obviously because, not understanding the technical points of law on which they are called to decide, familiar as these are to



If we turn now to commerce—an occupation which has now almost usurped to itself the exclusive use of the term “business,” and in which a far larger number of keen intellects are constantly engaged on the full stretch than are to be found in the aggregate of all the non-trading professions—we are met by one broad fact at starting, the recurrence of a panic about once in every ten years, disturbing for the time the whole commercial system of Great Britain, and throwing it out of gear. Reckless, ignorant, or fraudulent trading—and that on a very large scale, and over a very wide area—is in nearly every case the sole generator of these panics. A very few have depended on political causes for which the mercantile class was not accountable; but such episodes as the American Civil War, which brought the Cotton Famine on Lancashire, are rare and exceptional, while the crises in the money market are as periodical and recurrent as the return of a comet.

Next, we may take individual failures, not on the great scale of Overend & Gurney, or of the Glasgow Bank. Setting aside the proportion of these due to misfortune only, or to some of those obscure movements of trade away from one place and towards another, which cannot be predicted nor provided against, the remainder are enough to constitute a very strong indictment against the foresight and practical good sense of the trading community. Of course, a vast amount of suffering under this head has been the growth of the joint-stock company system—especially before limited liability was introduced bylaw, —and denotes that numbers of persons, having no commercial experience whatever, nor any control over the concerns in which they have too rashly become shareholders, have been made the prey of those parasites of our mercantile system, the promoters and directors of bubble companies, and the less reputable hangers-on of the stock market. But even after deducting all such cases, an abundant crop of incapacity on the part of the trading class itself, remains to be gathered in. In some cases the nature and method of the errors are such that any intelligent observer, however unacquainted with trade systems, can see them at once. Two or three examples will suffice. First, and heaviest on the roll, comes the history of railway mismanagement, perhaps culminating in such examples as the London, Chatham, and Dover and the Metropolitan District Companies; though the Great Western and Eastern Counties have a very bad record also. The chief blunders which mark their history are, costly quarrelling with rival companies, and running new lines through tracts of country where there neither was any traffic to speak of, nor any likelihood of the railway creating it. Then, take the iron trade. While the time of inflation lasted, a few years ago, not one ironmaster in twenty seems to have set himself

judges and counsel, they impede, rather than help, justice. This seems an exact parallel to the result of the interference of the average layman in strictly theological questions, whether in Parliament and on the Judicial Committee, as here with us, or in Synods, as in the American and other allied Churches.



to inquire whether the demand was abnormal and exceptional—as it in fact was—or the beginning of a steadily larger trade; nor yet whether it was capable of indefinite expansion, so that the output could never be in excess. The result was that the enormous earnings of the prosperous years were at once re-invested in fresh plant on a vast scale, contrary to the wise advice of the old saw:—"Don't put all your eggs in one basket." And, of course, when the artificial demand ceased, and the market resumed its natural level, the ironmasters went under by the score, and the industry was all but annihilated in several districts. Again, to take an example on a smaller scale. When the short-lived fashion of rinking on wheeled skates came up a few years ago, the commercial speculators never thought of asking these two questions:—"Will this fancy last, and not be thrown aside for something new next season or so? Supposing it does last, how many rinks are enough to meet the demand?" At once, a mania for starting rink companies, and for erecting costly premises for the pursuit of the new sport, seized on the trading public, who always follow like sheep in such cases, and a plentiful supply of windings-up, and of premises to let, followed with even greater speed than is the ordinary wont.

A further circumstance is very instructive in this same connexion. Whereas we are accustomed to regard the typical Scotchman as embodying in a high degree the qualities of shrewdness, caution, frugality, and perseverance,—all of which ought to tell with great weight in the acquisition and retention of wealth,—yet not only have three or four of the very largest and most disastrous failures of recent times been those of Scottish corporations, but a tabulated statement of English bankruptcies and of Scottish sequestrations, extending over three considerable periods, was lately forwarded to the *Times* by a correspondent, with the remarkable result that, allowing for the smaller wealth and population of Scotland, its commercial failures are in a much greater ratio to the whole trading community than those of England, both as regards the number of insolvents and the amount for which they are liable.

If we put this broad fact in the light most favourable to the business talents of the defaulters, it is that a considerable number of these failures are fraudulent, and do not denote any loss at all on the insolvent's part. But that does not mend the case in the least, for it merely shifts the blame of lack of foresight and prudence on to the shoulders of the creditors, who are for the most part, under existing conditions, also members of the trading class. A few statistics of English bankruptcies in 1879 may well be cited, as giving some notion of the extent of the evil. In that year, the total liabilities of all kinds of bankrupts and insolvents for England alone, amounted to £29,678,193, with assets, £10,193,617. The evidence further goes to show that, after law costs and other expenses are paid, in 4,809 registered compositions with creditors, for sums amounting to £7,389,990, only £2,314,905 was

realized; while in 7,167 registered liquidations of debts amounting to £17,989,492, and with estates estimated at £7,307,400, there appears to have been only a mere infinitesimal fraction paid at all, and that in but one case out of every seven. These figures reflect very little credit on the business qualities, either of the trading public, or of those lawyers who framed and work the Acts which apply to the judicial treatment of commercial failures.

Tried, then, by the remorseless evidence of facts, the laity, even in the favourably selected classes of statesmen, lawyers, and merchants, do not seem to manage civil affairs by any means so effectively, and with such rare failures on the whole average, as the clergy manage parish business of all kinds, despite the exceptional disadvantages under which these latter are placed; especially when it is borne in mind that something like a public audit and inquiry into every incumbent's conduct takes place yearly at the Easter Vestry, and that any serious complaint or difficulty is pretty sure to find its way into the local newspapers, and to be given wider circulation by the Nonconformist Press, if capital can be made out of it for controversial purposes. Yet such occurrences are rare and exceptional, and their sparseness is not bad evidence that, on the whole, there is no great amount of fault to be found, except in just those particulars where it is not business capacity, but some more distinctly spiritual quality, that is lacking, and accountable for defects.

On the whole, then, while it is doubtless true enough that the clergy have yet much to learn in the conduct of affairs, and are often lamentably unpractical, there seems no warrant for the persistent claim made by the laity for the possession of superior wisdom, or for the demand, based on their exemption from a share in human folly, to manage the business of the clergy for them, as wise and careful guardians of a weak-headed minor who can never be expected to attain years of discretion. "Well, thus we play the fools with the time, and the spirits of the wise sit in the clouds and mock us."

RICHARD F. LITLEDALE.



## CITY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES.

IT has often been said that all cities are alike, especially all American cities. There is some truth in this, as in all common sayings. It expresses the feeling of the superficial traveller who carries away only a confused recollection of a railway station, an immense hotel, crowded streets lined with costly but irregular buildings or wretched tenement-houses, immense wealth and squalid poverty staring each other in the face. If in memory he distinguishes one city from another, the chances are that it is because he enjoyed his dinner at one hotel, and was badly served at another. If he be a conscientious sight-seer, with guide-book in hand, he may visit public monuments, libraries, hospitals, or schools, but he will seldom find in these anything peculiar and characteristic. Such institutions are very much the same the world over. The ordinary English traveller soon wearies of American cities, and takes refuge among those grand works of Nature which are always new and impressive, and always have an individuality of their own. Mountains are mountains, but no two are alike; and we may have a hundred varying views of the same peak. He who has seen Niagara does not enjoy the less the humble cascade which makes music among the rocks in his own park. It is not so with our cities. The ordinary traveller who has seen New York finds all other American cities only a poor imitation of the metropolis.

But, after all, this is only a superficial view. Behind the bricks and mortar there is life; and wherever there is life there is variety. We often forget that cities are anything more than vast collections of houses, or, at best, great market-places; but the real city is the mass of human beings hidden behind these dumb walls. Each city has its own social life, which is peculiar to itself; and the more intimately we know this, the less does it seem like other cities. This individuality is not so

marked in America as in the Old World. It is not so marked in Europe as in Asia. All cities have been made more cosmopolitan by the wonderfully increased facilities for travel and the development of international commerce. Even Paris and London are not so utterly unlike as they once were. In America the first impression is that foreign immigration and the restless spirit of the native population have reduced all our cities to a common level of chaotic sameness. This is so far true that we should search in vain in New York for the city of Irving's "Diedrich Knickerbocker," or in Boston for any trace of the social life depicted in Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter." If such phlegmatic Dutchmen or canting Puritans ever existed they have disappeared and left no trace in the society of the present day. But it is still true that Boston is very unlike New York, that Philadelphia resembles neither, while Washington has an individuality peculiarly its own.

New York is the most cosmopolitan, Philadelphia the most provincial, of our cities; Boston the most cultivated, Washington the most American. Society in New York is based upon wealth, in Philadelphia upon family, in Boston upon intellect, in Washington upon official position. There is most extravagance in New York, most comfort in Philadelphia, most philanthropy in Boston, most etiquette in Washington. New York is the great commercial centre of America; Washington has no commerce, Philadelphia is a city of manufactories, Boston is the business centre for the manufactories of New England. New York is democratic, Philadelphia republican, Boston doubtful, and Washington disfranchised by the National Constitution. The Germans avoid Boston, the Irish Philadelphia—both congregate in New York. The negroes prefer Washington. Boston is the place to study Unitarianism, New York Catholicism, Philadelphia Quakerism.

Such general statements as these might be extended indefinitely; but, while they are strictly true, they are liable to mislead. Any man may find congenial society in any great city, and the impression which he carries away depends very much upon his own taste in the selection of associates. General views are always more or less partial and imperfect. There are men of high culture in New York, perhaps more than there are in Boston; there are rich ignoramuses in Boston, still it is true, in general, that culture reigns over society in Boston, and money in New York. There are old Dutch families in New York, and old Puritan families in Boston; but nothing to compare with the exclusive Quaker aristocracy of Philadelphia. There are those even within this charmed circle in Philadelphia who have heard of places not reached by the Pennsylvania Railway; but they feel no personal interest in them. Boston is the seat of Unitarianism; but it is not a Unitarian city. Catholicism rules New York; but nowhere in America is Protestantism more vigorous and active. Philadelphia is the Quaker city; but the Quakers are a small minority there. The general statements which I have made are valuable only as indicating, in a rough way, that each of these cities has a character of



its own which distinguishes it from any other. The same thing may be said of the great cities of the south and west. There is but one New Orleans, but one Chicago, but one San Francisco in America, although these last have their would-be rivals. I have selected the principal Atlantic cities, because, in revisiting America, these are the ones where my time has been spent, and I have nothing to offer in this article but the personal impressions of a non-resident American.

New York is no longer the city that it was fifty years ago. It has grown so rapidly in extent, in population, and in wealth, that all the conditions of life are changed. I visit the palatial residences of former days, and I find myself in the midst of towering warehouses, or in the midst of a German city, or surrounded by squalid tenement-houses, swarming with Irish. Another turn, and I am in a Chinese quarter. If I would find the fashion and wealth of the city, I must go far out among the old market gardens and the more distant pastures, which are covered now with costly dwelling-houses. Then, £20,000 sterling was a great fortune; now, New York boasts of a citizen who is worth £20,000,000 sterling. There are others who are almost as rich. They are railway kings, or men who have grown rich by the sudden and enormous rise in the value of real estate; and Socialism, imported from Europe, having no kings here to attack, has found a name for these men, and threatens them as "Monopolists." The palaces of the Fifth Avenue laugh at the faint echoes which reach them from the halls near the Bowery, where socialist clubs discuss the rights of labour, and openly advocate the assassination of monopolists; but no one can seriously study life in New York without finding himself confronted, first of all, with this problem of the relations of wealth and poverty. New York has not grown rich so much through the skill and energy of her citizens as through the rapid growth of the country, with which she has had but little to do, except in the way of developing her natural advantages by building railways and canals. Most of her rich men owe their wealth to the rise in the value of real estate or to fortunate speculation in stocks. It has not been a slow growth. It has come suddenly. The poorest man in New York who can read a penny paper is familiar with the slang of Wall Street. He knows that he is cutting stone or carrying mortar for a palace which is building for a man who has "captured a railroad," or "watered stock," or "made a corner." He does not need to go far to be told that this does not mean money earned, but money stolen from the labouring classes. He believes it. And even this does not touch him so directly as the fact that he pays an exorbitant rent to another monopolist for his filthy rooms in a tenement-house. He is not allowed to forget the fact that this man is an aristocrat, and lives in untold luxury, simply because his father or his grandfather owned a cabbage garden in what is now the centre of the city. An attempt was made last spring to form an anti-rent organization. It failed; but it served to turn the attention of the Irish population to the fact that there was



room for a Land League in New York as well as in Ireland. Why should they subscribe money to save their brethren at home from paying rent while they themselves were suffering quite as much from the landlords in America? We may be sure that we have not heard the last of this. The opportunity to plunder the rich through a corrupt city government, which is under the control of the non-taxpaying voters, affords a certain satisfaction to the Irish especially, and their political leaders have found it for their interest thus far to keep aloof from the professional Socialist, and quietly fill their pockets from the city treasury. But it is at least questionable whether this is not more demoralizing than downright Socialism.

If we turn from the discontented poor to the more successful classes in New York, we find the natural results of suddenly acquired wealth—unbounded extravagance and luxury. In this respect New York rivals Paris. Those who have attained social rank, and those who aspire to it, live for display. The profits of legitimate business seldom suffice to meet the demands of this style of living, and every one is more or less engaged in speculation in stocks. One result of this is that much of the business of New York has fallen into the hands of more economical foreigners, especially the Germans and the Jews. It is astonishing how large a percentage of the signs in the business streets show unmistakably foreign names. The wealth of the city is gradually passing into their hands. They are making their way, too, into fashionable society. This society is anything but Puritan in its morals. It is thoroughly Parisian, as might be expected from the fact that its standard of excellence is not character, but wealth. I have no wish to enter into details, or give illustrations of the mysteries of New York fashionable society, but no sadder pictures of moral ruin and degradation could be drawn from the lowest quarters of the city, than from the palaces of the Fifth Avenue.

If this were all of New York society, this article would never have been written. There are rich men whom wealth has not corrupted, and poor men whom poverty has not embittered. This does not need to be said. It may be said of every city. But there are probably few cities in the world where a choicer society can be found than in New York, and there are few, if any, where there is more earnest, active Christian life. We find it among the rich and the poor. It is coloured somewhat by the dominant spirit of the city, but it is genuine. It is struggling manfully to redeem the city from crime, corruption, filth, ignorance, irreligion, and degradation of every kind; and if the city is saved from outbreaks of the worst forms of Communism, it will be by its means. Men who love learning, art, and science, are trying to win over the wealthier classes to an interest in these things. As art is fashionable, it is patronized; but science and learning are not so fortunate. Their patrons are generally to be found only among those who are also interested in religious and philanthropic efforts. Literature of the



lighter sort, novels, magazines, and newspapers, may of course be found in every corner of the city; but it may be doubted whether it does much towards elevating society. That which is good is not as likely to reach those who need it as is the bad to reach those who would be better without it. Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of the leading magazines, which are an honour to the country, and furnish the best and purest reading which goes into many a palace in New York.

But I am dwelling too long upon generalities. Let us come down to practical everyday life. The New Yorker is always in a hurry. He is an early riser, and generally eats a hearty breakfast by eight o'clock. If he is a religious man, he has had family prayers before breakfast, as this is the only time of which he could be sure before midnight. If he does not read the morning paper at breakfast, he reads it on the way to his office. He is almost certain to have callers on business before he can leave his house; and if he is known to be a benevolent man, he has a score of begging letters by the morning delivery. He gets away as soon as possible, and is not seen again until evening, when he comes in just in time to dress for dinner. His household affairs are managed by his wife. He is liable to have business calls before he has finished his dinner. If he goes to his club, he talks business there. He has committee meetings to attend. At nine or ten o'clock he may go with his wife to a party, or he may get away a little earlier to the theatre. If he has an evening at home, it is because he has a dinner party or evening entertainment himself. He keeps late hours. If an active religious man, Sunday is almost as busy a day as any other. If not, it is divided between business and amusement. In May, his family goes into the country, or to some watering place, to remain until October; but the chance is that he gets but little rest. When rest becomes absolutely essential, he escapes to Europe. What the ladies do, except to make themselves agreeable when they can be found, I cannot say from observation, but they seem to be as overworked as the men. Some of them certainly speculate in stocks. They have their clubs and societies, literary and otherwise. Many of the charities and religious societies of the city are largely in their hands. Domestic and social affairs are generally left to their management. If most of the wealthy are devoted to fashion, many are devoted to better things—to self-culture, religion, and benevolence. Perhaps all this is enough to account for the fact that there seems to be so little of quiet and repose in New York life.

Life in New York is very expensive. Luxury and extravagance is the rule, and all classes feel the influence of it. Even the poorest suffer from it. The richer cannot maintain their position in society without giving way to it. There is but one recognized way of escape, and that is to take refuge in a hotel. These are expensive enough, but they are always full; and, singularly enough, many American families prefer this



promiscuous style of living to the privacy of home life. It must be said, too, that the hotels, as hotels, are very good, especially the more quiet ones of the best class. It is not easy to give an exact idea of the cost of living, but £1,000 is an ordinary rent for a house near the fashionable quarter, and I do not think that an average family, living in such a house, spends less than £4,000 a year. In the fashionable quarter, a fashionable family spends ten times that amount. Leading clergymen receive from £1,000 to £3,000 salary, in addition to their houses.

The clubs of New York are innumerable, and adapted to all tastes and all ranks of society. I can testify that some of them are delightful places of resort. Among the larger, the Century Club certainly stands first. It has a very modest house in a quiet street, but one meets there the best and most intelligent men in New York—men representing all professions and all shades of thought. It is not a club where one goes to eat, although he may eat and drink there, but a place for quiet rest or charming conversation. The great club of the city, which most closely resembles the great clubs of London, is the Union League Club. It has a costly and richly-decorated house on Fifth Avenue, and is intended to rival the luxury of the neighbouring private residences. It originated during the Civil War, and exerted a vast influence for the Union in its support of the Government; but its political importance has passed away. There are many more private clubs, limited to single professions, which are the most attractive places of resort in New York, when one can obtain an entrance to them. Political clubs are numerous, and most of them are about as reputable as the government of the city. The less said about them the better.

The newspapers of the city are the *Herald*, *Times*, *Tribune*, *World*, *Post*, *Sun*, and a host of lesser lights. If we are to judge of them by what they say of each other, they are all equally stupid and corrupt; if by what they say of themselves, they are unrivalled by any newspapers in the world. The truth probably lies between these two statements. But they all agree in declaring that they are totally unlike the London *Times*. As I like the *Times* better than any other paper in the world, they will consider it a compliment if I say that I do not fancy the New York dailies. Still, they have an immense circulation and a vast influence, not only in New York, but all over the country, and this influence has often been used to the great advantage of the country. I think that most of the papers named above act for what they conceive to be the highest interest of the nation, and they deserve credit for it. They spare no expense to obtain news. The only difficulty is that it would be better for the nation if half this news were never published, and if the other half were not given in such a sensational form. The style of the papers is that of the twopenny novel, and it demoralizes the taste of the people. A remarkable change has taken place in these papers since the war. They have become impersonal and, to a certain extent, independent of party. They formerly owed their influence to



their editors; and men asked, not what the *Tribune* said, but what Greeley said. The paper was the organ of the editor. The editors of the New York papers have now but little personal influence. It is somewhat doubtful what influence controls some of these papers, or in whose interest they really speak. Mr. Bennett, the son of the founder, owns the *Herald*, and in some sense controls it; but he is seldom in New York, and is a nondescript in character. The *Nation*, a weekly, modelled somewhat after the *Spectator*, was an able and influential paper, one of the most so in the United States, but it has been merged in the *Post*. The so-called religious weeklies exert quite as much influence in the country as the New York dailies, and some of them are conducted with great ability. They are generally in sympathy with the Republican party.

We pass naturally from the newspapers to the churches. It is often claimed that the papers have taken the place of the pulpit in instructing the people of this country, and perhaps this idea has led them to publish Sunday editions, as most of them do; but the American population in New York has not deserted the churches. The New England Sabbath was never fully accepted in New York, but the day was formerly observed with respect, as a day of rest and worship. The churches are still full, but in many parts of the city shops are open, the tramways and elevated railways are crowded, and the city seems given up to amusement, except in certain decorous streets. The great foreign population has brought its own ideas across the sea, and spends Sunday as at home. It is the great day of the beer-gardens, and the harbour is crowded with overladen excursion boats, when the weather permits. Fashionable New York drives in the Park. It has never been very religious. But, after all, there is more religious activity in the city than ever before. It is not confined to any one denomination. It is seen not simply in the multiplication of costly churches, nor alone in the vast congregations which crowd to hear popular preachers—the most popular of whom, by the way, have been imported from England—but still more in the organized and successful efforts of Christian men to reach the working-classes. The Episcopal Church, which years ago was supposed to be too aristocratic to trouble itself about the poor, now leads the van in organized church work among them, and has made more rapid progress in numbers than any other denomination. Other denominations do more in united work through various societies—like the Young Men's Christian Union or the City Missionary Society. These societies are making an impression even upon the foreign population, which is very apparent to those who know the city. No one of these societies has interested me more than the Children's Aid Society. It cares for the neglected children of the city. It has lodging-houses for boys, which in twenty-five years have housed 170,000. It has industrial schools for girls and boys, with 10,000 pupils. It has lodging-houses for girls which send out into good houses 1,000 girls a year. It has a home for



newsboys, with savings banks and other advantages. It has found homes among the farmers in the West for 50,000 boys from the streets. It does all this work, and much more, at a cost of only about £45,000 sterling a year, and does it so wisely and successfully that it has the fullest confidence at once of the street Arabs and the best men in the city.

It is due to such work as this that crimes against person and property in New York have decreased 25 per cent. in five years, in spite of the increase of population and the peculiar position of the city as the port of entry of foreign immigration. The New Yorkers seem to go into this work with very much the same zeal which is seen in business and speculation. Wealthy philanthropists are not numerous in New York, but they rival the speculators in untiring activity, or perhaps it may be better said that they make philanthropic work a part of their business. It must be said, too, that they are men of very broad sympathies. They do not confine their charities to New York city, or even to the United States. The same spirit is seen in Boston, but not at all in Philadelphia or Washington, although in all these cities local charities, hospitals, and asylums are numerous and well supported.

The Catholics in New York have a great number of charitable institutions, but, as they control the city government, they manage to make the taxpayers support them. The general religious influence of this church is very much the same as in Europe—in some respects good and in others bad. Its supporters are chiefly Irish.

The Jews are very numerous, and rapidly increasing in wealth and influence; but the majority have no sympathy with religion or philanthropy in any form. They have themselves to blame for whatever prejudice there is against them, such as has manifested itself in the refusal to admit them to certain hotels at the watering-places. It is not because they are Jews, but simply because they make themselves exceedingly disagreeable to respectable people. There is a respectable minority of Jews of whom none of these things are true.

Education in New York, like everything else connected with the city government, is under the control of those who pay no taxes, and is consequently managed without much regard to cost; but this is the worst that can be said of it. The taxpayers would be very well satisfied if all their money was as well spent. The schools are good, and the city is proud of them. They are of all grades, including a free college, and any child in New York may obtain a complete education without expense. The teachers are well paid and, as a general rule, well trained for their work. It is not easy to compare the schools with those of other cities. They seem to be as good in New York as elsewhere, in spite of the fact that they excite very little public attention, while in Boston education is a hobby which every man feels bound to ride, and the schools are constantly under discussion. In Boston, too, a much larger proportion of the children of wealthy families attend the public schools.

There seems to be something wanting, however, in the character of



city education or of city life in general in America. Attention has lately been called to the fact that but few of the leading men in the city of New York were born or educated there. Almost all are from the country towns, and a large proportion from New England. It is not strange that a great city should attract the most enterprising young men from the country, although there is more reason for this in England than in America. Here the electoral laws, which require all members of Congress and other officials to be residents in the districts from which they are chosen, and the fact that country members of the State legislatures are always in the majority, make it undesirable for those seeking political preferment to live in the great cities. It is a positive advantage to live elsewhere. Very few of the statesmen of America were born in great cities, and very few live in them now. Washington is the least desirable of all places, as its citizens are not represented in the government at all. Young men go to the cities to make money, and New York has special attractions to lead them there; but young men born and educated in the city ought to have the advantage over strangers. We should expect to find among her leading men a large percentage of city-born men, but this is not the case. Leaving out of account those who owe their position to wealth inherited from parents who came to New York from the country, we find very few distinguished men in the city who were born or educated there. Neither do we find them in other parts of the country. Our great men do not come from New York city. It would not be fair to attribute this fact altogether to the schools of New York, or to the American system of education, which is as well applied there as anywhere; but we are justified in concluding that, while city life in America is adapted to call out and develop all the energies of those who enter it as adults, its influence over the young is unfavourable to the highest development. This is less apparent in Boston and Philadelphia than in New York, and it may result in some degree from the fact that the possession of wealth is regarded in New York as the one avenue to influence, and money as the measure of everything. This idea is unfavourable to the development of character, and it has far less influence in the towns and villages of America than it has in the cities. As a general rule, it is not true in these—in the Northern States at least—that a man's influence is measured by his wealth. Character has more influence than money; and children grow up with a clear conception of the high importance of moral and intellectual character. Then, again, country life in America favours individualism. The despotism of fashion and opinion is almost unknown. There is opportunity for calm thought, reason, and resolve—for communion with the eternal forces of Nature, and thoughts of God. Life does not present itself as simply a struggle between man and man for the possession of money. The education in the schools may be the same, but the more important education of the environment is totally different. It is undoubtedly a misfortune to be born and educated in New York city.



On the other hand, cities offer special advantages for professional studies, and New York has such schools which receive students from all parts of the country. They are not the most famous, and perhaps not the best, in the country; but they are progressive, and ought to become the best. They suffer, like all similar institutions in America, from competition. There is no economy of forces in the higher education here. We multiply schools of law, medicine, and theology, as though quantity was more important than quality, and these are generally poorly endowed, and too often seek to attract students by making it easy to obtain diplomas. There is much room for improvement even in New York.

The fashionable amusements of New York do not differ essentially from those of the great cities of Europe. There is nothing specially American about them, unless it be the fact that they are borrowed from all the countries of Europe, and that people enter into them with the same spirit which is manifested in Wall Street. The most universal amusement is travel; it may be to spend a day at Coney Island, or a year in Europe, or a summer at some watering place like Newport or Saratoga. The New Yorker must go somewhere or lose caste. There are those who seek genuine recreation in these migrations, but with most it is simply a change of place without much change of occupation. The great summer hotels are simply places where the rage for dress and display can be gratified more easily than in the city, and the men carry their business with them. The Wall Street brokers have their branch offices in or near these hotels, connected by private wires with the city, and speculation goes on as usual. At Newport, Mr. Bennett, of the *New York Herald*, has taken the lead in introducing various European sports, but they still have a foreign air about them. He has built a casino, with tennis courts, lawn tennis, and other games. He has introduced polo and fox-hunting, and done much to make yachting fashionable. At Saratoga the races, which go on day after day for weeks, are the chief amusement. At Martha's Vineyard and a number of other places, "camp meetings" constitute the *pièce de résistance* of the entertainment. These religious meetings are protracted for weeks, and represent all varieties of belief and unbelief, order and disorder. They would make a very interesting study by themselves, as a singular development of American life. The New Yorker has an infinite variety of summer resorts to choose from. He may join the saturnalia at Coney Island or the Methodist camp meeting at Martha's Vineyard. He may build a palatial "cottage" at aristocratic Newport, or exhibit his wife, daughters, and diamonds to the crowds which throng the great hotels of Saratoga or Long Branch. He may rest quietly in some mountain farm-house or wander about from place to place in dusty, crowded railway trains. He may do almost anything but stay at home.

A new amusement has been found for the winter, which has become



very popular. This is yachting on the ice. The Hudson river offers every facility for this, and it has become very popular. It is quite as exciting as the wildest stock speculation in Wall Street. Sixty miles an hour is not an uncommon speed for one of these curious craft, and on a fine day, when the ice is favourable, the river is alive with them. Great skill is necessary in the management of these boats, especially in racing; but there have been few serious accidents, and after watching these races one may almost believe in the possibility of the experience of Jules Verne's hero, Phileas Fogg. At Omaha, the old winter amusement of sleigh-riding is of course as popular as ever, when there is snow enough on the ground to make the roads good; and one who has never tried it can hardly imagine how exhilarating it is. It is surpassed by nothing but the ice yacht, and has the advantage of being more social.

The theatres of New York are very numerous and of every variety, including one belonging to an Episcopal clergyman and conducted on religious principles. It can hardly be said that religion or morality has much influence over the others, although some of the managers are men of high character. A friend of mine who lately made the tour of them all was inclined to think that those patronized by the roughs in the Bowery were less immoral than those patronized by the residents on Fifth Avenue. There is nothing distinctively American in the theatre in New York. It is as far as possible an imitation of Paris, and European actors and actresses come here to make their fortunes after they have won a reputation in Europe. New York applauds because Paris has applauded, and no one would think of a New York reputation as of any value in itself. Still the New Yorkers, as a whole, are a theatre-loving race. They are ready to pay, to applaud, and to lionize popular players, and they find amusement in doing so. It is a matter of dispute whether they honestly enjoy good music as much as they enjoy immoral plays, but there is certainly a class of people in New York about whom there can be no doubt. Good music always attracts large audiences, and there are amateur clubs that do good work. Our cities have produced some very superior singers, but they go to Europe for their training. A late English traveller, who seems to have made a study of the theatre in New York, concludes that it is in every respect superior to that of London. He may be right. He is certainly generous; and, as he evidently knows much more about it than I do, I am quite willing to allow his judgment to balance mine without any controversy.

Of unlawful amusements, such as gambling and others, New York has her full share, graded for all classes of society, from the gilded palace on Fifth Avenue down to the dens of Water Street. There is far more of vice and immorality than in Boston or Philadelphia. It is more open, more general, and more fashionable. In some respects it is worse than London; in others, perhaps, better. I cannot see that



Republican institutions affect the general morality of our cities in any favourable way whatever; if anything, the influence is unfavourable. There is less inclination to execute or tolerate repressive laws. The old idea of stern Republican morality has long since been forgotten, if it ever had any actual existence. In the towns and villages there is some trace of it. The general standard of morality in these is higher than in Europe, and it is an advantage not to have the evil example of an aristocracy which considers itself raised above the moral law. In the cities there is an aristocracy of wealth which is worse than that of birth. As in other aristocracies, there are noble examples of Christian manhood and philanthropic spirit among the wealthy men of our cities. There is more readiness to give away money for benevolent purposes than can be found in any other part of the world. This spirit is not confined to religious men, although they are the principal givers. Appeals of all kinds go first to them. But, in spite of all the good that can be said of New York, it is no better morally than the great cities of Europe. If we contrast it with the towns and villages of this part of America, the difference is very much greater and more unfavourable than would be found in contrasting village and city life in any part of Europe with which I am familiar. This is due, however, to the corrupting influence of wealth, or to the failure of Republican institutions to secure good government and high morality, but quite as much to the fact that New York is not an American city. The majority of the population is foreign. The worst of the immigrants landed upon our shores remain there, and there is no form of vice known in Europe which they have not brought with them and domesticated in this city. One sees something of this in London; but, in spite of its foreign population, London is still an English city. Its vices, as well as its virtues, are distinctively English. I do not mean to imply that there is anything better or more attractive in the vice of London than in that of New York. On the contrary, it has always struck me as more brutal and repulsive. I have never seen anything in any other city which shocked me so much as a sight I saw in broad day in a street leading from Southampton Row on one of my first visits to London. Two ragged, begrimed, drunken women were fighting in a ring of twenty or thirty men, who were cheering them on. The very fact that they were all English made their filth, profanity, and brutality more repulsive. I could not help feeling a sort of personal responsibility for it. I have seen other such scenes in London; but have never happened upon one like it in New York. Nor have I ever heard criminal amusements defended and justified by men of good standing in society, as I have in England. Every form of vice exists and flourishes in New York as it does in London; but it does not present itself to the eye and ear in so repulsive a manner.

Of the several American cities which I have mentioned, New York is generally regarded as the most attractive place of residence. The fact that it is the largest and richest of our cities gives it certain advantages



over all others. But the most English city in the United States is Boston, and New England people of the old English stock prefer it to all other cities. Washington was formerly the least attractive of our cities; but since the war there have been great changes there. No city in the world has more beautiful Government offices, and great efforts have been made to improve the streets and adorn the city. The hotels still swarm with office-holders and office-seekers; but they seem to me to be generally of a better class than when I first visited the city. There is certainly much less drunkenness and barbarism to be seen in the public rooms and about the Capitol. But, aside from this nomadic horde, there is now an established resident society in Washington, which is becoming every year more agreeable and more numerous. There are many who already regard it as the most attractive city in the country. It is, at least, unlike all other cities. A number of novels have appeared within a few years, professing to give faithful pictures of life in Washington; but they are unworthy of attention. They are low, vulgar, and scandalous, without literary merit, and presenting a view of society too absurd to be even founded on fact. There is vice and corruption enough in Washington, and it is easy for a man to find it who seeks for it; but there is no more of it in Washington than in New York. These books would not deserve mention if they had not been widely circulated. If I were to select a place of residence for myself it would be Boston, rather than Washington or New York. Philadelphia is too narrow and provincial to be thought of. There is something of reserve and hauteur about Boston society which is not altogether agreeable to strangers, and is criticized and ridiculed by Americans from other parts of the country; but it is only on the surface, and is hardly noticed at all by persons who have lived in Europe. It contrasts strongly with the free-and-easy manners of the West, where the stranger of to-day becomes an old resident to-morrow; but there is a dignity about it which is very attractive. To borrow a slang Western phrase, a Boston man does not "slop over." Boston boasts of her *culture*, and New York delights to sneer at the word; but there is a reality in it. There is culture in New York; but its influence is limited to a narrow circle. In Boston, it rules the city and gives tone to society. There is no other city which has any right to call itself the Athens of America. There is some reason for giving this name to Boston. New York is more like Corinth in the days of her greatest prosperity. Even the Irish are somewhat subdued by the atmosphere of Boston, and make much less trouble than they do in New York. If I were to choose a permanent residence in America, it would, as I have said, certainly be in Boston. Its climate is not all that could be desired. Its east winds are unfavourable to weak lungs, and in winter disagreeable to all; but New York is not much better, and Boston has the advantage of having clean streets. The suburban towns are all beautiful, and there is an endless variety of charming drives in all directions. Cambridge is close at hand,



with the literary advantages of a University town, and the city itself is provided with everything necessary for study or amusement. But Boston is attractive to me because there is something restful in life there. It is more like a European city. There is not the mad rush and whirl which distracts me in New York, and is still worse in Chicago. Men do business on a grand scale, and Boston capital is found in all the great cities and all the great enterprises of the West; but men seem to take life more calmly than in New York. They are not in such a desperate hurry. So, in society, there is much less extravagance and display, much less dissipation, much more quiet and sensible enjoyment.

The great unsolved problem in city life is that of government. Even the smaller cities find it difficult to secure a tolerable administration, as the majority of voters are always non-taxpayers, and generally ignorant naturalized foreigners. The larger cities are literally at the mercy of the organized mob. There is nothing in America so utterly disgraceful as the government of New York. There is no dignity, no honesty, no common-sense in it. For years the city was ruled by the "Tweed ring," whose history is known to all the world. A few men literally captured the city, and used the public money to enrich themselves and bribe the voters. It was only when the taxes became intolerable that the city was roused to appeal to the State Courts to punish these robbers, who had violated the law for years with impunity. The city was the stronghold of the Democratic party, and the Tweed ring was tolerated because it always secured a Democratic majority of any required amount, without any reference to the number of voters.

The overthrow of this infamous ring was the work of two or three newspapers in the city, which exposed its criminal character so fully that the respectable portion of the Democratic party no longer dared to support it, and the taxpayers of both parties united to put it down.

Then a new experiment was tried. A new charter was secured, which, to a certain extent, deprived the city of the right of self-government. The authority was divided between the city and the State. In some respects this has proved an advantage; but, on the whole, the experiment is a failure, and the best men in New York are in favour of going back to self-government. The absurdities of the present system were fully developed last winter. The streets of the city were in such a filthy condition that a mass meeting of physicians declared that there was danger of pestilence. In fact, there was an epidemic of small-pox, typhus, and diphtheria. I have never seen anything in Europe or Asia to equal the streets of New York at that time. For many weeks the most important streets were filled with piles of snow, filth, garbage, and ashes. The whole city was roused; public meetings were held, and the most vigorous resolutions passed. A committee of the most wealthy and influential citizens was chosen, but the streets were not cleaned until it was done by the spring rains.



The epidemic continued to rage until Nature had done its work. The plan of relief devised by the committee of citizens was the appointment of an officer by the Mayor to take charge of the department of street cleaning, but the Mayor had no authority to appoint such an officer. It was necessary to secure an Act of the State Legislature to modify the charter and give him this authority. The Legislature was in session, and was appealed to, in the name of humanity, to pass this Act without delay. But here it was found that there was a political objection to this. The Mayor of the city was a Democrat, the Legislature was Republican, and street-cleaning was a means of bribing voters. If this authority were given to the Mayor, he would appoint a Democrat, who would use the money appropriated to clean the streets to buy Democratic votes. Street-cleaning must be a perquisite of the Republicans. The idea that street-cleaning had nothing to do with politics was repudiated as a heresy. What could be more pitiable than this! Other departments are conducted on the same principle. The Mayor of the city is a gentleman, a Catholic Irishman, but the Board of Aldermen can hardly be described in polite language. They spent the winter in trying to organize, neither faction of the Democratic party having a majority, and neither wishing to unite with the few Republican members. A division of the spoils was, however, finally agreed upon, and the organization completed. The proceedings of this unique assembly were published in the daily papers, and if any New Yorker ever read them without shame and indignation he deserved to be an alderman himself. The present system of government is certainly a disgrace to any civilized nation. The reign of Tweed was no better. It remains to be seen whether one can be devised which will secure a wise and honest administration, and at the same time maintain the principle of universal suffrage in a city where the majority of the voters pay no taxes, are not natives of the country, have no idea of political honesty, and are the willing tools of unscrupulous politicians. Nothing will be done until the respectable men of both parties realize the danger, and agree to lay aside their political differences and work together to save the city from ruin. There was some approach to this last winter, on the question of cleaning the streets, but it was not a genuine awakening to a sense of all the dangers of the situation, and this may not come until Socialism has organized the masses for a crusade against monopoly.

Something of the same evil is seen in other cities. Philadelphia has had its ring of Republican Tweeds, but the division of property and the system of taxation is very different there, and the evil results have not been so marked. The Irish element there is unimportant. Washington is governed by the National Congress. Boston is still an American city, and has not yet fallen into the hands of any ring; but there is much that is very unsatisfactory in her city government and public expenditure. The difficulty is a general one, and applies to all the



cities in the country. It is more apparent in New York, on account of the number and character of its population.

The theory of the present day in English-speaking lands is that local self-government is the surest safeguard against oppression. We regard it as the corner-stone of our national system, but it is producing some unexpected results, and already it has been found necessary to control it in some respects by general laws. It is probable that still more stringent limitations will be adopted. Our city governments are more corrupt, more extravagant, and more wasteful than any others, but our town and village governments often resemble them in some points. Here, as in the cities, it is generally the non-taxpayers who vote taxes and create town debts. There is as yet no limitation on taxation, but many States have limited the amount of debt which can be contracted by the cities and towns. The working-classes are slow to discover that in the end they pay the taxes. They see nothing but the immediate advantage of spending the money of the rich. Local self-government has many advantages, but small taxes and economy in public expenditure do not seem to be among them. The administration in the towns is generally honest, even where it is extravagant and stupid, but it needs control. As our people are only too ready to try experiments, we shall probably continue to make experiments in city government until we find some satisfactory solution to this thus far unsolved problem.

There are other questions connected with city life which are not peculiar to American cities, and which do not need discussion here, because we have done but little towards solving them. Pauperism, crime, and all forms of irreligion flourish in our cities as in Europe, and vigorous efforts are made to overcome them, with more or less success; but we have discovered no new methods, and have still much to learn. New York is not behind other cities in this work of Christian charity, and this is the best thing that can be said in her behalf.

We are accustomed to boast of the rapid growth of our cities, of their vast commerce, of the enterprise of our merchants, of our costly private and public buildings, and our people are more and more inclined to leave the country to crowd the cities; but it seems to me that the nation has more to fear than to hope for in these great cities. They are centres of intellectual life and of trade, but also of feverish extravagance and corruption, both moral and political corruption. Their growth has been too rapid for health. Wealth has been acquired too easily. The population is too heterogeneous. The most prosperous cities are the most corrupt. Who can say where all this is to end? Like most of my countrymen I am inclined to optimism in all that concerns America. The Anglo-Saxon race is not wont to borrow trouble from the future, or even to provide for emergencies before they arise. But it is certain that our cities do not improve as they advance. There are dangerous tendencies in our city life which must be overcome, or they will develop and endanger the existence of the Republic.

A NON-RESIDENT AMERICAN.



## THE BRAHMO SOMAJ *versus* THE "NEW DISPENSATION."

THE Brahmo Somaj, or Theistic Church of India, has long been an object of sympathetic interest to many Europeans, both in purely philosophic and in devout Christian circles. Hence, any such revelations of its condition as are contained in the article of Dr. Knighton, in the last number of this Review, on "The New Development of the Brahmo Somaj," are sure to attract attention; and the writer's literary reputation, good faith, and well-known kindly feeling towards the natives of India—among whom he was himself for some time a resident—will all combine to win credence for his representations with most of his English readers. But as there is a whole world of facts which he has omitted, and of which he does not appear to be aware, and as those facts entirely alter the whole bearing of his narrative upon the present condition of the Brahmo Somaj, I feel bound to place them before his readers and himself.

Dr. Knighton's account of Mr. Sen's new Gospel is mainly compiled from recent addresses and articles by Mr. Sen during the early months of the present year; but he does not appear to have had access to any original accounts of the events which preceded last January, or which followed last April. He dwells much on the apparent approaches made by Mr. Sen towards Christianity; but he is evidently unaware that the same man who has spoken so eloquently and touchingly on Christ, and who celebrated an imitation Eucharist on the 6th of last March, followed that ceremony, on the 7th of June, by an imitation of the Hindu *Hom*, or Fire-Sacrifice, of which the following report is given in the *New Dispensation* of June 9.

### "THE NEW HOM CEREMONY.

"On Tuesday last the Sanctuary witnessed a new and imposing and, we may add, an instructive spectacle. There was a large iron fire-pan in front of the

Vedi; in an earthen vessel was *ghee*, or clarified butter; bundles of sticks and pieces of fire-wood were gathered in one place, and there was a large metallic spoon. Varieties of beautiful and fragrant flowers and evergreens in abundance formed a semicircle skirting the place where these things were arranged. No one was prepared for such a sight, as none, even among the select few who were present, knew what was going to happen. After the introductory portion of the Service was over, the minister invoked Divine blessing on the Ceremony which was to be performed, and prayed that it might become profitable unto the Church. He then lighted up the fuel before him, and, pouring over it clarified butter, produced a brisk Fire, which he thus addressed:—

“ ‘O Thou Blazing Agni,

Great, great art thou; great among the forces in creation. We shall honour thee and magnify thee because of thy greatness and majesty. Thou art not God; we do not adore thee. But in thee dwells the Lord, the Eternal Inextinguishable Flame, the Light of the universe, the immanent Fire, Fire of fire, whom fire doth reveal and glorify. O thou brilliant Agni, in thee we behold our Resplendent Lord. His hand holds up thy holy flame. Without Him thou art not. Then let us glorify Him, thy God and our God. The Lord has made thee, O Agni, formidable and mighty, mighty to consume and destroy. With thy tremendous force thou burnest and swallowest extensive forests, and reducest cities and towns into ashes. Before thy fury heroes tremble in utter helplessness. But if, Agni, thou art a fierce enemy to be always dreaded, thou art also a benefactor, worthy of all honour and gratitude. Our friend art thou, O Agni. Thy good services who can recount? In the firmament above thou art ablaze as the sun, and thou scatterest light and heat in all directions for our benefit. Down below on earth, in the home of every householder, thou kindlest a flame to cook our daily food; thou cheerest us in cold wintry nights; and thou lightest the candle to give us light in the midst of darkness. Thou removest plague and pestilence and foul diseases, and thou dost purify the air by destroying noxious effluvia. Therefore, our venerable forefathers, the ancient Aryan Rishis, greatly honoured thee, and performed the sacred *Hom* unto thy glory. O friend and benefactor of the human race, O thou whose glory the Rig Veda so devoutly sang four thousand years ago, burn brightly before us, that we may sing thy praise amid the civilization of the nineteenth century, and be worthy of our forefathers. Blessed art thou, O Agni, for thou art a blazing witness unto the Lord, and thou revealest His brightness unto man.

“ ‘O Thou Resplendent God of Fire,

O God of Agni, as Agnihotri and priest, I initiate the ceremony of the true Hom, under Thy command, for the destruction of carnal propensities. Help us, God; good God, help us. In Thy holy fire we desire to burn to-day our sins and iniquities, our foul desires and the lusts of the flesh. As the fire before us burns these pieces of fuel, so shall we burn our anger and avarice, lust and pride, and all our passions in the fire of Thy holiness. We are not saved till the very root of sin and temptation is burnt up. The Son of God in an instant bravely vanquished Satan, and overcame temptation. And so the blessed Buddha indignantly drove away the tempter, Mara, and conquered flesh. Administer unto us, O Resplendent Spirit, fire-baptism, that we may vanquish the tempter as those master souls did. Root out iniquity. Destroy the very seed of corruption, O Lord. Annihilate Satan and burn Death, that we may put on incorruption and everlasting life. These six pieces of fuel tied together, which represent the six evil passions of the heart, do Thou burn and destroy in the flame. And as these pieces of fuel burn and are reduced to ashes, may they typify the destruction of our carnal passions in the fire of Thy holiness!’



"Thus saying, the minister cast the six pieces of fuel into the burning fire, the congregation exclaiming together, 'Victory to God, Victory to God, Victory to God.'

'Peace,                      Peace,                      Peace.'

This is called "The Ceremony of Overcoming Temptation," and it was "consummated" on the following Sunday, by a "New Baptismal Ceremony," held at the bathing-place in Mr. Sen's garden, where he addressed his audience as follows :—

"Beloved brethren, we have come into the land of the Jews, and we are seated on the bank of the Jordan. Let them that have eyes see. Verily, verily, here was the Lord Jesus baptized, eighteen hundred years ago. Behold the holy Waters wherein was the Son of God immersed. See ye here the blessed Jesus, and by his side John the Baptist, administering the rite of Baptism, and behold in the sky above the descent of the Holy Ghost. All three are here present, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, spiritually united. Pilgrim-brothers, mark their union to-day, on this hallowed spot, and see how the Water shineth in celestial radiance.

"O Thou Great Varuna, Water of Life,

Sacred Water, Mighty Expanse of Seas and Oceans and Rivers, we glorify thee. Thou art not God, but the Lord is in thee. Thou art full of the beauty and glory of Heaven; each drop revealeth the Divine face. Thou art the Water of life. A most helpful friend art thou unto us. From the clouds above thou comest in copious showers to quench the thirst of the parched earth, and to fertilize its soil. Thou fillest rivers, seas, and oceans. Thou causest the dry earth to become fruitful, and thou producest plentiful harvests, fruits, and corn in abundance, for our nourishment. O friend of the human race, thou satisfiest our hunger, thou appeasest our thirst. Thou cleansest our body and our home, and wapest away filth and impurity. O thou great purifier, thou healest disease and thou givest health. Cooler and comforter, daily we bathe in thee, and feel refreshed and comforted. Ships freighted with riches float upon thy bosom, and bring us affluence from distant shores. O serene pacifier, thou extinguishest all agony, and refreshest the troubled head. O true friend and benefactor, our venerable ancestors loved thee, and honoured thee, and adored thee. And to-day, as in days gone by, the Ganga, the Jamuna, the Narmada, the Godaveri, the Kaveri, the Krishna, and all the sacred streams in the land, are greatly revered by the people. Say, mighty Varuna, didst thou not suggest to Buddha the idea of *Nirvana*, O thou extinguisher of the fire of all pain and discomfort. And Jesus too magnified thee, and he praised thee as none ever did before. For he saw and found in thee new life and salvation. In the holy Jordan was the Son of God baptized. We praise thee, we bless thee, Holy Water. Rain and river, lakes, seas and oceans, we bless and magnify.'

"The minister read the whole of Matthew, chapter iii. : 'In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judæa,' &c

"He explained the true secret of Baptism thus :—

"Why did Jesus plunge into the Water of the river? Because he saw the Water was full of God. The Omnipresent Spirit of God he saw moving upon the face of the Waters, and in every drop sparkled Divinity. In such holy Water, in the Jordan of divine life was Jesus immersed. And as he dipped into the Water he dipped into Divinity, and straightway he came out of the Water, full of new or Divine life, and the Holy Spirit overhead announced his acceptance by God as His "beloved son." Thus in him was the Father glorified, and likewise the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Behold, my brethren, the Water before us is full of the Lord, and blessed are they who are baptized in it, as was Jesus of Nazareth.'



"The minister anointed himself with flower oil, and went down into the Water. Standing with his head above the Water, and reverently looking above, he thus prayed: 'May I behold Thy bright and sweet face, O God, my Father, in the Water that encompasses me! Convert this Water into the Water of grace and holiness, that I may be immersed in life everlasting. May Thy beloved Son abide in my soul! May John the Baptist be here to administer unto me the sacred rite! And may Thy Holy Spirit hover over my head and inspire me!'

"Thus saying, he thrice immersed himself, saying, 'Glory unto the Father,' 'Glory unto the Son,' 'Glory unto the Holy Ghost.' To magnify the Three-in-one, he dipped once more, saying, 'Blessed be SACCHIDANANDA! [the Vedantic Trinity]—Truth, Wisdom and Joy in One!'

"With the Water he washed his eyes and ears, his hands and feet, and prayed with clasped hands:—

"O Lord of Rivers and Seas,

Lord of Water, cleanse Thy poor servant, and purify my body and my soul. Thy holy spirit encircles me right and left, before and behind. I have plunged into Thy holiness and love, Thy power, wisdom, and joy. In the river of Thy sweet nectar have I been immersed, O Sacchidananda, and great is my joy. I thank Thee, and I bless Thee, O God of my salvation, O Merciful Father, that Thou hast baptized me with the Water of life eternal, and with Thy holy spirit.'

"The Singing Apostle then poured Water upon the minister's head.

"A number of earthen and metallic vessels were then filled with *Santi-jal*, or Water of Peace.

"The minister came out of the water, with his *Kamandalu* filled with the Water of Peace, and sprinkled it over the heads of the assembled devotees, all shouting together, 'Peace, Peace, Peace.'

"A number of these devotees then reverently went through the Ceremony of Immersion, while the minister, changing his dress, put on the ascetic's yellow robe.

"The whole party having left, a number of ladies and children of the New Dispensation came to the spot, and after Immersion and a short prayer, joyfully carried home the Vessels of Water."—*New Dispensation*, June 16, 1881.

The *New Dispensation* of June 23 further informs us that "the rite was administered by John the Baptist himself, who was present in spirit, and than whom there can be no greater authority in or outside the Church;" while in the same paragraph we are told that "the whole thing was a Hindu festival"! This heterogeneous tissue of contradictory notions and inconsistent ceremonies will give some idea of what Mr. Sen meant, when he called his New Dispensation "the wonderful solvent, which fuses all dispensations into a new chemical compound." I can hardly believe that such a compound can be regarded with approval by any sane Christian, or by any honest Hindu.

But the present question is: "What do the Brahmos say to it?" Dr. Knighton speaks, throughout his article, as if Mr. Sen were the virtual head of the Brahmo Somaj, and evidently believes him to represent the body as a whole, the only hint to the contrary being this: that, after describing the Flag Ceremony on Anniversary Day (January 23, 1881), in which "the eye of the believer saw the symbol of Christ's kingdom of heaven," Dr. Knighton continues:—

"However, all did not see this. Many of the former adherents of the Brahmo Somaj were offended at it, and refused to enrol themselves as disciples of the



New Dispensation. This feeling, we are assured, is neither widespread nor likely to be lasting."

Now, so far from the repugnance to the New Dispensation being a transiently-aroused feeling, "neither widespread nor likely to be lasting"—while, by implication, the majority of the Brahmos are apparently supposed to have *not* "refused to enrol themselves as disciples" under the new régime—the balance of parties weighs in precisely the opposite direction. It is the votaries of the New Dispensation who are in the minority. The large majority of Brahmo Somajes all over India have either stood aloof, or have definitely opposed Mr. Sen's new Gospel as a serious deviation from the Brahmic Faith. Twenty of the Provincial Somajes have already declared officially against it, usually marking with especial censure the ceremonies imitated from Hinduism and Christianity. As a specimen of the strong feeling which has been excited by Mr. Sen's recent novelties, take the following address, issued by the Executive Committee of the Sylhet Prarthana Somaj, translated from the Bengali copy lately received by me from their Secretary, Babu Raj Chandra Chaudhuri:—

"TRUTH WILL TRIUMPH.

"*A Humble Address to the Brahmo Community.*

"BRETHREN,—Accept our affectionate greeting. We heartily thank the Merciful God that He has sent Brahmoism into the world for the salvation of sinners. It is impossible to express in words how greatly we have been benefited by the acceptance of this faith. By taking shelter in the Brahmo Somaj we have gained true manliness. The Brahmo Faith and the Brahmo Community are the things dearest to our hearts. To preserve the purity of the Brahmo Church, and defend it from hostile attack, is the duty of every Brahmo. Otherwise we should be guilty of terrible ingratitude and heartlessness.

"Everyone knows that Babu Keshub Chandra Sen has for some months been preaching a new and strange religion, called the New Dispensation. In this religion various objectionable and despicable doctrines are put forth. So much so, that its disciples do not in the least think ill even of dark idolatry. Our heads must bow in shame, and our hearts be rent with sorrow, when we tell that in the very Church which was dedicated to the worship of the One Only God, the Dispensationists worshipped a flag and some sacred books. Again, the other day, the leader of the Dispensation, with his disciples, performed the *Hom*, and were baptized in the *Kamal Sarobar* [the pond in Mr. Sen's garden]. Those who read the *Dharma Tattva*, the *New Dispensation*, the *Sunday Mirror*, and the *Banga Bandhu*, know how far Keshub Babu and his disciples have fallen from the Brahmo Somaj. Who that observes all this can fail to perceive that the New Dispensation is perfectly inimical to Brahmoism, and that it has arisen in this world only to increase the number of appalling superstitious creeds? If Keshub Babu and his disciples had only made a general acknowledgment that they were no longer Brahmos, and had no sympathy with the Brahmo Somaj, we should have said nothing upon this subject. But they are unblushingly preaching the religion of the New Dispensation in the name of the Brahmo Community and the Brahmo Faith. This we cannot endure. We cannot bear such an unjust attack upon our dear Brahmo Somaj. Therefore, O Brahmos! let us gird on our armour for the defence of our beloved Church and community. A very great responsibility lies upon us. Let us all, every Brahmo and every Brahmo Somaj,



combine to let the world know that the New Dispensation is not the Brahmo religion; that it is quite opposed thereto; that we have not the least sympathy with this creed; and that if any Provincial Brahmo Somaj in blind belief has accepted, or does accept, this New Dispensation as Brahmoism, then the Brahmo Somaj will not have any sympathy with it. It is the duty of every Brahmo, wherever he may be, from that place to inform the public, in any public paper, that the New Dispensation is perfectly opposed to Brahmoism.—Sylhet, July 10, 1881.—(Signed by eight "Members of the Executive Committee.")

Again, pass beyond Bengal to the cooler-headed Mahratta Theists of Western India, and in their organ, the Bombay *Subodha Patrika* (of July 30, 1881) will be found an article to the same effect, entitled "How it strikes us," the pith of which is contained in the following passages:—

"We must plainly tell our friends that we do not see our way to accepting their so-called New Dispensation. We fail to see what new things they have got to give us. Of course, in some issues of the *New Dispensation* paper we have been told that such and such things are new. But we do not think them to be new, except, perhaps, the principle of eclecticism: and as to that, Ram Mohan Roy was the first who acted in accordance with it, and there is no reason why it should be proclaimed now for the first time after the lapse of fifty years. And supposing that there is a great deal that is new, what is the necessity of flags, medals, and special newspapers to proclaim it? . . . ."

"We believe the movement led by Babu Keshub Chandra Sen has now reached, or is about to reach, the form of such a dogmatic religion as Christianity or Mahomedanism. In the *Theistic Review* under notice we are told that the Brahmo Somaj of India [Mr. Sen's own Somaj] declares it has received new light and new revelation from heaven. The claim put forth for Christ and Mahomet is in no way different from this. No Catholic Theist will put forth such a claim. . . . In the same way, the innumerable rites that are now being practised, the Eucharist, bathing in the waters of Jordan, the Fire-sacrifice or Homa, the vow of poverty, and others, will similarly, in the course of time, make of this movement such a religion as Hinduism now is. . . . And if some of the ceremonies of the existing religions are to be admitted by giving a theistic sense to them, why is the worship of idols to be condemned? If the eating of rice and the drinking of water, considering them to be the flesh and blood of Christ, are external symbols expressive of one's identification of his spirit with the spirit of Christ; or the throwing of ghee or sticks into the fire, of the sacrifice or suppression of the passions, surely throwing oneself at the feet of an idol is an outward expression of one's acknowledging God as his Lord, and of his surrendering his spirit to His spirit, and the washing, dressing, &c., of the idol, of his dedicating himself to the service of God. And if the rites that have been adopted are of great help to one in those spiritual exercises of which they are typical, an idol is of the greatest service in fixing one's wandering thoughts and directing them to God. And this is exactly the view taken of idol-worship by intelligent Hindus of the old school.

"For these and for other reasons we are afraid of the New Dispensation, and feel that we must lose no time in making a plain statement that we cannot and do not sympathize with it. We regret to see that our friends have embarked on a career which must lead to the destruction of pure Theism."

But these discussions concerning the New Dispensation are only the latest phase of a much older controversy, which (after what may be called a pre-historic and nebulous period) suddenly crystallized into palpable form in 1878, when Mr. Sen married his too-youthful daughter to the



Hindu Maharaja of Kuch Behar, in defiance of Brahmic principles, and of the almost universal pleadings of the Brahmo community. To this event Dr. Knighton makes a casual reference in connection with some recent unfavourable comments upon it by a distinguished English critic, and the reply made thereto by Mr. Sen's brother. But Dr. Knighton does not take into account that all such discussions are of quite subordinate importance beside the facts that the great majority of Mr. Sen's own co-religionists disapproved of his conduct; that a wide-spread secession was the consequence, and that the final result was the establishment of a new organization, the Sadharan (or Universal) Brahmo Somaj, which, since its foundation in May, 1878, has rapidly risen to the foremost rank among the Theistic Churches of India. Its headquarters are at 13, Mirzapore Street, Calcutta, but it has many members among the provincial Somajes, and regular agents in various parts India. Its office-bearers, annually elected, are four—a President, Secretary, Assistant-Secretary, and Treasurer. These act in conjunction with a General Committee, composed of forty persons elected at the annual general meeting of members, and of such representatives from the Provincial Somajes as the latter have previously elected or confirmed. This General Committee, in its turn, appoints twelve of its members as an Executive Committee for the year, by whom all the actual work is performed, subject to revision, at quarterly meetings, by the General Committee, who are themselves ultimately responsible to the general body of members. The chief aims and present position of the Somaj are briefly but fairly indicated in the following passages from the Annual Report of last January :—

“The Sadharan Brahmo Somaj has a mission of a dual character. In the first place, it started with the aim and purpose to develop within itself and encourage in others a life of piety, based upon direct and immediate communion with the Living God, to promote absolute spiritual freedom by combating all doctrines of incarnation, mediation or prophetship, to build morality and piety on the foundations of reason and conscience, illumined by the light of divine intercourse, and to strive for a life in which devotion and earnest work will commingle; secondly, it has tried to introduce a constitutional and representative mode of Church Government. There are unmistakable signs that, under the providence of God, every year is leading us towards the fulfilment of this destiny. At the beginning, when the hurricane of the conflict was vehemently raging, and the future was largely involved in doubts and misgivings, not a few there were, mostly outsiders, who misunderstood the nature and character of the Somaj. Some pleased to call it purely a movement for social reforms, having very little of a religious character, consequently having very little to do in the religious world; others regarded it as a temporary disturbance, which will subside in time; but it is gradually becoming visible even to distant observers, that it has essentially a religious and spiritual mission; that the field of progress is infinite before it, and that the destinies of the Brahmo Somaj are already in no small measure in its hands. Let us confess it here, in all humility, that as yet a great deal remains to be done before the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj can properly merit confidence. Our struggles are those of an infant organization, trying to do its work to a great extent with untried and inadequate materials. Many shortcomings and defects, viewed in the light of our high ideal and solemn responsibility, are inseparable from such a



state of things. But of one thing we are certain : that, beneath all these struggles, there is an earnestness of purpose and honesty of intention which God will bless and is already amply blessing."

The Sadharan Brahmo Somaj has already built a large Church (or Prayer Hall, as it is called) in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, which was consecrated with great rejoicing at the last January Anniversary. On this occasion the following Statement of Principles was read aloud in three different languages successively—English, Bengali, and Urdu:—

"This day, the 10th day of Mágh, 1287, according to the Bengáli era, and the 22nd of January, 1881, according to the Christian era, in the fifty-first year of the Brahmo Somaj, we dedicate this Hall to the worship of the One True God. From this day its doors shall be open to all classes of people without distinction of caste or social position. Men or women, old or young, wise or ignorant, rich or poor—all classes will meet here as brethren to worship Him who is the author of our salvation. This great, holy, Supreme God alone shall be worshipped here, to the exclusion of every created person or thing; and no divine honours shall be paid to any man or woman as God, or equal to God, or an incarnation of God, or as specially appointed by God. It shall be ever borne in mind in this Hall, that the great mission of Brahmoism is to promote spiritual freedom amongst men, and to enable them to establish direct relationship with God; and the sermons, discourses, and prayers of this place shall be so moulded as to help that spirit. It shall ever be its aim and endeavour to enable all who thirst after righteousness, to know God who is the Life of our life, and to worship Him direct.

"The catholicity of Brahmoism shall also be preserved here. No book or man shall ever be acknowledged as infallible and the only way to salvation; but, nevertheless, due respect shall be paid to all scriptures, and the good and great of all ages and all countries. In the sermons, discourses, and prayers used in this Hall, no scripture, or sect, or founder of a sect, shall ever be ridiculed, reviled, or spoken of contemptuously. With due respect, untruth shall be exposed and truth vindicated. No man or class of men shall be here regarded as the elect or favourite of God, and the rest of mankind as lost to that favour. Anything calculated to compromise this catholic spirit shall never be countenanced.

"The spirituality of our doctrine shall be carefully maintained. Flowers, spices, burnt-offerings, candles, and other material accompaniments of worship shall never be used, and care shall be taken to avoid everything tending to reduce religion to mere parade and lifeless forms.

"It shall be the object of all our preachings and discourses in this place, to teach men and women to love God, to seek piety, to hate sin, to grow in devotion and spirituality, to promote purity amongst men and women, to uproot all social evils, and to encourage virtuous deeds. Anything that will directly or indirectly encourage idolatry, engender superstition, take away spiritual freedom, lower conscience, or corrupt morals, shall never be countenanced. May this Hall ever remain a refuge and resting-place for all the weary sojourners of this world. May the sinner find consolation and hope in this Hall; may the weak be strengthened, and may all who hunger and thirst find food and drink for their souls. With this hope and prayer we dedicate this Hall in the name of the One True God. May He help and guide us. Amen."

The official organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj is the *Tattva Kaumudi*, a religious journal, issued on the 1st and 16th of every Bengali month; but for non-Bengali readers, whether Indian or European, the most accessible source of information concerning this Somaj is the *Brahmo Public Opinion*, an English weekly general newspaper, conducted by some of the leading Brahmos of Calcutta. Started in March, 1878, as a medium of inter-communication between the Brahmos



all over India, it publishes a great variety of news concerning the provincial Somajes, as well as the proceedings of the Brahmo committees and societies in Calcutta, whether religious or secular; in addition to which, it gives summaries of general news, and discusses questions of social and political reform. This journal has a wide circulation, which it well deserves. Its issue for August 4 (1881) contains a leading article on the "Development of Piety in the Brahmo Somaj," which is worth presenting entire, as an illustration of the tone of religious thought which characterizes the leaders of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj:—

"The development of religious thought and sentiment in the Brahmo Somaj, during the last fifty years of its existence, is an interesting study for all thoughtful observers of human progress. This internal history can be very well divided into three epochs,—the first, extending from the establishment of the Society by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy to the accession of Babu Devendranath Tagore; the second, from that time to the first schism; the third, from the separation of the progressive party to the second schism, or the establishment of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj.

"The first epoch was characterized by a vague aspiration after something higher and purer than the prevalent superstitions of the country. Theologically, it was an attempt after a simpler and more rational creed, and spiritually, it was a struggle to know and grasp Him who is Infinite. These aspirations were vague in their nature, as has been said above, and no definite conception of any type of piety worthy of cultivation or imitation was yet formed. The first adherents of the Somaj, most of them impressed with the rottenness of the existing superstitions, would assemble week after week to listen to discourses about the necessity of a purer and monotheistic form of worship. We cannot say that this charge of vagueness of conception can also be applied to the Rajah, because all his writings bear the clearest proof of the conception of a broad, catholic, and comprehensive system of faith, which aspired after the universal brotherhood of all creeds. But the Rajah's connection with his newly founded Society was too short to leave a lasting stamp of his catholic idea on the movement.

"After his death, the Society went on vaguely aspiring after a purer faith, but without giving those aspirations any definite form. It was Babu Devendranath who first formed a definite conception of the type of piety to be cultivated in the Somaj, and also of the practical shape which those aspirations should take. He was charmed with the beauty and simplicity of the *Upanishads*. The first awakening of his religious consciousness was largely induced by these writings. His poetic nature was captivated by the sublimeness and deep spirituality of these texts. He pondered over them, studied them, entered deep into their spirit and purpose, till every verse and every word became an inspiration to him. We have often seen him glowing with enthusiasm, his whole countenance flushed with emotion and eyes sparkling like stars, and sometimes the hairs of his head standing on end at the merest mention or recital of one of these texts. So he deeply drank the spirit of these eminently spiritual writings, and in accordance with that spirit, tried to introduce into the Somaj a type of piety in which quiet contemplation and rapt devotion formed an important element.

"Two things were wanting in this type—(1) Struggle with sin, [and] (2) that spirit of active obedience which 'never wearies in well-doing.' Not that they were altogether absent, but they were not cultivated, we think, as essential features of religious life. Hence, during this period we do not find such a development of prayer as we find during the succeeding one.

"When Babu Devendranath was thus moulding the spiritual aspirations of the Somaj according to his favourite type, there was a body of young men, early inoculated with Christian ideas, and trained in the school of Parker and Newman,



who were longing for a broader and more comprehensive type. The *sense of sin and prayer*, first imbibed from Christian sources, had taken root in their hearts. The old Hindu type of piety was rather chilling and benumbing to their spirits. They were longing for getting away—doing God's good work in the world. The crash did at last come. They could no longer contain their youthful enthusiasm. They boldly launched into social reforms, and the older party held back with doubts and misgivings. For a time the progressive party were true to their former lines. They freely cultivated prayer and earnest work. There was an awful earnestness of purpose about them which carried everything before it. They acted from deep convictions, and numbers were naturally drawn towards them.

"But, unfortunately, many years did not pass before this type was lost sight of. Signs were visible that the leaders were slipping into forms of Hindu mysticism which have been denounced by every sensible and thoughtful inquirer. They began to talk of *asceticism*, of *vows*, of *spiritual guides*, of *intoxicating love*, &c., thus silently, though unknowingly, giving up the ground they formerly occupied. It is worthy of notice here, that the greatest success of the progressive party was to be seen during those years when there was not the talk of these things, yet in point of fact there was greater real asceticism and self-abnegation in the service of God than in any subsequent period. In the former period they honestly resigned themselves to God, and God made them ascetics without their knowing it or taking credit for it: in the subsequent period they began to fix their gaze upon asceticism as a qualification and recommendation in the eyes of God, and to take credit for it. Mark the vast difference. Along with this slipping off from the original type—that of loving obedience and earnest faith—their influence began to decline, at least amongst educated and cultured minds.

"This, we think, is the spiritual history of the Somaj as manifested during the three epochs. It is the duty of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj now, to recall the minds of the Brahmos to the contemplation of true piety. Surely India has had enough of quietism and mysticism. All that we want for her real spiritual and moral welfare is a life of fervent faith and earnest work. May God help the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj in developing this life."

Of the various institutions which have sprung up under the auspices of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, or of its leading members, I have no space to write fully here; but I may briefly refer to the energetic labours of its missionaries, who have travelled and preached all over India with marked success; to the societies for religious culture among the students of Calcutta, and the zeal with which some of them have undertaken the propagation of Brahmoism in their vacation tours, while some, again, have laboured at the gratuitous teaching of young boys and working-men; to the steady efforts made for the improvement of women, not only by kindly men, but by the women themselves in their Brahmic Somaj and Bengal Ladies' Association; to the Theistic Library in Calcutta (not unhelpt by Christian contributions of valuable books); and to the City School for the Higher Education of Boys, with its staff of twenty teachers, and (in 1880) its 389 pupils (of whom twenty-four passed the last December Entrance Examination at the Calcutta University), and its School Committee of eight gentlemen, seven of whom are leading members of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj. In short, this Somaj honestly endeavours to carry on the process of Indian reform, which Dr. Knighton describes (p. 584) as characterizing "the Theists of Bengal." But he has evidently not studied the later history of those reforms, or he would know that Mr. Sen's efforts in



that direction have slackened greatly during the last few years. The Female Normal and Adult School, to which Dr. Knighton refers as having been opened in 1871, is now no more. After 1875, its Annual Reports ceased, and in 1878 the Government grant was withdrawn, the school being pronounced inefficient. The Girls' School attached to the institution was, however, revived in 1879, under the title of the Metropolitan Female School, and still continues to exist; but from the accounts in the *Sunday Mirror* of October 31, and November 14, 1880, it does not appear to have been flourishing of late. In fact, most of the normal traditions of Progressive Brahmoism have been either neglected or contravened by Mr. Sen of late years, and to credit him with their continuous support and development is to misread completely the recent history of the Brahmo Somaj. His aim lies in quite another direction; and if we may judge from the following editorial scrap in the *New Dispensation* of April 21, 1881, his expectations of carrying the Brahmo Somaj with him are not too sanguine:—

“Speculations are afloat that the effect of the New Dispensation will be to widen the breach between the old and the new in our Church. Right. The separation is not only probable, but inevitable. New wine may lodge for a time in the old bottle, but it will soon break it, and find its way out. It would be a good thing if all the Brahmo Somajes in India could be persuaded to receive the New Gospel. But should it be otherwise, let those men and those Somajes that look upon the Lord's Dispensation as a lie, and regard us as impostors, plainly say so, and repudiate us. We are desirous, if not anxious, that all those who are against us will immediately dissociate themselves from the New Dispensation, and leave it alone. Truth unmixed works best. Too much devotion hath made us mad; therefore, let those Brahmos who hate the New Gospel dismiss us and cut us off.”

It has been the custom of English critics and travellers, during the last two or three years, to pass by the whole body of the Brahmo Somaj, with its 140 churches scattered all over India, from Assam to Sindh, and from Lahore to Madras, without one word of recognition, and to concentrate all attention upon the one picturesque figure in Calcutta, who has turned away from the principles of his former Church, and has in turn been forsaken by the great majority of its members. Had this been done as a study in biography or psychology, no objection could attach to it. But when Mr. Sen's eccentricities are put forth *as representative of the Brahmo Somaj*, it is time to protest against such an utter injustice to one of the noblest movements of the present century.\*

SOPHIA DOBSON COLLET.

\* For further information upon the Brahmo Somaj I may refer the reader to my series of “Brahmo Year Books, 1876-1880,” published annually by Williams & Norgate.

## RAILWAY REVOLUTIONS.

MUCH has been said during the last few years about "Railway Revolutions." The decision of the Midland Company that third-class carriages should be attached to all trains was declared to be "a revolution." When, by the same Board, the first-class fares were lowered to the amount that had been charged for second-class, we were assured that this was "a financial revolution." To permit the second-class passenger to encroach upon what had previously been the exclusive privileges of the first-class, was gravely and even angrily affirmed to be not only a mingling in hopeless confusion of classes of carriages, but of classes of society—"a democratic and social revolution."

Now, of course, when we have stigmatized anything as "revolutionary" it is enough. There is nothing left to be said or done. Argument would be irrelevant, and declamation only idle air. Every well-constituted British mind shrinks with moral loathing from "revolution." The French Revolution, which happened a good way off and a long while ago, was bad enough; but to have a revolution in our midst, though it be only a Railway Revolution, must, it is implied, involve calamities, not perhaps so conspicuous, but possibly, on that account, all the more dangerous. The social and financial results of recent railway policy may have been more subtle and more pervasive than we are aware. But still, may we not be permitted to inquire whether this timidity about Railway Revolutions has not set in rather late in the day? Have not railways already accomplished still greater revolutions in every department of business, in every rank of society, and in every relationship of life? To reduce our railway fares, to cushion our carriages, and to ask second and first-class passengers to travel together and behave themselves—all this may, in the judgment of some, have constituted a revolution; yet we venture to think that there are other revolutions—



economical, social, political, and international—which railways have already wrought out, even in England, more mighty and more minute than perhaps even the greatest alarmist is aware of.

At some of these Railway Revolutions we propose (laying our humour aside) to look; and in doing so to notice, first, the revolution that railways have effected in *the comfort and convenience of our locomotion*.

Let us endeavour to picture to ourselves what travelling was in England before the introduction of railways. We take up the words of Sir Walter Scott, and we see the solemn way in which he protests against the then modern innovations in locomotion. "On no account," he says to his son, "keep a gig. You know of old how I detest that mania of driving wheelbarrows up and down, when a man has a handsome horse and can ride him. They are childish and expensive things, and in my opinion are only fit for English bagmen; therefore, gig it not, I pray you."

No doubt there were sources of innocent enjoyment existing in the journeyings of our grandfathers of which we have been bereft. It must have been very agreeable "for a lady to be married in her riding habit, and jog off for her honeymoon on her pillion, with her arm round her husband's waist;" but aristocratic dignity could scarcely be maintained "when the Duke of Marlborough's enormous gilt coach broke down in Chancery Lane when his Grace was entering London in triumph." Pleasant tales, it is true, are told of how, in the old coaching days, when the lids were locked down on the mail-bags, the mettled steeds bounded off like leopards amidst the shouts of admiring spectators; and of delightful summer days spent beside the cheery, chatty coachman on the box, who told of the annals of rich and poor beside whose houses he "tooled" his horses along. But stories are also recounted of dreary waitings at roadsides in the small hours of wintry mornings for coaches, which, when they arrived, were full; of long and wretched nights when passengers were one half starved with the cold and the other half with hunger; of how they could not keep awake and dared not go to sleep; of roads "infamously bad," which "the whole range of language could not sufficiently describe;" and of the additional and exciting perils ever and anon of "a race betwixt two stage-coaches, in which the lives of thirty or forty distressed or helpless individuals were at the mercy of two intoxicated brutes." Others, too, shared the experience of Charles Dickens, who, when he was a reporter, was "upset in almost every description of vehicle known in this country."

Even when railways were first established they by no means possessed the conveniences they now enjoy. Passengers were required on some lines to give and spell their names in order that they might be "written on a large green paper ticket; and instead of the innumerable opportunities of locomotion indicated by the half million of items in our present "Bradshaw," six pages of a "Railway Companion," half the size of a page of "Bradshaw," and sold for a shilling, contained



only the most meagre information concerning the few trains that ran. The speed was slow; neither through tickets nor through journeys could be taken; and travellers had to get forward as best they could by a series of fragmentary journeys over the lines of different, rival, and often conflicting companies. Thirty years ago a third-class passenger from London to Liverpool had to spend two days on the journey; now he can accomplish the distance in less than five hours. Thirty years ago a second-class passenger from London to Liverpool had to stop at Birmingham for the night, or else to proceed by first-class at first-class fare; now he can run down between tea and supper.

The improvements made since that day have been silent, and gradual, but unceasing. Instead of coaches built in imitation of stage-coaches, we have the handsome and commodious carriage, with abundant elbow and head-room, padded with horsehair which costs £5 to £8 for a compartment; resting on four or six bearing springs, worth a couple of pounds each; and these on wrought iron wheels with weldless steel tires, at £15 to £20 a pair; each compartment requiring as much money to build as a cottage; and drawn by an engine which, instead of the £550 of the "Rocket," cannot be bought under £2,500 or £2,800, every part of the 5,416 pieces of which is put together as carefully as a watch; the pistons of which, when the train is running at the speed of fifty miles an hour, are passing backwards and forwards along the cylinder, at the marvellous speed of 800 feet a minute, the movements of the connected machinery being so rapid that they divide even a second into eight equal parts.

Events nowadays move so quickly that it is only by a distinct mental effort we can recall the inconveniences that used to be experienced by the third-class passenger. We need not go back so far as the time when third-class passengers had to stand in a sort of cattle-pen placed on wheels; it is only a few years since the Parliamentary trains were run in bare fulfilment of the obligations of Parliament, and when a journey by one of them could never be looked upon as anything better than a necessary evil. To start in the darkness of a winter's morning to catch the only third-class train that ran; to sit, after a slender breakfast, in a vehicle the windows of which were compounded of the largest amount of wood and the smallest amount of glass, and which were carefully adjusted to exactly those positions in which the fewest travellers could see out of them; to stop at every roadside station, however insignificant; and to accomplish a journey of 200 miles in about ten hours—such were the ordinary conditions which Parliament in its bounty provided for the people. Occasionally, moreover, the monotony of progress was interrupted by the shunting of the train into a siding, where it might wait for more respectable passenger trains and fast goods to pass.

"We remember," says a writer, "once standing on the platform at Darlington when the Parliamentary train arrived. It was detained for



a considerable time to allow a more favoured train to pass, and on the remonstrance of several of the passengers at the unexpected detention, they were coolly informed, 'Ye mun bide till yer betters gaw past; ye are only the nigger train.'"

"If there is one part of my public life," recently said Mr. Allport to the writer, "on which I look back with more satisfaction than on anything else, it is with reference to the boon we conferred on third-class passengers. When the rich man travels, or if he lies in bed all day, his capital remains undiminished, and perhaps his income flows in all the same. But when a poor man travels, he has not only to pay his fare but to sink his capital, for his time is his capital; and if he now consumes only five hours instead of ten in making a journey, he has saved five hours of time for useful labour—useful to himself, to his family, and to society. And I think with even more pleasure of the comfort in travelling we have been able to confer upon women and children. But it took," he added, "five-and-twenty years' work to get it done." We venture to repeat that it is a happy circumstance when the hard realities of railway administration are thus tempered by a spirit so humanitarian and elevated.

While thus the benefits conferred on the third-class passenger have been enormously increased, and the second-class passenger is now permitted to travel by first-class carriage at the old second-class fare, the comfort of the wealthy has been promoted by improved carriages and by the introduction of Pullman carriages—"fit," as Sir Edward Baines says, "for the journeyings of monarchs." In the autumn of 1872, Mr. Allport visited the United States, and found how rapid and remarkable had been the success of those carriages. In 1867 there were only thirty-seven of them in America; but five years later there were 700 in remunerative operation; and the company's contracts are with more than 150 different railways, and extend over 30,000 miles of American railway. Careful observation and inquiry led Mr. Allport to the conclusion that these carriages might be of service in this country, especially for long or night journeys. Eventually it was arranged between the Midland board and Mr. Pullman that his cars should be introduced on their lines; and a contract was entered into for fifteen years, by which the Pullman Company provides the cars in good order and with suitable attendants; and the railway company supplies motive power, warmth, and protection. In payment, the railway company has the ordinary first-class fare, and the Pullman Company a certain very moderate additional sum. That everything has been completed without regard to expense, may be inferred from the fact that the Pullman parlour car costs no less than £3,000—a sum nearly equal to that spent on the magnificent travelling carriage built by the London and North-Western Railway for the use of the Queen.

The simplification and reduction of fares has effected another silent revolution in the comfort and convenience of the traveller. At the time



When Mr. Allport joined the Midland Company there were express fares, first and second-class ordinary fares, third-class, and Parliamentary or fourth-class, fares. He soon abolished express fares, and then third-class fares as distinguished from Parliamentary. This was first done on one selected portion of the line, and the effect was carefully watched; in twelve months it was ascertained that no loss had been sustained, and the experiment was extended to another section. The third-class fare was then made a penny a mile, and gradually spread over the whole system, so that eventually the fares were, for the three classes, 2*d.*, 1½*d.*, and 1*d.* a mile. The next step was to put third-class carriages on all trains, and the last was to abolish second-class fares, and to reduce the first-class to the former price of second-class. The increase that has thereby been effected in the comfort and convenience of travelling, not only on the part of the working classes, but of all who deem it right to avail themselves of the cheaper services of trains, is, we venture to say, simply incalculable.

The *diminished cost of locomotion* is another of the beneficent revolutions which railways have accomplished. A favourable change in this respect was produced at the outset. The coach fares between Liverpool and Manchester had been 5*s.* outside and 10*s.* inside; the railway fares were 3*s.* 6*d.* outside and 5*s.* inside; and soon the carrying of outside passengers was discontinued—all were conveyed under cover. Thirty years ago the usual fare of a passenger was 5*d.* a mile; now it is little more than a penny. Similar reductions have been made with respect to goods. When the Stockton and Darlington line was opened the rate per ton for the carriage of ordinary merchandise was reduced from 5*d.* to a fifth of a penny a mile; in other words, the trader was charged a shilling for what he had before paid 25*s.* Similarly, the reduction in the price of the carriage of minerals was from 7*d.* to 1½*d.* per ton per mile, and the market price of coals at Darlington fell from 18*s.* to 8*s.* 6*d.* per ton. The rate of carriage between Liverpool and Manchester had been about 18*s.* a ton; after the line was opened the rate was about 10*s.*, and it has since been reduced as the costs involved in conveyance have diminished. Instead of paying £5 a ton for bale goods between Manchester and London, the merchant now pays less than 30*s.*; instead of 13*d.* a ton a mile for goods of various kinds, the amount is perhaps only 2*d.* Within a year after the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line the reduction in the charges in cotton was £20,000 a year; some firms saved £500 a year in this one item; and when the Leicester and Swannington Railway was made, Leicester effected a saving of £40,000 a year in coals alone—enough to pay all the rates and taxes of the town.

In dealing with the cost of locomotion, a question that has lately attracted much public attention presents itself. It is frequently complained that the rates charged by railway companies are not uniform—



that there are "inequalities and contrarieties" of the grossest kind, and that all rates ought to be in the same proportion according to distance, from everywhere to everywhere. In some instances the practice of traders has been to ask for exceptionally low rates for exceptionally long distances, and then to object that the charges between intermediate points were not uniform with the through rates.

But without dwelling upon cases so obviously unreasonable, we may deal with the general and not unnatural supposition on the part of the public that, with a railway company, the only consideration to be regarded is distance, and that a hogshead of sugar should be charged at the same rate for the same distance whether it goes, for instance, from Gloucester or from Liverpool. But there are other elements which seriously affect the matter besides the miles a load has to travel. Gloucester, for instance, is very inconveniently situated as a port, and the cost of landing goods on the quay at Gloucester is much greater than landing them at Liverpool. If, therefore, the Midland Company were to say to the people at Gloucester, "We shall charge you the same rate that is charged at Liverpool," the trade of Gloucester would at once severely suffer in its competition with Liverpool at many Midland towns, and the Midland Company would suffer too. Again, at first sight, it seems strange that a ton of sugar should be carried 76 miles, from Hull to Sheffield, for 13*s.* 4*d.*; whereas for only 73 miles, from Liverpool to Sheffield, it is charged 23*s.* a ton; but the difference is accounted for by local considerations. There is a free water navigation from Hull to within a very few miles of Sheffield; the canal navigation dues are only about 1*s.* 6*d.*, consequently the carriage rates are low by water, and must be very low by land. To say to the railway company that they are bound to charge between Hull and Sheffield the maximum they charge for a similar distance in any other direction, is to tell them that they are to close their goods traffic in that direction altogether, and that for the future all the work is to be done by the water navigation.

So the Staveley Iron Works have the advantage of carriage either by land or water to London, and they avail themselves of the alternative to secure a very low rate. Staveley is situated on the Chesterfield Canal a few miles from where it debouches into the River Trent. Vessels of 300 or 400 tons come up to Gainsborough and receive cargoes which otherwise would have had to be brought by railway. The consequence is there is a very cheap water carriage from the whole of that part of the country to London; and if the railway companies were to charge what they would consider a very moderate rate from Staveley to London, they would get no traffic at all; it would all go by water.

Similarly, there are low rates between Birmingham and Bristol, because there is a cheap navigation up the Severn to Worcester and Stourport, and a cheap continuous canal navigation from Bristol to Birmingham. There are two canals: one, the Staffordshire and Worcestershire, which runs from Staffordshire to Stourport, and the other, the Birmingham



and Worcester canal, which falls into the Severn at Worcester. If, therefore, the railway did not charge low rates they would have no traffic.

"'But do you consider it the duty of a company,' inquired Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley) of Mr. Allport, 'to endeavour so to regulate the trade as to distribute a certain share to each town in such a manner as seems to them just, or is it not rather their business to take such traffic as may be offered them without asking further questions?'—'I think it is the duty of managers [of railways],' replied Mr. Allport, 'to develop the resources of their districts to the utmost possible extent; that is the principle that has influenced me. If I saw an opportunity of developing a trade at Gloucester, so long as the rates left a profit, I should most undoubtedly endeavour to do it, without reference to the rates from Liverpool, or London, or elsewhere; the only question would be whether the rates would leave a profit. I think it is the duty of railway managers, both in the interests of the companies and of the public, to do so; and it would, in my judgment, be a national calamity if the whole trade of this country were to be concentrated in one port, which is what the Liverpool gentlemen would certainly bring about if their views were to prevail.'

"'What have you,' returned Lord Stanley, 'to do with its being a national calamity if trade is concentrated in one port? Is it not the business of a railway company to carry as much as they can get to carry, and to take as much profit as they can?'—'Yes,' was the reply, 'but I spoke just now as a member of the community at large, and perhaps I should not have done so. I certainly do consider it my duty, as manager of the Midland Railway, to develop the resources of the district to the utmost extent that I can. . . . Take, for example,' continued Mr. Allport, in reply to the Chairman, 'the case of Derby; from Gloucester to Derby the entire line belongs to the Midland Company, and I apprehend there is nothing in any of our Acts to prevent the Midland Company from carrying traffic from Gloucester to Derby at such rates as it pleases, provided they are within the maximum of their Parliamentary tolls. A timber merchant at Gloucester will write to me, and say, 'I could do a trade at Derby, but your rates are so high that I cannot get into the market. If you can reduce your rates 1s., 2s., or 3s. a ton, I can put a trade upon your line which will be a benefit to you and to me.' My business then is to inquire whether that statement is correct, and, if I find that it is correct, I give him a rate, and the result is that he brings traffic upon the line.'"

Lord Stanley admitted the force of the proposition as thus put.

"'So long,' said his Lordship, 'as you only charge what the law of the land entitles you to charge, no one town or community has a right to complain because you happen, with a view to your own advantage, to charge a lower rate to another.'"

Even the cost of, and the traffic upon, a railway must be considered in the charges made.

"'I presume,' said Lord Stanley to an advocate of uniform rates, 'if one line is made between two great towns; say between Liverpool and Manchester, and if another line is made, say through the Highlands of Scotland, there would be a great deal more traffic on the former line than upon the latter; and where the traffic is greater, and the trains are fuller, it is possible to carry passengers and goods at a cheaper rate?'—'Undoubtedly,' was the reply.

"'Do you think,' continued his Lordship, 'that an equal mileage rate in each of these cases would be just?'—'No,' replied the witness, 'I cannot say that it would in that case; as a matter of course, I cannot say it would be.'



“Then you are not in favour of a uniform mileage rate throughout the kingdom?”—“I cannot,” he frankly added, “in the way in which your Lordship puts it before me, say so.”

“A uniform mileage rate all over the kingdom,” said Mr. Seymour Clarke, “is quite out of the question.” Its effect would not be to lower rates, but to raise them for the longer distances, so that the traffic would cease. “If we were compelled,” declared Mr. Allport, “to make uniform charges all over our line, I believe it would be the most fatal thing to the commerce of this country that could occur.”

If a uniform mileage rate were granted, both trade and the country would suffer. Places at a distance would, by reason of the heaviness of the charge, be practically excluded from the markets to which now they have access. The Cleveland iron districts could no longer supply the manufacturers of South Staffordshire; Lancashire and Yorkshire could no longer send coal by railway to London; hundreds of tons of meat now consumed in the Metropolis would have to be left in Scotland; and vegetables could no longer be brought from the west. “The producer and the consumer alike would suffer; the trade and commerce of the whole country would have to be readjusted, at infinite loss and cost, to the new condition of things;” flourishing towns would be blotted out; vast fields of production would sink back into poverty, and “the only individuals who would be gratified amid all this national ruin would be the admirers of a theoretical but disastrous uniformity.”

It must, however, in fairness be allowed that the power possessed by railways is sometimes unconsciously exercised in a manner calculated to depress and even to destroy the trade of little towns, and it is probable that enlarged powers will, at an early period, be conferred by Parliament on the Railway Commissioners, or on some similar body, for dealing with such cases.

In estimating the financial benefits conferred by railways upon this country, it will be found that, beside the increased value of the land near which they pass, the public gain far exceeds the amount secured by the companies themselves as an investment on the capital expended. This is easily proved by the difference in the amount of traffic carried and the difference in the charge for rates now and anterior to railways. It would be little to say that the country gains “at least what is equivalent to ten per cent. on all the capital expended on railways.” “Railways,” says Sir John Hawkshaw, “add enormously to the national wealth.”

In summing up the cost to the country of its railway service, it may be said that its passenger locomotion is paid for by an average outlay by the people of a third of a penny a day each, and that the whole of the railway locomotion of the country is carried on at a cost to the people of a penny a day. In fact, if we put to the credit of railways the diminution in the cost of traffic that has been made since they were introduced, it may be safely affirmed that the transport of both



passengers and goods is now accomplished by our railways for *less than nothing*. "I venture to assert," says Mr. Allport, "that the reduction in carriage by the railways, as compared with the former charges and quantities carried, has effected a saving to the country of an amount equal to more than double the entire gross receipts of all the railways of the kingdom, or *more than £100,000,000 sterling annually*."

Nor is the direct saving and cost effected by railway locomotion alone to be estimated; there is the indirect saving of time, both with passengers and goods; and "time is money." Assuming, for instance, that the 600,000,000 who (besides season-ticket holders) travelled last year would have saved 300,000,000 hours; and supposing a working year to consist of 300 days of eight hours each, the years of life and labour saved would be 125,000, and the industrial energies of the nation would have been economized proportionately. A similar test of money value might, by imagination, if not by arithmetic, be extended to the goods and mineral traffic of our railways, and the total would probably be more remarkable still:—

"Coal is raised from the mine, delivered to the consumer, paid for, and burned at least a week or ten days earlier than would have been the case had it been sent by sea or by the sluggish route of the canals. The manufacturer now sends his goods from Manchester to London by rail. They are packed overnight, put into the railway trucks, and delivered in London simultaneously with, and in many cases before, the letter or invoice advising the despatch of the goods is received by the consignee. A week would probably be taken up by the carriage and delivery of the same goods by canal. The manufacturer can now draw upon his customer for the goods sent a week earlier than would have been the case if the canals were the only mode of conveyance offered. What is the value to the manufacturer of this economy in point of time? He receives payment for his goods a week earlier than he would do if the railways did not exist. By the joint aid of the telegraph and the railways the merchant, manufacturer, vendor, or consumer is enabled to save, in the shape of interest and discounts, a sum which in the aggregate must amount to many millions."

Another revolution that has been effected in our social condition by railways is in *the amount of our locomotion*. Nowhere have these effects been more noteworthy than in the neighbourhood of London itself. People who live in the country, and who know of the metropolitan railways only through the occasional eruptions of criticism and complaint that appear in newspaper correspondence, might naturally conclude that, on the whole, the London lines are a failure: let their work be actually witnessed and their effects be examined, and it will be allowed that they have wrought a peaceful and beneficial revolution in the life of the metropolis. Apart from the main-line traffic, and the fifteen great termini, and their magnificent stations and splendid expresses, the mere suburban work is one of the marvels of the age. Lines costing half a million or a million of money a mile; railway bridges spanning the Thames; underground lines running perhaps under underground lines; innumerable trains passing all day to and fro with almost the constancy and precision of the weaver's shuttle, and at night, gas-lit, flashing out



of the darkness and into the darkness, and making one wonder where they can all be coming from and where they can all be going to: these are sights which have become as familiar to the Londoner as Hansom cabs.

The railway system provided for the metropolis is more extensive than even the metropolitan reader may have fully realized. Within six or seven miles of Charing Cross there are 260 miles of line in operation; and, allowing for double lines, sidings, and so forth, there are 750 miles—enough to make a single line from London to Thurso, in the extreme north of Scotland. These lines are the property of thirteen railway companies; but each possesses, by mutual arrangement or Parliamentary sanction, the power of collecting and distributing traffic over other lines. Thus the London and North-Western trains run over forty-four miles of the lines of five other companies in the metropolis; the Great Northern over thirty-six miles of six other companies; and the Midland over thirty-one miles.

How convenient is the practical result may be illustrated by the case of a visitor to London, who takes a ticket for sevenpence halfpenny from Broad Street Station to Mansion House. By road the distance is only a quarter of a mile; by rail the traveller rides for seventy minutes, over twenty miles of railway, and calls at thirty stations on his way, the property of no fewer than seven different railway companies, and makes the round of London. Such, indeed, are the facilities afforded in the metropolis for the interchange of traffic, that if a body of troops were sent from Colchester to Portsmouth, there are seven different railway routes through London, any one of which could be taken. The Midland Company has eleven stations in the metropolis, the Great Western twelve, the London and North-Western thirteen, the South-Eastern twenty, and the Great Eastern forty. The different companies have of their own 245 stations, of joint stations forty-three, of stations on other companies' lines, 210—in all nearly 500, exclusive of goods, coal, and cattle depôts. It is estimated that the number of passengers using these stations is 750,000 a day, the Metropolitan alone averaging 180,000 every week-day; while the journeys taken by season-ticket holders are simply incalculable. Of the Metropolitan stations for long distance traffic, Paddington is the most important. With regard to the number of trains, several stations have 500 each, Liverpool Street has nearly 700, Moorgate Street over 800 a day, and Victoria more than 1,100—or an average of sixty-one an hour for eighteen hours a day. The *Railway News*, in some carefully written articles on the subject, estimates that in busy times of the day there are probably two movements of trains every minute. The passenger trains within the metropolis run a distance of 35,000 miles every week-day, or 11,000,000 in the year. The capital invested is more than £50,000,000.

Or if we wish to form some estimate of the amount of our railway locomotion, we may look at the traffic of, for instance, the London and



North-Western Company, with its 1,736 miles of continuous railway (10,000 miles in all), along which flows the trade of several of the chief towns and cities of the Empire; carrying 50,000,000 passengers a year, or a million a week, equal in a month to the population of London; conveying 24,000,000 tons of goods and minerals, which would fill a train 10,000 miles long; with 2,300 locomotives, 3,500 carriages, and over 50,000 other vehicles, that run a distance of 35,000,000 miles a year, equal to 1,458 times round the world; to say nothing of a magnificent fleet of steamships; and estimate, if it were possible, what all this means in the traffic of that one line of railway. Such an institution, with its policies, its negotiations, its responsibilities, its revenue, its 40,000 servants, and its influence, is more like a kingdom than a company.

Or take the Midland, which has "gradually spread its 1,365 miles of railway, north and south and east and west, through half the counties of England, till they stretch from the Severn to the Humber, the Wash to the Mersey, and the English Channel to the Solway Firth;" that has a property that has cost £60,000,000 of money; that receives a revenue of nearly £7,000,000 a year; that carries 28,000,000 of passengers, and more than 22,000,000 tons of goods; and the engines of which run a distance equal to four and a half times round the world every day; and imagine how stupendous a revolution in the amount of locomotion has been accomplished in the districts through which that one line runs.

The multitudes of passengers now travelling yearly by railway in Great Britain alone are so vast that it is difficult, if not impossible, to form any adequate conception of the figures employed to represent them. Instead of the 80,000 persons who, thirty years ago, travelled by coach, 1,500,000 passengers are now carried every day by railway in a fraction of the time and at a fraction of the cost previously required; passengers who would require 70,000 coaches to hold them, and 700,000 horses to draw them. Exclusive of season-ticket holders there were—in 1870, 336,000,000 passengers; in 1880, 604,000,000. The increase has thus amounted in ten years to 270,000,000, or 27,000,000 a year, and the total is 604,000,000, or considerably more than 10,000,000 a week the year through. Now, what do 10,000,000 of passengers mean? They mean a number two and half times the population of London. They mean that so many persons travel that in three weeks the railway passengers are as numerous as the whole population of England and Wales. Ten millions a week means nearly a million and a half a day, who would fill 60,000 first-class carriages, which, if each is eight yards long, would make a train which would stretch nearly 300 miles in length, or from London to Newcastle; while the passengers who travelled last year in Great Britain would form a procession 100 abreast a yard apart—extending across Africa from Tripoli to the Cape Colony; or from London across the Channel, France, Switzerland, Italy,



the Mediterranean, Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia to Aden, at the southern mouth of the Red Sea, a distance of nearly 3,500 miles; and all this in addition to the journeyings of season-ticket holders, who last year numbered 500,000, many of whom probably travelled 200 or 300 journeys each.

"Figures like these," remarked the *Times*, "ought to overpower the pardonable dislike of statistics which the reader may entertain. They are more eloquent than many descriptions of the increasing wealth and welfare of the country; and the growth of intercommunication, of which they are evidence, must be exerting the most vital influence upon the feelings and habits of the people."

Of the multitudes who thus travel, we ought to add, the enormous majority are third-class passengers. They are the great supporters of railway traffic; and Mr. Allport has lately shown in the *Times* that all his anticipations in this respect have been more than realized.

When we speak of a revolution in locomotion consequent on the operations of railways, we have constantly to deal not only with the living traveller—human or animal—but with those vast and varied commodities called goods and minerals. In former days, if the worst came to the worst, a man could put his money in his purse, mount his horse, and ride fifty miles to market, even though the gold in his pocket and the goods in his saddlebags chafed him a little. But it is strange to-day to listen, as we may, to men still living, who can tell us how, for instance, the hosiery they sent out from Leicester had to be conveyed in panniers on the backs of donkeys; and how, when the roads were sufficiently improved to allow the passage of a cart, the change amounted to what, in the phrase of the hour, would be called a revolution. Other revolutions have followed; and thus it is that, with such facility and success, the 4,000,000 of inhabitants of the metropolis are daily clothed and fed, and that gradually London has become the great "distributive centre of the traffic of England, and, it might be said, of the European world."

The means by which this department of railway business is carried on at, for instance, a London goods station is full of interest. As we enter Camden Station early in the afternoon, vans, already loaded to perhaps enormous heights, are wending their way into the yard. They have come from all parts of the metropolis; they increase in number every hour; and, as they arrive, are drawn up at the "down" or "outwards" platform. As speedily as possible they are emptied of their contents; amid the clang of voices and the rattle of machinery they are "checked," and either swung out by the innumerable cranes, or lifted out, and then wheeled away on trucks by "truckers," who assail the mighty piles of bales, barrels, crates, and hampers, with as much eagerness as if their lives depended upon the issue, and who then rattle off with their loads to the particular points of departure from which the several waggons are to start. Here the "loaders" are at work, who,



with strength and skill, reduce the piles of every imaginable and unimaginable description of load into a coherent and compact mass in the railway truck—a mass so firmly consolidated that the shaking of the journey will not disturb it, and so low that no bridge or tunnel arch will catch it. The scene appears to be one of inextricable confusion : but order reigns over all ; cosmos is emerging out of chaos, and everything will proceed with regularity and despatch, until, in the course of a few hours, the last truck of the last train will have left the platform, and the “outwards” platform be left to silence and repose.

After midnight the goods trains begin to come in from the country, and the bustle is now in unloading and despatching their contents by van to the London customers. There is the express meat train from Inverness, Aberdeen, and the north of the Tay, and another from the west of Scotland ; and the freights are distributed with such celerity that the bullock that was grazing under the shadow of Ben Wyvis may, within forty-eight hours, be figuring as the principal *pièce de résistance* at a West-end dinner. “At no very distant period back, Highland drovers, before they set out for the south with their herds of cattle and sheep, took affecting farewells of their families and relatives, as if they were going to encounter all the dangers of a voyage to the Antipodes, and the time which elapsed before their return would almost suffice to accomplish such an expedition.”

The “harvest of the sea,” also, is distributed with rapidity. From the day when the first salmon is caught, or the first haul of mackerel is taken off the Old Head of Kinsale, till the close of the Yarmouth fishing at the end of the year, tens of thousands of tons of fish are conveyed to the metropolis, and to the chief towns of the kingdom. Or we might tell of fish taken on the coast in the morning and sent up to London, being sent back to the same spot in the afternoon for consumption ; or of the West-end fishmonger, who is said to supply salmon to customers in the north of Scotland, from whence his salmon principally comes ;\* or of the 3,000,000 of eggs brought, on an average, *every week* to London by two of the southern lines *en route* from Normandy ; of millions of gallons of milk, brought by rail into the metropolis and there consumed, in a year ; or of the tons of water-cresses and the scores of tons of potatoes despatched thence daily to Manchester.

Another remarkable department of traffic is in connection with minerals. When railways were first established it was never imagined that they would be so far degraded as to carry coals ; but George Stephenson and others soon saw how great a service railways might render in developing and distributing the mineral wealth of the country. Prejudice had, however, to be timidly or vigorously overcome. When it was mentioned to a certain eminent railway authority that George Stephenson had spoken of sending coals by railway : “Coals !” he exclaimed, “they will want us to carry dung next.” The remark was reported to “Old George,”

\* “The Great Railway Monopoly.”—*The Quarterly Review*.



who was not behind his critic in the energy of his expressions. "You tell B——," he said, "that when he travels by railway, they carry dung now!" The strength of the feeling against the traffic is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that, when the London and Birmingham Railway began to carry coal, the waggons that contained it were sheeted over that their contents might not be seen; and when a coal wharf was first made at Crick station a screen was built to hide the work from the observation of passengers on the line. Even the possibility of carrying coal at a remunerative price was denied. "I am sorry," said Lord Eldon, in referring to this subject, "to find the intelligent people of the north country gone mad on the subject of railways;" and another eminent authority declared: "It is all very well to spend money; it will do some good; but I will eat all the coals that your railway will carry."

George Stephenson, however, and other friends of coal, held on their way; and he declared that the time would come when London would be supplied with coal by railway. "The strength of Britain," he said, "lies in her coal beds; and the locomotive is destined, above all other agencies, to bring it forth. The Lord Chancellor now sits upon a bag of wool; but wool has long ceased to be emblematical of the staple commodity of England. He ought rather to sit upon a bag of coals, though it might not prove quite so comfortable a seat. Then think of the Lord Chancellor being addressed as the noble and learned lord on the coal-sack? I'm afraid it wouldn't answer, after all."

How rapidly railways have developed the mineral resources of the middle and north of England may be seen in the fact that thirty years ago there was scarcely a colliery on the Midland line between Derby and Leeds; now it is a series of works from one end to the other, sixty miles in length. When the Stockton and Darlington line was opened it was estimated that a coal traffic might be obtained of 10,000 tons a year, whereas the actual amount is enormous.

One arrangement of the railway companies with regard to their coal traffic has been freely criticized: it is their practice of allowing the use of their coal depôts to only a limited number of coal agents. "Why," it has been asked, "cannot any person have a truck of coals consigned to him at the station, and be allowed to fetch it away?" This problem was, some years since, practically tested at Nottingham. There had been there only a small coal wharf, and inconvenience had arisen. To remedy it, the company bought from fifteen to twenty acres of land for coaling purposes. At once they received innumerable applications from all sorts of persons for coaling space, and the yard became so crowded and confused that it would have been impossible to carry on business.

"We were receiving," said Mr. Allport before the Royal Commission, "constant complaints from the consumers, the traders, and the coal-owners; and I went myself to Nottingham, and spent nearly a day there, for the purpose of investigating them; and I found that although we had appropriated so large a



space to the coal traffic, the whole yard was so crowded that it was impossible to get rid of the trucks. I found upwards of 500 trucks of coal standing in the Nottingham yard, and it was quite impossible for any of the parties to get at them. I then ascertained that great numbers of them were small dealers, receiving a single truck, and that others were private consumers, receiving perhaps a truck."

To remedy these evils, it was arranged that only a limited number of the largest merchants should be admitted to the ground, and that each should be allowed to stack a certain number of hundreds of tons of coals. If the land had been large enough for a dozen such merchants a dozen would have been selected; but it was not so; and nine dealers were admitted. The largest were accepted, and they are charged a "terminal" at Nottingham of twopence a ton. The results of this arrangement have been satisfactory. The coal-owners receive their trucks back again much more quickly; they are able to do their business more economically; and the public are supplied with probably fifty per cent. more coal than if there were sixty or seventy dealers, each having one or two trucks in the yard to be discharged. Similar methods have been adopted in every large town on the Midland system, and also by other companies elsewhere; and Mr. Allport subsequently gave evidence—"There is not a single coal-owner now complaining."

The proportions to which mineral traffic has extended is enormous. During the year 1880 the weight of minerals carried was 165,000,000 tons on the railways of the United Kingdom. If the average load is estimated at, say, seven tons a truck, the minerals conveyed would fill more than 23,000,000 trucks; and, as the ordinary length of a truck is about five yards, these waggons would every day form a train 180 miles long, reaching from London nearly to York, and in the course of a year these trucks would stretch from one end to another of a railway 65,300 miles long, or nearly three times round the world. If we similarly estimate the goods traffic of the United Kingdom we shall learn that the amount conveyed by railway in 1880 was nearly 70,000,000 tons; and that if we average six tons to fill a truck, there would be 11,000,000 trucks full of general merchandize. Now, as a truck is five yards long, the amount would fill a fresh train every day 86 miles in length, and these trains in a year would be 31,000 miles long. In fact, the minerals and goods trains of the United Kingdom (if every mineral truck were quite filled with seven tons of minerals, and every goods truck with six tons of goods) would stretch a distance of nearly 100,000 miles, and would be long enough to form a gigantic necklace hanging four times round the world. Add to these figures the fact that on our railways we have nearly 13,400 locomotives, 40,000 carriages and other vehicles for passenger trains; that we have not far short of 400,000 other vehicles for goods and mineral traffic; that the rolling stock of our British railways would, if placed in line, form a train nearly 2,000 miles long; that the number of miles travelled by trains last year was 240,000,000—equal to 10,000 times round the world, more than



the distance from the earth to the sun and back ; that the amount already expended, or authorized to be expended, on these lines, is £800,000,000 of money ; and that the amount of traffic receipts is £65,000,000 a year, half of which is expended in maintaining and working the lines ; and we have data before us of which it is hard indeed to realize the momentous significance. Such are the stupendous agencies and operations at work in our railway system, and such the amount of our locomotion, silently and successfully accomplishing a vast and beneficent revolution in the intelligence, the wealth, and the welfare of the nation and the world, and doing so with ever-increasing proportion and with ever-enlarging result. No wonder that Mr. Bright has emphatically declared that railways have rendered more services and have received less gratitude in return than any institution in the land.

Another revolution that railways have effected in this country has been in the *redistribution of the population*. When the London and Birmingham Railway had been opened seventeen years it was found that within a circle of two miles of each station between the metropolis and Tring the total amount that had been expended in new buildings was only £22,000. It was then suggested that if a first-class pass, available for a few years, were presented to every person who erected a residence of a certain annual value near the line, all parties would be benefited. In eight years £240,000 or £250,000 were spent in house-building in these localities, the increased population largely contributed to the passenger, goods, and parcels traffic of the line ; and the amount since expended in building has been enormous.

Similarly, but on an incomparably larger scale, the residential area of the metropolis has been increased in all directions, and especially along the southern lines. Business men, not many years since, were accustomed to live within a moderate omnibus ride of their offices ; but numerous trains, low fares, and season-tickets have created traffic ; millions of capital have been expended in house-building ; new towns have arisen as if by magic ; every station near London has become the centre of a large population, until there are now some 3,000,000 of inhabitants within the gistration limits, and "beyond this central mass there is a ring of life growing rapidly and extending along railway lines over a circle of fifteen miles from Charing Cross." The district formerly inhabited by Londoners stretched from Clapham to Highgate, and from Bow to Kensington ; it is now from Reigate and Tunbridge Wells, and even from Brighton, to Watford, and from Epping and Blackheath to Richmond.

But not only has railway enterprise brought about the enlargement and enrichment of innumerable towns ; it has led to the actual creation of several. When the Stockton and Darlington line was opened the Corporation welcomed the railway to their port, but it acted in so short-sighted a manner with regard to the accommodation



it provided for the traffic brought that the company resolved to provide for themselves elsewhere. A few miles below Stockton, on the mud-banks of the river, stood, among green fields, a solitary farmhouse; here 500 acres of land were purchased; here staiths and other conveniences for the shipment of coal were erected; and here, as if by magic, the great town of Middlesbrough arose. Similarly, in some respects, with Crewe. Here stood one farmhouse: here now are a workman's city and a railway establishment that employs 5,000 or 6,000 men; and here between 2,000 and 3,000 locomotives have been erected. So with Swindon. Here, some five-and-forty years ago, a little party of gentlemen sat down on the green sward to take their luncheon. "The furze was in blossom around them; the rabbits frisked in and out of their burrows; two or three distant farmhouses, one or two cottages, these were all the signs of human habitation, except a few cart-ruts, indicating a track used for field purposes." Where that luncheon was that day eaten by Isambard Brunel and Daniel Gooch, the platform of the Swindon station is to-day, and hard by are the great Swindon Junction and the vast locomotive establishments.

We might extend our observations to other lands, and tell a thousand strange incidents in the progress of railway construction and railway administration, and of the revolutions that have been effected in the social and commercial, the national and international, life of those countries. There are the railways of Switzerland, where the Mont Cenis pierces a mountain "nearly 3,000 metres in height and more than 12,000 in thickness;" where the Saint Gothard tunnel, more than nine miles long, is part of a line carried 4,000 feet above the sea, with the steepest gradients and the sharpest curves, exposed to the dangers of snow and avalanche, under a mountain range that rises above to a height of from 8,000 to 11,000 feet; and we might wonder at the effects that will attend the free intercommunion of Switzerland, France, and Italy to the politics of those nations. There are the railways of Spain, on which travellers are occasionally attacked by brigands; whereon, during the Carlist times, expresses were run off the line, the railway men murdered, and the passengers and their escorts of soldiers had to barricade themselves in houses till assistance arrived; lines on which one travels in a "stiff, straight-backed, narrow-seated first-class carriage," through what seems to be "a death-stricken, God-forsaken, irreclaimable solitude," and where the absence of present life is enhanced by the vestiges of a former greatness visible in the long line of lofty aqueducts, temples, and theatres, such as cumber the ground for miles around the Merida railway station. There are the railways of Europe generally, on which, years ago, it was said that there were more than 60,000 bridges and forty miles of tunnel, with locomotives and vehicles that would form a train that would stretch from Paris to St. Petersburg.

There are the railways of America, where new lines have been laid



down at the rate of fifteen miles a day, and of 5,000 a year; where we travel by "track" instead of line, by "car" instead of carriage, from "depôts" instead of stations, attended by "baggage cars" instead of luggage vans; where mountains, 8,000 feet above the sea level, are climbed by Pullman cars, in which as luxurious a meal is served as can be provided by a first-class hotel; a country in which occasionally "railway highwaymen" are found who remove a rail, pour in a volley of bullets, ransack the dollars from the "express safe," cut open the mail bags, and ride off across the prairie with their booty; where "elevated railways" pass over the crowded streets of cities, and run in keen competition with the tramway cars beneath; where strikes of workmen have been celebrated on the largest and fiercest scale, and petroleum cars have been fired, and train after train destroyed, and the population of cities thrown into a paroxysm of terror; where railway "rigs" and "corners" have been carried out by daring and unscrupulous speculators "utterly and shamelessly," and where "the intrigues, conspiracies, and pernicious influence of Wall Street debauch the moral sense of the community, and convert the most solemn processes of justice into the weapons of a mere personal contest of the lowest kind;" —a land where the dull monotony of meetings of railway shareholders is sometimes diversified by "a struggle for the possession of the records," when "coats are torn, hair is pulled, windows are broken, pictures pulled down and envelope the combatants, when seats and benches are broken, and several personal encounters take place."

There are the railways of India, where, says a traveller, it took a man three months to ascend the Ganges from Calcutta to Cawnpore, a distance "I have now travelled by rail in about six-and-thirty hours;" where it is customary to telegraph ahead how many guests are coming to dine at the next refreshment station; and where (such are the refinements of civilization) the once easy-going Bengalees, who were well content to travel at the rate of four miles an hour, now "write to the papers" to complain of want of speed and punctuality on the part of the railway companies.

Such are some of the silent and gradual but mighty revolutions that have been effected in this country, and in other lands, by railways. Instead of the productions of one land, and one district, supplying itself, perhaps to satiety, they are being distributed far and wide, to the enrichment of both the producer and the customer. Pastoral plains are turning into mineral fields of priceless worth. Railways have made our postal system possible. It is easy, for instance, to put on six or eight additional vans to a night mail; but if we were still dependent on coaches, we were told by Sir Robert Stephenson, that in his day fourteen or fifteen would be needed to carry the bags between London and Birmingham alone. The extremities of the kingdom are as accessible to the metropolis as were its suburbs two hundred years ago. Europe has united its great



cities and ports together by links of iron. The physician will soon be ordering his patient a change of air in the ancient Garden of Eden, or a fishing trip to the Euphrates. An acquaintance may give point to his after-dinner conversation by reciting an adventure he had the other day as he was on an excursion about such a degree of longitude. The valetudinarian may live, like the swallow, in perpetual summer. We shall all increasingly sympathize with the saying of Burton concerning the traveller: "He took great content, exceeding delight, in that his voyage. And who doth not, who shall attempt the like? For peregrination charms our senses with such unspeakable and sweet variety, that some count him unhappy who never travelled, a kind of prisoner, and pity his case, that from his cradle to his old age, he beholds the same: still, still, still the same, the same!"

Such are the "Railway Revolutions" already accomplished, or in course of evolution.

FREDERICK S. WILLIAMS.



## THE IRISH QUESTION.

*"Great Britain and Ireland, if all community of interest between them were cut off, would generally prefer to be on contrary sides. In any Continental complications, the sympathies of England would be with Liberalism; while those of Ireland are sure to be on the same side as the Pope—that is, on the side opposed to modern civilization and progress, and to the freedom of all except Catholic populations held in subjection by non-Catholic rulers."—ENGLAND AND IRELAND, by JOHN STUART MILL.*

WHAT is called the Irish Question has for many years past—in fact, since O'Connell's times—attracted the deepest attention abroad, especially in France, Germany, and Italy. The cause of civic equality, involved in Catholic Emancipation, as well as the efforts made for raising the ground-down agricultural population, have always enlisted the sympathies of fair-thinking men—not to mention the more questionable sentiments of those who readily took side with every real, or alleged, Irish grievance from a spirit of hostility to England, or of connivance with the theocratic interest.

Civic equality has now been established for many years. More than this, the Protestant State Church has been disestablished in Ireland. The question of Land Reform, to the exclusion of English and Scotch business, has had a whole session devoted to it this year. And here I may again say that, in spite of the outrages and the anarchy which accompanied the movement on Irish soil, foreign well-wishers have not for a moment swerved from their desire to see the fullest justice done to the claims not only of the farmers, but of the hinds as well. The consensus of opinion is in this respect a remarkable one. Taking their cue from the existence of an independent peasant class, as we find it from the Netherlands to the Carpathian range, from Norway to the Calabrian shores, Continental men of the most various parties, including even many Conservatives, all stood by a cause which they would fain see triumphant throughout the United Kingdom, wherever the feudal system has left its traces in the tenure of land.

Civic equality and agricultural reform, being measures based on the principle of humanity, easily recommend themselves to the acceptance of all enlightened men. It is different when we come to those Romanist tendencies which are bound up with the Home Rule and Secessionist



agitation, and which are held to be the real, though not always the acknowledged, moving force of the latter. Here, it must be averred, foreign opinion, in its vast majority, distinctly pronounces against any pandering to the theocratic claims, and against any scheme of disintegrating or loosening the cohesion of the United Kingdom. England (for it is under this name that the great country is known to Frenchmen, to Spaniards, to Italians, to Germans, to the Scandinavian and other nations, wherever men speak conversationally)—England is acknowledged to be a mainstay of progress in the comity of Europe. Anything tending towards her disruption is declared to be a danger to progress in general. Least of all would Continental Liberals like to see a Vaticanist thorn put in her side by means of a separate Irish Parliament. On this point the Press abroad speaks out in a very clear tone.

It has been said that the electric telegraph has given a common nervous system to the world at large. Many other modern inventions have powerfully added to this mutual contact. A foreigner, who would otherwise, perhaps, feel a natural diffidence in speaking out on the subject at issue, may therefore not need much excuse for doing so; all the less so when he knows that Englishmen themselves, or Irishmen for the matter of that, never hesitate giving their opinion on Continental affairs.

Without further preface I will then, first, state that for more than a quarter of a century past, I have had occasion to hear the views of men of all kinds of nationalities on the Irish Question—Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Belgians, Switzers, Americans, and so forth. Among them were not a few who had repeatedly visited Ireland; some of them going there at first rather with a distinct leaning towards the cause of an "oppressed people." The result of their experience invariably was, that they returned with pro-English sympathies in the sense of firm opposition to all separatist ideas, even though the desirability of agrarian and other reforms may have forced themselves upon their attention yet more decisively from the inspection of undoubted abuses.

As a rule, Continental men—more especially Frenchmen—are easily attracted by the vivacity, the genial and witty ways of Irishmen, so that, were there no counter agency, it would take a long time before they could divest themselves of the inclinations with which they might have started. But the cure is, so far as I can judge, always an exceedingly quick one, whenever a Continental, be he Liberal, Radical, or Conservative, has had the benefit of a closer acquaintance with Irish parties in the country itself. The amiability of the people's character (outside the reign of politics) is still fully recognized by the disappointed visitor. But I have not seen the foreigner who came back from Erin without a stronger political preference for this side of the United Kingdom, and without clearly perceiving that to grant Home Rule or inde-



pendence would simply be organizing a new reactionary force in the intellectual movement of Europe.

All those foreign friends who had studied the question at the very spot, plainly declared that no greater harm could be done to the poor "Sister Isle" than by throwing her as a prey to her rival factions, and by handing over the cause of civilization to the tender mercies of what would essentially be a Romanist Parliament. A French friend, well-known in the scientific world, who went to Dublin during the Fenian agitation as a hearty sympathiser of the Nationalist cause, came back in dismay at what he had seen and heard. His political views are republican. For them he has fought and suffered harsh imprisonment and exile under Napoleon III. An admirer of Ledru Rollin—though by no means, like the latter, an adversary of England—he was originally much influenced by the older French notions in regard to the Irish Question. Being himself by birth of an ancient noble family, he was perhaps, in spite of his enlightened principles, and his desire to be fair towards England, unintentionally prejudiced against the latter country in the sense of the ancient traditions of France. Moreover, when he went to Ireland, he had a commission from a French journal whose editor, a man of the old school, adhered to that traditionary policy which consisted in seeking contact with all elements of national disaffection in the British dominions, so as to make use of them, in case of need, by way of alliance.

Everything conspired therefore to make our French friend a ready listener to Irish grievances. His letters of recommendation gave him access to the most confidential meetings of disaffected Irish parties. But what a change was wrought in his ideas after he had been for a little while in the "oppressed" country itself! He was simply taken aback by the Romanist current he had met with in the most unexpected quarters, and by the subserviency with which men from whom he had expected very different things, bowed their heads before priestly arrogance. He unbosomed himself to me thoroughly. Never was there a more absolute recantation than in his case.

"Why,"—he said,—"*some of our countrymen are still a century behind the political truth as regards our nearest neighbours! How many of us yet go by coined and current, but utterly antiquated, phrases, instead of studying facts! Certainly, I have seen in Ireland much misery. Certainly, I am not less convinced than before that the farming and labouring classes have a very real grievance, and that the continuance of their present position would be a crying shame. But have I not seen the similarly wretched condition of the English hind, and of the numerous proletariat in the great manufacturing towns? Reform is necessary here and there—Reform against overbearing class interests in England as well as in Ireland. Oh, I perceive now plainly enough that it is not England as a nation which grinds down the Irish peasant. It is an aristocratic class, which has learnt nothing, or at any*



rate very little, that keeps up these abuses. The English as a people, as a nation, are not responsible for such remnants of mediævalism. Why, I might as well say that we French are responsible for them, because the Normans had conquered England, and then gone over to Ireland!"

Our friend was something of a free-thinker, as most French Republicans are. "Well"—he added, with a sort of heavy sigh—"I have seen those priestly faces turning up in Ireland wherever I went to meet the chiefs of any political organization. What curious faces! Sometimes I thought they were a race of their own. A darkish kind of hierarchs: of a Babylonian or Roman stamp; now and then also an apparently merry and jovial set—but always with that lurking expression of an unbending theocracy! Whether oily and amiably fluent, or harsh and imperious, they always gave me the impression of being the backbone of the societies into whose doings I was initiated. I found them on my path everywhere. I am sure if Ireland were independent, or semi-independent, the result would be, as far as priestly influence goes, the creation of a new Vendée! No; I will not be a party any longer to misleading our people into a belief that progress and enlightenment are bound up with Irish national aspirations. Agricultural reform—all right! As to Repeal of the Union, or independence, it is simply a reactionary scheme!"

These same views I have found among members of the French National Assembly, public writers, and others, who, since the Revolution of 1848, and the *Coup d'Etat* of 1851, had visited or resided in Ireland. One of them was much exercised in his mind by the problem of the National Schools. He had heard that England had introduced them as a means of raising the intellectual status of the Irish people, and doing away with the bitterness of religious antagonism. Though he fully felt that similar work was very necessary in England itself, he yet had expected—"in the innocence of his heart," as he confessed—that the Irish friends of freedom would certainly not oppose so desirable a reform in their own country.

"Indeed, why should they?" he at first thought. "Have they not often alleged that they were aiming at the union of all Irishmen, combining the Orange and the Green? Why should they insist on keeping up religious hostility in matters of the simplest popular instruction? Crying out, as they do, against the existence of a Protestant State Church in their country" (this was before the Disestablishment), "they might naturally give an example of their own professed spirit of toleration, and of their desire for equality and progress, by supporting the non-sectarian principle of the National Schools.

"But what did I see"—our disappointed friend continued—"when investigating the subject in Ireland itself? I found the National Schools already diverted from their original purpose by the never-ceasing encroachments of the Roman Catholic clergy. I found their non-denominational character in a great measure destroyed. I could



not deceive myself for an instant as to the real position of affairs. I clearly saw then the intention of the priesthood to root up the very principle of religious equality. I saw the readiness of the misguided mass to follow these spiritual guides in their mediævalist tendencies, as well as the utter want of courage among the political leaders of the Repeal, Home Rule, and Secessionist movement in presence of these priestly aims. It made me profoundly sad. And I could not help thinking that the recklessness of warfare between the two great political parties in England itself has but too frequently played into the hands of a Church whose spirit of dominion has remained the same under Pius IX. as under the most aggressive Popes of the Middle Ages."

A Belgian Liberal here interposed with a remark, drawn from his own country. In Belgium, I may remind the English reader, the two great political parties are respectively called "the Liberal party" and "the Catholic party." They are diametrically opposed to each other—more especially since recent times; the Liberals aiming at the overthrow of the clerical yoke which has so long been imposed upon the rural population. "Liberal" and "*libre-penseur*" have thus gradually become nearly terms of identical meaning in Belgium.

"Do you not know?"—said the Belgian Liberal to the French Republican—"what has been the avowed theory of one of our foremost Catholic leaders in Parliament?"

"No," answered the Frenchman; "what do you mean?"

"Why"—rejoined the Belgian—"Count Vilain formulated the theory very neatly for us; and I suppose for you as well. 'As long as we (the Romanists) are in a minority,' that Catholic leader one day said, 'we claim equal rights. When we have obtained equal rights, we shall work for obtaining the majority. When we shall have obtained the majority and the mastery, we certainly shall not grant equal rights to those whom we have vanquished.' A cool programme, is it not? and for one who was held to be a Jesuit it might almost seem too plain-spoken. But any one conversant with Jesuit literature knows well that, whilst the practice of the Fraternity is a very tortuous one, its leaders have never scrupled to avow their ultimate aims very openly. It is for them a means of impressing people with a belief in their strength; for it is generally assumed that the strong only, who have no cause to fear, can thus openly confess their intentions."

I have known one of the very few Frenchmen who were mixed up some years ago with the attempt at a Fenian rising. He, too, came back from Ireland, not only utterly disenchanted in a political sense, but also with a strong feeling of the necessity of combating the Ultramontanist movement. His pen has been active, since then, in denouncing the Vaticanist danger.

"Lay, obligatory, and gratuitous instruction" has been the parole of all far-seeing French Republicans of late years. Thus only can the rural population of France, which, after the Revolution of 1848, brought



Bonapartism and Clericalism into power, and which upheld the Second Empire, be made a permanent and solid support of the Republican institutions. But this progressive educational programme is bitterly resisted by the priesthood in France, as it is in Ireland.

It is all very well for some leader of the Land League to talk of his adherents as of "the Democracy." Continental friends of liberty will not be deceived by mere high-sounding words. They ask for proofs of the spirit of freedom and enlightenment. True freedom and enlightenment they hold to be incompatible with the promotion of monkish objects. To dub the support of clerical obscurantism with the title of Democracy they consider a political desecration of the name.

When a member of the Home Rule party carried out his "defence of Irish principles" by attacks on what he called "a French Republican convent burglar" (M. Challemel-Lacour), and "another personage of nameless character" (a freethinker), foreign observers thoroughly understood the nature of those "Irish principles." Again, when a prominent and respected Home Ruler declared, after Mr. Parnell's visit to Victor Hugo and some other French Republicans, that the Irish people would "recoil in horror" from alliance or association with the party and the principles represented by these men; and when the same member averred that the deep-seated sentiments and most cherished principles of the Irish people would be *outraged* by any such association; when he said that the struggle of the Irish nation is an eminently Conservative movement in the best and highest sense of the words, and that "we shall never, I hope, commit the folly that has wrecked the Church in so many countries of Europe"—when these and similar utterances are of never-ceasing occurrence, it would require an absolute lack of judgment to misunderstand the real drift of the aspirations of a number of Home Rule leaders who sometimes don the "Liberal," sometimes the "Democratic," mask, all the while persistently serving the worst enemy of intellectual progress.

There is a further test of the real drift of "Irish principles," which shocks observers abroad. We are sometimes told that the fact of Mr. Butt, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Parnell having been chosen leaders, or sessional chairmen, of the party in the House of Commons, is a proof of the absence of the spirit of intolerance. To this the reply is, that for every practical purpose of the Vaticanist propaganda those "Protestant" leaders have always been of full service to the Roman Church. The Ultramontane arrow is not less dangerous because it is apparently tipped with a Protestant head. *Faire flèche de tout bois* has ever been a favourite Jesuit maxim. Mr. Parnell, it is true, is reported to have once spoken contemptuously of "Popish rats" among his own party; and the angry exclamation was for some time bitterly remembered against him. But it was not observed that he ever opposed the Vaticanist view in regard to those University affairs in which a great principle of the unshackled freedom of scientific investigation is involved.



To give another instance. It has sometimes been said by Irish Home Rulers in presence of foreign Liberals, that the *Freeman's Journal*, being owned by a Protestant Irish member of the House of Commons, represents the more sensible political aspirations, and the more enlightened views in religious matters. Now, a Frenchman who stands by the law of his country—as carried out by so moderate a man as the now President of the Republic, M. Grévy—may happen to open the *Freeman's Journal*, in order to see what that paper has to say about those monkish Congregations which refused to apply for the necessary legal permission, and were therefore, in accordance with the law, closed. Well, there he will literally read this :—

“While the eldest daughter of the grand old Celtic mother, she who was once also the eldest daughter of the Church, reels frenzied in some strange madness, lifts the right hand against the altar, tramples on the Cross, and hunts down the priest as men once hunted down the wolf—while Catholic France, we say, thus, rages, possessed by some wild insanity—her sister in race and faith, Catholic Ireland, not alone kneels in shame and tears and sorrow for the sons of France, but hastens to make such poor reparation as she can for the foul deeds at which Christendom stands aghast, while History will brand them in words of fire.”

And so on. A pretty outburst, this, of vituperative Pontifical wrath for a journal owned by a Protestant Home Ruler! “What must the condition of the country be”—foreigners say—“when a paper of that kind is compelled to speak thus for ‘Catholic Ireland’! Was Mr. Parnell, after all, so wrong when denouncing, in an unguarded moment, even those around him as a ‘lot of Papist rats.’?”

These are reflections frequently met with in the Press of the Continent. Who could reasonably wonder at it? A Republican Frenchman sees the hope expressed by one of the Congregationalist Patres, that “the Christian manhood of France will spring to its feet and avenge itself” by hurling the Republican statesmen from power, approvingly quoted by the same so-called sensible, “Liberal,” enlightened Dublin paper of most influential circulation. Therefore, a Frenchman, on his part, naturally “recoils in horror” from the spectacle of this kind of Home Rule Liberalism, and from alliance with it. Truly, the “cead mille failthe” given by the *Freeman's Journal* to such “illustrious exiles” as those revengeful Patres could not but enlighten public opinion in France as with a lurid torch of the Inquisition.

No wonder the editor of a newly founded Democratic journal of Paris—who, besides having carefully studied the old and the modern history of Ireland, has also visited the country itself for scientific purposes—should have brought back exactly the same impression as did other foreigners before him. In an essay entitled *La Vérité sur l'Irlande* he says, in referring to Tudor times :—

“No doubt, the transformation of England into a Protestant State contributed much to augment the feelings of hatred. . . . Only, the Court of Rome and



the Catholic Powers were not slow in making use of the situation; Jesuits were despatched to Erin, in order to breathe the spirit of their Fraternity into her, and to revive the hatred of nationality with the flame of religious fanaticism. The Pope released the Irish from the oath of allegiance towards the English Crown. In short, the Church spared none of the means which are familiar to her under similar circumstances—far less from zeal for the oppressed than from care for her own glory and her own interests. Thus, the Irish Church, which at first had not been Roman, and nearly independent, became the most devoted support of the Roman Church. . . . Let us recognize, however, that the spirit of the Irish race lent itself very early to the degrading prescriptions of Roman Catholicism."

This is the opinion of a French Republican who, from his position of a Freethinker, neither leans to one nor to the other Church. In his further historical disquisition he speaks out strongly against the massacre of 1641, which was perpetrated on the eve of the struggle between the English Parliament and the Stuart King. A Frenchman instinctively thinks of the nocturnal massacre of St. Bartholomew when reading this part of Irish history.

I, for my part, am loth to believe that the "spirit of the Irish race" could not, under proper tuition, be weaned from this Ultramontane tendency. It might take a long time before the effects of a good schooling, in the sense of general enlightenment, could be felt; and much priestly opposition would be encountered during the attempt. Still, that is no reason for not trying it, on the system of the National Schools, as originally planned: to which Higher Schools on the same system might be added.

In the end, I believe, the cause of intellectual emancipation would triumph. The Irish people are a gifted and an impressionable one. I am even inclined to think that the men of the Pontifical connection who pull the wires of the Home Rule organization, have become afraid of the freer philosophical spirit which is growing up in England, and that this renders them all the more violent in their endeavour to set up an Irish Sonderbund, as a means of stopping the intellectual "contamination." Hence we hear already the parole that "*all English literature should be boycotted out of Ireland.*" So we read in "Words of Cheer from the West," in the new Land League paper, *United Ireland*, of October 1, 1881. In the same "Words of Cheer," Mr. Parnell's idea of boycotting English manufactures—preparatory to a later prohibitory tariff under a Home Rule Government—is extolled, and the significant hint added; "We mean to stop at nothing."

Such are to be the fruits of that "Irish National Government League," which is to replace the English Government. As a justification for the boycotting of all English literature, the curious statement is made, that it must be done "in retaliation for the boycotting by Englishmen in London of the works of Sister Mary Francis Clare, as well as for other Irish reasons." All this is intelligible enough to those who are mixed up with the anti-obscurantist struggle on the Continent.



The French writer above quoted is certainly within the lines of historical fact when, in referring to Oliver Cromwell's letters, and to the exclamation, "Poor Ireland!" he remarks:—

"Poor Ireland, indeed! At the moment when Charles I. exerts himself to draw round the neck of England the rope of despotic power, Ireland joins in the fray and helps him in pulling the rope! And as the rope breaks, she rolls about with him in the dust, and the iron hand of the Republic comes down upon her for vengeance and punishment. The same game again, later on, when silly James II., driven from the throne, comes to seek in Ireland a point of support for his criminal attempts. Think what you may; try to find excuses and extenuating circumstances in the name of Federalism, or of 'Liberal Catholicism;' the truth is, that Ireland was, on that occasion at any rate, the Vendée of England."

The French Republican writer in *La Révolution* gladly quotes, though but by a few lines, John Stuart Mill's opinion. One of the most advanced agrarian reformers, Mill strongly felt that the geographical position of the two countries rendered them far more apt to form a single nation; and he did not see what Ireland could gain from separation, except that she would be governed by men who would always entertain a strong animosity against a portion of their own fellow-citizens. These views of the eminent Radical philosopher, as expounded in his "England and Ireland," being at present unaccountably forgotten, it may be useful to give their substance here.

Mr. John Stuart Mill wrote immediately after the great Fenian alarm, in 1868. Many of the passages in his little book are truly prophetic; its whole spirit, and the propositions he makes for a thorough Land Reform, are as favourable as possible to the suffering agricultural classes. With English prejudices he deals most mercilessly. After having enumerated several Irish grievances, he says:—

"But these just causes of disloyalty, it was at last thought, had been removed. The jealousy of Irish industry and enterprise has long ceased, and all inequality of commercial advantages between the two countries has been done away with. The civil rights of the Catholic population have been restored to them, and (with one or two trifling exceptions) their political disabilities have been taken off. The prizes of professional and of political life, in Ireland, England, and every British dependency, have been thrown open, in law, and in fact, to Catholic as well as Protestant Irish. The alien Church indeed remains, but is no longer supported by a levy from the Catholic tillers of the soil. . . . [This grievance, too, has been abolished since Mill wrote in 1868]. . . . The confiscations have not been reversed; but the hand of time has passed over them: they have reached the stage at which, in the opinion of reasonable men, the reversal of an injustice is but an injustice the more. . . . What, then, it is thought even by Liberal Englishmen, has Ireland to resent? What, indeed, remains from which resentment could arise? By dint of believing that disaffection had ceased to be reasonable, they came to think that it had ceased to be possible."

Mr. Mill then shows that the Land Question must be firmly taken in hand, and that in the completeness of the reform, or of the agrarian revolution as it might be called, would lie its safety. Referring to the opposition which Parliament and Government might encounter from unruly spirits bent upon traversing the Reform for the furtherance of



ulterior objects, he says in regard to Government:—"That they would put down a partial outbreak, in order to get a *fair trial* for a system of government beneficent and generally acceptable to the people, I readily believe; *nor should I in any way blame them for so doing.*"

Still warning England that, unless Land Reform be carried out, the question of political disruption will come up with great force, he declares:—

"Let it not, however, be supposed that I should regard EITHER AN ABSOLUTE OR A QUALIFIED SEPARATION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES OTHERWISE THAN AS A DISHONOUR TO ONE, AND A SERIOUS MISFORTUNE TO BOTH. . . . The mere geographical position of the two countries makes them far more fit to exist as one nation than as two. Not only are they more powerful for defence against a foreign enemy combined than separate, but, if separate, they would be a standing menace to one another. Parted at the present time and with their present feelings, the two islands would be, of all countries in Europe, those which would have the most hostile disposition towards one another."

England and Ireland would thus have to be continually ready for war against each other. But—continues Mr. Mill—

"An Irishman must have a very lofty idea of the resources of his country, who thinks that this load upon the Irish taxpayer would be easily borne. A war tax assessed upon the soil, for want of other taxable material, would be no small set-off against what the peasant would gain even by the entire cessation of rent. The burden of the necessity of being always prepared for war, was no unimportant motive, which made the Northern States of America prefer a war at once, to allowing the South to recede from the Union. Yet the necessity would not have weighed so heavily on them as it would on Ireland, because they were both the most powerful half of the American Union, and the richest. . . . Ireland would have to create both a fleet and an army, and after all that could be done, so oppressive would be her sense of insecurity, that she would probably be driven to compromise her newly-acquired independence, and seek the protection of alliances with Continental Powers. From that moment she would, in addition to her own wars, be dragged into participation in theirs. Were she to choose the smaller evil, and remain free from any permanent entanglement, all enemies of Great Britain would not the less confidently look forward to an Irish alliance, and to being allowed to use Ireland as a basis of attack against Great Britain. Ireland would probably become, like Belgium, formerly, one of the battle-fields of European war, while she would be in not unreasonable fear lest England should anticipate the danger by herself occupying Ireland with a military force at any commencement of hostilities."

Again:—

"In all this I am assuming that Ireland would succeed in establishing a regular and orderly Government: but suppose that she failed? Suppose that she had to pass through an interval of partial anarchy first? What if there were a civil war between the Protestant and Catholic Irish, or between Ulster and the other provinces? Is it in human nature that the sympathies of England should not be principally with the English Protestant colony, and would not she either help that side, or be constantly believed to be on the point of helping it? FOR GENERATIONS IT IS TO BE FEARED THAT THE TWO NATIONS WOULD BE EITHER AT WAR, OR IN A CHRONIC STATE OF PRECARIOUS AND ARMED PEACE, each constantly watching a probable enemy so near at hand that in an instant they might be at each other's throat. By this state of their relations it is almost superfluous to say that the



poorer of the two countries would suffer much. To England it would be an inconvenience; to Ireland a public calamity, not only in the way of direct burthen, but by the paralyzing effect of a general feeling of insecurity upon industrial energy and enterprise. . . . I see nothing that Ireland could gain by separation which might not be obtained by union, except the satisfaction, which she is thought to prize, of being governed solely by Irishmen—that is, almost always by men with a strong party animosity against some part of her population: unless indeed the stronger party began its career of freedom by DRIVING THE WHOLE OF THE WEAKER PARTY BEYOND THE SEAS. . . . For these reasons it is my conviction that the separation of Ireland from Great Britain would be most undesirable for both, and that the attempt to ho'd them together by any form of federal union would be unsatisfactory while it lasted, and would end either in re-conquest or in complete separation."

In this remarkable little book, John Stuart Mill also insists on the inapplicability of the case of Austria-Hungary to Ireland, and on the probability of some foreign Power, hostile to England, taking possession of Ireland, if she were separated from England. And then he expresses his conviction, mentioned at the head of this article, that an Ireland cut off from England would in all Continental complications "be on the same side as the Pope—that is, on the side opposed to modern civilization and progress, and to the freedom of all except Catholic populations held in subjection by non-Catholic rulers."

Is it necessary to say how Liberal Italians of the present day judge, after this, in the matter of "Irish ideas"?

There may have been some Italians here and there, in former times, who fancied they saw a parallel between their own nationality, when it lay dismembered under foreign rule, and the aspirations towards a separate nationality in Ireland. But the best minds in the Italian movement never fell into this egregious mistake, which was only shared formerly by a few from utter ignorance of the facts of the case. Neither Cavour, nor Mazzini, nor Garibaldi, ever identified their own cause with that of Ireland. There are writings of Mazzini, in his *Unità Italiana*, in which that foremost apostle of the cause of nationalities all over the world distinctly declares against the Irish claim. This is noteworthy, indeed; for Mazzini, in some instances, not only went to the verge, but far beyond the verge, of political possibilities in questions of race and nationality. Mazzini, however, well knew that it was England which represented the cause of Progress. In his conceptions, Irish secession had no place.

The Italians do not allow a separate Parliament at Palermo, though Sicily is far more distinct in race-characteristics, and even in the speech of her people, from the Italians of the mainland, than Ireland is from England. There is, undoubtedly, a certain centrifugal strain in many Sicilians, although the rising of 1860, which led to Italian unity, began in their island home. Home Rule for Sicily has not been an unfrequent cry. No patriotic Italian will, however, listen to it. One question is, the management of purely local affairs by the various counties, or provinces, of a country. Another and a very serious



question is, the setting up of a separate Parliament at the side, or against, the central Legislature.

When a Liberal Italian hears what the bearing of the Irish mob was in London, at the time of Garibaldi's presence in England; when he is told that Ultramontane Home Rulers wish to see the "Sovereign Pontiff" re-installed as a temporal prince in the capital of Italy, as a monarch of the Roman States of the Church; when the news comes, in addition, that these Home Rulers, in an address to Leo XIII., designate themselves as "children" of the Pope,—it would require an enormous deal of that *naïveté* which Italians are not very much addicted to, for them to believe in the Liberalism of "Irish ideas," and in the desirability of organizing them into a political power.

At the banquet given to Mr. Parnell at Cork, Father Greene, introduced by Mr. Parnell himself, exclaimed:—

"What we do for England we only do under compulsion. I here declare openly that, as the Pope at Rome denied the right of Victor Emmanuel to rob him of his dominions, and was ready to throw him out by armed force (great cheering), so we Irishmen have the same right to kick out John Bull from Ireland, even as the Pope at Rome had the right to kick out Victor Emmanuel (cheers). And if the successor of St. Peter made a declaration in that sense, I say that the Irish people have the right to do here the same."

Was there a single voice raised against these sentiments at Cork? No; nothing but great cheers!

Here, then, on an occasion when the chief Irish leader, a man of Protestant origin, was triumphantly fêted, the case of Ireland was formally identified with the case of the temporal rule of the Pope, with the case of the bitterest enemies of Italian unity and freedom. To give an additional sting to Father Greene's remarks, this priestly worthy plainly said that the Irish people—that is, those of his own ilk—only wait for the signal of rebellion against England from the arch-priest, who is the arch-foe of the constitution of Italy as a free and self-governing nation. If the signal were given, the people would rise. So the Pope is virtually acknowledged as the political Sovereign in Ireland.

By the light of these revelations we clearly understand why it is that the new Land League organ should have come out with a Roman Catholic Archbishop's patronizing letter at its head, and Mr. Parnell's below it. It is the natural order and sequence in the politics of the so-called "Irish Party."

Speeches like those of Father Greene cannot fail to make an impression abroad. Who will expect Italians, after such manifestations, to be enthusiastic about Irish "nationality"? Too well do Italians know on which side Irish volunteers fought, when attempts were formerly made to overthrow the Papal yoke. Often enough have I had occasion to hear Italians expressing themselves on this subject. "We know our friends, and we know our foes"—one of them said (almost



in the words of a poetess whom I shall have afterwards to quote) with a significant gesture, which made further discussion quite unnecessary.

In Italy, in France, lately even in some of the Roman Catholic districts of Germany, dignitaries of the Church have taken the most arrant miracle impostures under their protection. The Lourdes and Marpingen scandals are fresh in the recollection of most readers. Now, the same frauds having been practised in Ireland at Knock and elsewhere, the Nationalist papers of that country were intellectually sunk so low that, week after week, they gave one or two columns, headed by large type, about the "The Apparitions and Miracles at Knock," the "Latest Apparitions," the "Testimony of the Eye-Witnesses," "More Miraculous Cures," "Letters to Archdeacon Cavanagh" (who has taken these impostures under his special protection), and so forth. In presence of such mental self-abasement, foreigners sufficiently knew, if they had not known it before, what to think of the necessary outcome of this so-called Nationalism.

Out of a mass of articles before me, I only select a few passages from one of the chief Nationalist papers, the *Flag of Ireland*, of July last. There we read :—

"Presuming the maintenance of the connection between your journal and Knock, the writer addresses himself to the task with a joyful alacrity. Few things, indeed, can be more productive of satisfaction than the willing discharge of self-imposed duty. . . . Strange and wonderful things continue to be related of the statue of our Lady that stands within the railed enclosure at the southern gable. During the month of May, many persons averred that they saw this statue grow life-like; the hands to open, to beckon, and to bless; the eyes to raise themselves to Heaven; the lips to part and smile; the head to bow: in a word, every feature of animation to be present in the cold, hard stone. Brilliant lights, too, were seen to play around, and stars of wondrous lustre and beauty were seen by many. . . . Exactly similar accounts continue to be given by the all-night watchers of late weeks. On the night of the 1st of July and on the morning of the 2nd (Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary), two pilgrims have solemnly declared that they saw our Lady's statue present all the appearances of life; and one of these favoured parties (a woman) remained on her knees in front of the gable and statue from ten p.m. on Friday to seven a.m. on Saturday; and during all this time she averred that the miraculous manifestations continued. Other persons, too, were present, and saw lights of great brilliancy, and one of them saw the right hand of the statue to move, and as it were, to bless."

Then follow a number of the usual letters to Archdeacon Cavanagh, who gives his clerical stamp to the wretched farce.

Files of Nationalist papers have been communicated to me, containing for many months, week after week, a column or more of this kind of intellectual food for the Irish people. Need I mention what Italian, French, or German men of sense think about this "connection" between the Nationalist organs and the miracles at Knock, Knockmore, and similar places of fraudulent renown?

No Continental Liberal, and no American either—be he Protestant, or averse to all dogmas, and only given to speculative views—denies the



great danger arising from such mediævalist doctrines and practices to the cause of civic freedom and mental advancement. To the American Republic, the Roman Church has already become a positive peril. All the best leaders of the Republican party there are agreed on this point. I have heard it stated by one of them that within the last twenty years, or so, the acknowledged property of the Roman Church in the United States has risen from 9,000,000 dollars to about 70,000,000. It is scarcely necessary to mention by what immigration this vast increase has been rendered possible; nor need it be said what section of immigrants it is against whom the Republican party in the United States—as distinguished from those who vainly assume the “Democratic” name—has chiefly to contend. Even the latest Presidential election once more showed the unsatisfactory condition of things in regard to the Irish vote.

The Liberal German, Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, and Swiss Press is at one on the point of the dangerousness of Ultramontane tendencies in Ireland. In a series of articles, a writer in the *Neue Freie Presse*, in reply to those of an Irish Home Rule Member of Parliament, said:—

“Is it in the interest of progress, of enlightenment, of the people's welfare, that the doors should be opened wide to this Ultramontanist agitation by special State institutions? Is it conducive to intellectual liberty, which must be the aim of every truly Liberal party, to have Science poisoned at its fountain-head by the Vaticanist influence in that ‘Catholic University,’ which is being clamoured for? Shall England use for such purposes her State exchequer, to which her own popular classes have contributed with the sweat of their brow, so that the natural enemies of all true science, who are at the same time England's sworn foes, may all the better work out their own purposes? Do we not, in the Home Rule and Land League Press, find incessant attacks against Italian Liberals, against the French Republic, against the German efforts for the propagation of real culture, against the Belgian antagonists of Vaticanism? . . . Can we doubt what priestly fruits national independence would bear in Ireland? Ay, well may the question be raised here: How is it that not a single leader of the ‘Irish party’ has dared to say a word against the revolting imposture of the ‘Apparitions of the Virgin Mary,’ by which the people's mind is hopelessly obfuscated, and of which the Home Rule and Land League Press is so full?”

It is a favourite practice of Irish would-be Secessionists to promote their objects under the title of “Liberalism,” whilst flinging the most incredible insults into the face of true Liberals, and pursuing themselves obscurantist tendencies. It has also been a favourite practice with some of them, in the beginning of the Land League movement, to speak of it in language so cleverly constructed as to suggest the idea that agrarian reform was the whole scope and aim of its originators. Foreign opinion, so far as its most influential organs in Germany and Austria are concerned, has never allowed itself to be deceived by this patent misrepresentation.

Germans, as a rule, are rather close investigators, and averse to one-sided views. Moreover, with some of them, the recollection of the bearing of a large number of Englishmen during the Schleswig-Holstein war and the French war of 1870–71, has left an unfavourable



impression, which however is gradually dying away. All this does not, at any rate, make Germans inclined to rush hastily to conclusions on the Irish Question. Being students of history, they are little accustomed to mince matters in regard to bygone times, when speaking of the deeds done in the struggles between Irishmen and the English Crown and aristocracy. Having in their own country a freehold peasantry, they fully understand and approve of the similar aspirations among the people of Ireland and of the whole United Kingdom. At the same time they object to walking into a trap set by Romanist priests and their allies.

"It is not since yesterday"—says the German writer in the advanced Liberal journal above quoted, in his reply to an Irish Land Leaguer and Home Ruler—

"It is not since yesterday that we have proved the sympathy due to the legitimate grievances of the people in Ireland, and we personally remember very well the days of O'Connell. We, therefore, know also that even then the truly Liberal parties in Germany, though wishing to see oppressive institutions in social and other matters abolished in Ireland, always felt deeply disgusted with the black priestly fatality (*dem schwarzen Pfaffenverhängniss*) which hung ever lowering over the movement. The last years of O'Connell's activity were contemporaneous with that terrible crisis in Switzerland which culminated in the Ultramontane Sonderbund. From the central cantons, which were convulsed by the Papist agitation, the claim went forth to be a 'State within the State;' and for that object a party which was in close connection with the Roman Hierarchy organized itself into a separate League. Fortunately, the Liberal cantons succeeded in getting the upper hand of this rebellion against the political cohesion of Switzerland; and from that moment dates the new and freer Constitution of Switzerland. The Liberal Swiss people then began that struggle in the interest of culture (*Kulturkampf*) against a priesthood inimical to all enlightenment, which since then has found its continuation in Italy, in Germany, in the French Republic, in Belgium, and which we can but hope will one day also be promoted in Ireland, where mental culture is one of the first requisites. In England the progressive movement in that direction is yearly increasing. In Ireland it is as yet wholly wanting. In saying this, our sympathies are sufficiently indicated."

Again :—

"We acknowledge the necessity of the most extensive change in the land laws of Ireland, as well as of England, Wales, and Scotland. . . . It is not so much England which exercises tyranny over Ireland in regard to the feudal condition of landed property; it is rather the aristocratic class in the whole United Kingdom which everywhere keeps down the real tillers of the soil. Englishmen, Welshmen, Scots, and Irishmen have, therefore, a common interest in the cause. The number of landed proprietors in Scotland is even smaller than in Ireland; harsh evictions have also occurred on Scotch ground. English labourers and farmers, of late, emigrate in large numbers; and the great mass of the English agricultural people are entirely disinherited from possession of the soil. The Reformer's hand is consequently to be applied everywhere. But if this agrarian movement in Ireland is only to serve as a mask and cover of an Ultramontane, Nationalist, and Secessionist move, which turns its hostile weapon against the whole position of England, we do not see in this any 'Liberalism,' as little as we see any Liberalism in the clerical, nationalist, and feudal Czech movement which aims at a *Sonderbund* and a separate Parliament, or Secession, even as the leaders in Ireland do."

The Irish Home Rule Member who had addressed himself to the Ne



*Freie Presse* was pleased to designate the *Freeman's Journal* as a "truly Liberal paper." To this the German writer replied that in the *Freeman*, too, the most repulsive insinuations in favour of Vaticanism were constantly occurring. As a specimen he gave an article which appeared on the death of Ricasoli, one of the most eminent and most moderate statesmen of Italy, when the Dublin Home Rule journal said (I quote by re-translating) :—

"The gang of intriguers and free-lances who created a bankrupt Italy from unscrupulous confiscations, is rapidly thinning. . . . After the other associates of Ricasoli had been drawn before the judgment-seat of God, he himself fell down dead, by an apoplectic fit, in the midst of the town whose rightful king is a prisoner in the Vatican, whilst the puppet of the Revolution bears a crown weighing on his brow in the Quirinal."

"This, then"—the reply in the *Neue Freie Presse* was—"is the style of a paper declared to be 'truly Liberal' by an Irish Member of Parliament! From this, his own Liberalism may be easily appreciated by the readers."

In the same way, the Dublin *Nation*, another Home Rule journal, had been praised during the controversy just described. The German reply again was, that Mr. Windthorst, the well-known leader of the Ultramontanist and Welfic party in the German Reichstag, and other chiefs of an anti-national Romanist clericalism, had been extolled by the "Liberal" *Nation* as truly freedom-loving men, and that, in speaking of the legal measures taken in France against Congregations and convents which refused applying for the necessary permission, the *Nation* had uttered the cool remark: "The infamous work is continued in France."

Now, this "Liberalism" of the *Nation* is not Liberalism as understood abroad.

The German writer, in his reply, further mentioned the many ridiculous details continually paraded in the Irish Nationalist Press as to the miraculous cures effected all over the world, even in India, by means of pieces of "holy cement" from the church at Knock, dissolved in water, and swallowed by the believers. All the crutches, wooden legs, 760 walking-sticks, and so forth, which are alleged to have been left at Knock by those who had been cured, were faithfully enumerated in the "Liberal" Home Rule Press. Proposals were also made by it to erect "all over Christendom" (Protestants being held to be outside its pale) altars and statues in honour and remembrance of the wonderful doings of the statue of Mary, the Queen of the Earth and the Heavens, so that her glory should be spread throughout the lands!

"Irish agitators"—the German journal said—"sometimes speak of their people as the 'white slaves of England.' But is it not possible also to be a slave of the most absurd mediæval stupidities? And what would be the result of an independence created on such a basis? Many



tillers of the Irish soil, no doubt, suffer deeply, indeed. Yet, in the face of this suffering, priests and laymen send over £8,651 to the Pope, whom they describe as the 'poor prisoner in the Vatican,' who 'must live from the alms of the believers, which come to him as through a miracle.' " (The real fact is, that the Italian Government have assigned to the Pope a very large annual sum, if he only will accept it. But he prefers fighting Italian Unity and European Progress by means of the contributions of poor, benighted Irishmen.)

"Where is the Irish leader," the *Neue Freie Presse* asked, "where is the Irish paper among the party of agitation, which opposes by a single word this illiberal conduct?"

The controversialist in the interest of the Land League and Home Rule party having referred to Mr. Bradlaugh, and the cause involved in the question of his admission to Parliament, in words suggesting Irish sympathy, the Viennese journal effectively retorted by quoting Mr. Bradlaugh's own words. They were to the effect that three-fourths of the Irishmen had voted against him, and that nearly every Irish paper attacks him. A long quotation was added from the *National Reformer*, in which the Member for Northampton takes certain Home Rulers to task for showing the most violent hostility to everything English, and working for an entire disruption, at the same time allowing "adventurers without a spark of political honesty" to preach the "killing of 500,000 of the accursed Saxons; thus making a declaration of war against the English race as such, and violating every rule of humanity."

The *Neue Freie Presse*, battling against the reactionary Taaffe Ministry, might have added another quotation from the "*Liberal Freeman*," which had shortly before described the former Queen's University at Dublin as a "Godless fabric," and in the same number written about "the most cheery chapter in Irish history, the brilliant fortunes of the Irish race in foreign lands."

What are, in the opinion of the *Freeman*, some of the contents of this cheery chapter? "The Taaffes—Viscounts Taaffe and Earls of Carlingford—were of the oldest Irish *noblesse*, and being both good Catholics and good Irishmen, they did manful service to the House of Stuart in the Jacobite wars."

Such is the opinion of one of the best "Liberal" Home Rule papers in matters of English history.

However, even irrespective of all that has been said above, it is plain enough to foreign observers, that "the state of Ireland is not, and ought not to be, a matter of party" for Englishmen—to use Mr. Gladstone's recent words at Leeds. Were Ireland situated some thousands of miles away from the English shores, the question would assume a different aspect. But Ireland is so closely enfolded almost in the embrace of Scotland and England that to allow her to establish a State organization of her own, would be a means of traversing the most vital political



interest of Great Britain herself—at least, during a short troublous epoch, which would fatally end in reconquest.

Irishmen have, like Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen, nobly borne their part in maintaining and helping to administer the British Empire. I think it would be a great pity if these qualities were withdrawn or led astray for the sake of an experiment which would needs be a brief one, and to all appearance end in confusion and bloodshed. It is often said by some of the advocates of Home Rule, that if the concession desired by them were made, a peaceful feeling would be restored. Home Rule would not injure the State structure at large. I look upon this view as a self-deception on the part of a few well-meaning men, and as a deception meant for others by less well-meaning ones.

The logic of events, and the passion of ambitious agitators, would soon convert a Parliament on College Green into an engine of war. Prohibitory tariffs are announced even now. Grant a separate Legislature, and, under favouring complications, alliances would be sought for in order to strike a mortal blow. Meanwhile, Irishmen would be told that to take military service in the army of the accursed Saxon was treason. Coming from a Legislature, such utterances would produce a very different effect from what the furious outcries of individuals at present do. Here, if ever, the "*principiis obsta*" must be the guiding maxim of the more far-seeing statesman. Remove a barrier which keeps out a threatening inundation, and you cannot wonder if the waves tumultuously rush in. You can only wonder, when too late, at your own infatuation.

Latterly it has become the fashion, I learn, with some of the more moderate, or more clever Home Rule agitators, to draw a parallel between the rights of Hungary, as acknowledged in her present constitution, and their own claims to separate government, which would leave Ireland only connected with England and Scotland by the "link of the Crown." This is an argument on which some Irish Members are said to pride themselves very much; and both publicly and privately they endeavour to make plausible use of it. Yet, no greater fallacy could be brought forward than is contained in such a comparison between cases utterly dissimilar.

First of all, it ought to be remembered—and this is a fact which Home Rulers either seem not to know, or most readily to slur over—that Hungary has always been separated from Germany, and from Austria proper, by a constitution of her own. Down to the accession of Queen Victoria, England was under the same dynasty as Hanover; but who ever dreamt of saying that Hanover formed an integral part of England, or England of Hanover? England had her separate political existence. So had Hanover. When the law of dynastic succession clashed with the possibility of further connection, they each went their separate ways, and the "link of the Crown" entirely ceased. Of a similar kind, historically and constitutionally speaking, has been, and is, the connection between Hungary and the House of Habsburg.



But does this at all apply to Ireland?

Hungary has been outside the older German Kingdom or Empire, which lasted from the year 843 to the year 1806. Hungary has been equally outside the subsequent German Bund or Confederacy, which lasted from the overthrow of Napoleon I. to 1866. In older times under kings of her own, Hungary, after the enthronization of the House of Austria, still retained her existence as a distinct realm. At the Diets of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," Hungary never was represented. Nor had she any delegates at the *Bundes-Tag*, or Federal Diet, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. She was a stranger entirely to German concerns. She always had a national representation of her own. Her Parliamentary affairs were not mixed up with those of Germany at large, nor with those of Austria proper on this side of the river March.

Does this apply to the historical relations between Ireland and England?

Only for the few short years which followed immediately upon the overthrow of the Hungarian rising in 1848-49, did the Habsburg dynasty endeavour to obliterate the well-marked political boundary between Austria proper and Galicia on the one hand and Hungary on the other. An attempt at Imperial centralization was then made, which, however, miserably failed. The defeat which the Imperial arms suffered, in 1859, on the plains of Lombardy, compelled the dynasty to revert to the previous state of things—of separate government and separate parliamentary representation for Hungary on the one hand, and Cis-Leithania on the other. Some matters of common concern only, in army and financial affairs, are, it is true, left to the decision of delegates from the Empire and from the Kingdom; the monarch himself bearing the title of Emperor on this side of the March and Leitha, and of King on the other.

Thus, with the exception of a few years of violent military reaction, Hungary has always stood towards Germany, and the Austrian section of Germany, in a very different position from that in which Ireland for a long time past has stood towards England.

Again, the comparison between Hungary and Ireland is a misleading one, when we apply the test of nationality and speech. The predominant character of Austria proper is German. The predominant character of Hungary is Magyar. In race and language, the vast majority of the Hungarians—whether Magyars, Slavs or Roumans—stand entirely apart from the Germans of Austria, though many Hungarians, either through education or through contact with the Germans, have a good knowledge, or at least a smattering, of the German tongue. The official language of Hungary is Magyar—a Turanian tongue; the Magyars being by descent kindred to the Turks. The official language of Austria proper is German. But the language of Ireland, the language of nearly the totality of the Irish people, is English. There is no difference, in



this respect, between London and Dublin, between Belfast and Glasgow, between Liverpool and Cork.

A hundred thousand inhabitants of the less frequented parts of Ireland still speak Erse, the old Keltic tongue, without knowing English. A few hundred thousand more speak both Erse and English. But with the exception of this insignificant fraction, the five millions of Irishmen speak English. That is their mother tongue. The characteristics of a separate nationality in speech have been lost to them.

What does Dr. Zimmer, the German Keltist, write to Mr. J. J. MacSweeney, the Secretary of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language?—

“When last summer I resolved upon going, for the furtherance of my studies, directly to the place where the language-sources of that period (Old Irish history) flow so richly, I intended using my holidays for getting at some of the literary treasures which lie buried in the libraries of the Royal Irish Academy, of Trinity College, and of the Franciscan Convent. Not for a moment did I doubt that I would succeed, at the same time, by a ten weeks’ intercourse, in learning—incidentally, so to say—how to speak Irish. I was, however, most disagreeably disappointed. To my question: ‘*An labhrann tu gaoidheiltg?*’ I received everywhere the same answer: ‘I don’t understand you’—until, after a two days’ search, I at last found an Irishman who understood his mother tongue.”

Dr. Zimmer, I confess—though otherwise an eminent specialist—shows here a curious want of rudimentary knowledge in linguistic ethnography, of which few Germans who have had a good education even at a *Real Schule*—let alone grammar schools—would be guilty. This is all the more astounding, as he has assiduously devoted himself to Keltic studies, and therefore might be supposed to have made himself acquainted with the language-statistics of Ireland before entering upon his journey. I do not think many educated Germans would have committed a similar blunder. Still, the testimony of Dr. Zimmer is in so far valuable as it shows that, wherever special sympathies may yet apparently linger abroad with Ireland as a “special nationality,” such sympathy reposes in a great measure on an erroneous conception of the most patent facts.

When Dr. Zimmer speaks of Keltic as the “mother-tongue” of the Irish people, he might nearly as well call German the mother-tongue of the French people of Burgundy, or Wendish the mother-tongue of many good Berliners, or Hebrew the mother-tongue of the Jewish citizens of various countries, or Cornish the mother-tongue of the people of Penzance.

There is a difference, almost amounting to a difference of language, between a number of dialects in northern and southern France, in northern and southern Germany, and in northern and southern Italy. There is no such difference, even of dialect, between the Irish and English. At most, the distinction is one of brogue. An Irishman may generally be detected, even by foreigners, through his pronunciation. But so may most Yorkshiremen, most Scotchmen, and, in a minor



degree, many people of the West of England. It is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Germany—everywhere. The great and decisive fact remains, that there is unity in the United Kingdom, as regards speech. Whatever remnants of another tongue still exist, are in a condition of gradual retrogression, or of nearly dying out.

Wales, which is now fully loyal to the connection with the United Kingdom, still preserves its ancient tongue; nay, it continues having a living literature of its own. But there is no such thing as a living literature in the old Irish tongue. The Irish papers are written in English; so are all the books. Some of the Nationalist Dublin journals have made an attempt to galvanize the Irish language into printed life by giving a column or two, every week, in that dying-out tongue: but for the mass of their readers, those columns might as well be filled with Russian or Chinese. How many of the 103 Irish members have the slightest knowledge of Erse? How many can even decipher the old Irish characters in which some of those Nationalist papers now and then give a bit of poetry?

From personal experience, I think it is labour entirely thrown away, when the *Irishman* gives us a poem, beginning thus:—

### BREUZAD ʒʰAOJLʒʰUJRE STANDBS.

(aɲ leaŋaɲaɲ.)

(aɲ ɔaɲa ɲoɲɲ.)

ʒɲad ʒʰuɲ caɲtaŋad.

Nʒoɲ cluɲead ʒoɲ ɔoɲaɲ ʔaɲ ɔ-ɲeomaɲ, adɔ ɲeɲɲ dʒutɔɲɔ  
Sheadʒaɲ alɔɲ,

ʔad oɲad aɲoɲ aʔ aɲɲ d ɔɲoɲɔe ɲoɲ buaɲleac aɲ ɔaoɲɲɔ.

Leɲead ɲocal ɲoɲʒaɲtaɔ ʒʰuɲ ʒadɲɲɔeacɔa ɲoɲɲ ɲuɲ Ceɲaɲ.

ʒɲi ball ɔo ʒadɲ ɲe aɲad (ʒʒ ɔabaɲɔ buɲle d'a lɲɲ ɔo ɲ leabaɲ.

Sɲoɲ aɲ aɲ ɔuilleoɲɲ: "Dob' ɲoɲʒaɲtaɔ aɲ ɲeap e ɲo, Ceɲaɲ,

"Ta ɔuɲa ad' ɔléɲeac aʔ ɲɲe aɲ' ɔaoɲeac; ɲo ɲeap ɔaɲ ɲeapɲ;

"Buɔ ʒɲad leɲ ɲɔɲoɔ ʒʰuɲ ɲoɲo. ʔ aɲ aɲ ɔleap bɲ ɲe ɔoɲ-ɲɲɲɔe."

Nor do I think public opinion in Ireland is much enlightened by a prose communication in the *Irishman*, beginning in this way:—

"Chum "Dáthi:"

"A shaoi,—Ag an bh-focal "rún" tá trí cialla atá coitcheann go leor agus do gheibhthear anns na scríbhinnibh is sine—cialla fos atá gan amhras air n-a g-ceangal le chéile: iodhon, (1) níd dorchá, do-fheic-siona, nó 'séicréid' a cheileas duine ann a chroíde, gan fhios do chách—mar annsa t-seanrádh "ná nocht do rún le cluanaire;" (2) níd díomhair, dothuigsiona, nó 'mistéire,' atá os cionn ár d-tuigse—mar 'rún creidimh,' 'rún nadúire,' agus a leithide sin; (3) intinn ár g-croíde, nó smuaineadh do bheireas orainn rud éigin do chur romhainn—mar deireamuid 'rún daingean,' 'rún diongbhála,' &c."



The scientific endeavour to make the old Keltic tongue once more a subject of more universal study, is, no doubt, very praiseworthy. The same holds good for the Gaelic tongue in Scotland. Foreign Keltists, of Germany and France more especially, are deeply interested in this matter, and, for ought I know, are far ahead of Irishmen, both in their zeal and in their special knowledge. Any attempt, however, to make of the Irish tongue more than a subject of scientific study, is doomed to egregious failure; there being very few, at this time of the history of Ireland, who would be ready to learn that which is of no earthly use to them, and which from its mere aspect is as repellent to them as the aspect of Arabic or Sanskrit to those who are not Orientalist scholars.

Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., is said to make speeches as strong and fluent in Welsh as he does in English. But how many Irish members—supposing there are any at all—could match the member for Merthyr Tydfil on their own “Keltic” ground?

I said “on their own Keltic ground;” but this, after all, is only a manner of expression, which, even ethnologically, does not hold good. Irishmen of the extreme malcontent type, though speaking English, and not knowing a word of Erse, have a habit of drawing a strong line of distinction between the “Saxon” on this side of the St. George’s Channel, and the “Kelt” on the other. Any one conversant with the rudiments of ethnology and history must be aware of the fallacy of this statement.

The majority of the people of England proper are, no doubt, of Germanic origin. They are of Anglian, Saxon, Frisian, Jutish, Danish and other Teutonic descent; to which the Norman element (Romanized in speech, but Germanic in its origin) was superadded. In Wales and the western parts of England, a Keltic and a Silurian race, or substratum, is, however, still strongly discernible.

In Scotland, there are the Germanic Lowlanders at the side of the mainly Gaelic Highlanders; among the latter of whom, however, a trace of the Norwegian race, which held sway for centuries over the Kingdom of the Isles, is still clearly recognizable.

As to Ireland, its population is a very medley of races the most incongruous since the most ancient times. In the words of so fair and impartial a writer as the special correspondent of the *Daily News*,—whose letters have been read with much attention on the Continent—Ireland is even now “a country with four, if not five, distinct populations.” Indeed, it has Iberian, Keltic, Germanic, probably also some Semitic, race-elements as its chief component parts; not to speak of others of darker origin and hue. Before the English or Norman conquest, Northmen ruled for centuries over large parts of Ireland; and their influence, too, is visible both in the physical characteristics, and in the names, of many Irishmen. Not a few Irish names, which at present pass among the uninstructed as peculiarly Keltic, are only Scandinavian and other Germanic names in disguise.



It is very doubtful, indeed, whether the Keltic race has ever formed at all the major component part of the Irish population. Ireland has at least four distinct race-types among its population; three of which are evidently non-Keltic. On this much might be said, if ethnology in a scientific sense had to be discussed here. Be it enough to remember, that from the most ancient epoch several Germanic waves of invasion and immigration have passed over Ireland, as over Britain and Albain; and that the result in Ireland has at last been the almost total extinction of the old Irish language.

This is a great fact. It truly shows the natural and inevitable course of history. Together with the further fact of the existence of a million and a half of people in Ulster, who form a solid political link of connection with Scotland and England, it is a circumstance not easily got rid of, when we consider the closeness of the geographical connection.

Let us assume for a moment that, during a thousand years or more, one German wave of conquest, or immigration, after the other, had passed over Hungary; that for seven hundred years Germany or Austria proper had held sway in Hungary on a title of conquest; and that, in consequence of the overwhelming influence of German civilization, and of the long and close intermixture of the Hungarian affairs with those of Germany or Austria proper, the Magyars, the Slavs, and the Roumans, had lost their own languages, so that German was the tongue of the immense majority of the Hungarians: would we, in such a case, still see a separate Hungarian Parliament and Government whose King, or *Kiraly*, is held to be politically distinct from the Austrian Kaiser, though the same princely person wears both crowns?

The question need only be started, in order to answer itself. In the case thus assumed, there would not be any longer a Magyar Kingdom.

The Magyar Kingdom, such as it still exists, is of old historical growth; and that is its title of continued existence. Continental Liberals are the very last to deny the right of a real, progressive nationality to recover its independence. Of this sentiment they have given proof enough by their bearing towards the cause of various nations. At the same time, foreign Liberals are sensible enough not to wish for the whole course of history being reversed. They do not think it desirable to dissect Hungary into her Magyar, Slav, Rouman, and German parts. On the contrary, they have stood by the old constitutional rights of that kingdom, even though, strictly speaking, it does not form a "nationality," being eminently of a polyglot character.

Why, then, should they wish for the dissection—the vivisection—of the United Kingdom, seeing that one language prevails among its people, from the Thames to Dublin, and to the Firth of Forth?

There are two other considerations, which to all thinking Liberals



render it undesirable to see England and Ireland dissevered, even in accordance with the more moderate Home Rule project.

First of all, it is well-known that Austria-Hungary is by no means stronger from the fact of two Parliaments being necessary there, owing to the separate historical development of Hungary on the one hand, and of Austria—which down to 1866 was a component part of Germany—on the other. The two Parliaments at Vienna and at Pesth are recognized to be an inevitable arrangement under the circumstances. It is, however, equally recognized that no strength, but the very contrary, accrues to Austria-Hungary from that arrangement in all questions of foreign policy.

Now, seeing that England holds a great position as a "world-power" through her many dependencies and colonies in Asia, Africa, Australia, and America, and that her influence as a civilizing agency is a very great and beneficent one, it does not appear desirable to introduce a germ of fatal weakness into the very centre of her political constitution by setting up a Parliament at Dublin against a Parliament in London. Between these two, the strength of any Government would come to grief. Nay, it would be the chosen and favourite task of those who agitate at present for an independent Irish legislature, to take up, on every important occasion, an attitude opposed to that of the English Parliament, so as to hamper, to counteract, to obstruct the course of affairs in general, and meanwhile to fish in troubled waters for the furtherance of their ulterior Secessionist aims.

How could this country continue to exist as an Empire, with such corrodent powers at its very centre in Europe?

In Austria-Hungary, any attempt to overthrow the separate Magyar Legislature which exists there from ancient times, would only lead to greater evils, through the upgrowth of the most dangerous internal conflict between two numerically evenly-balanced sections of the Monarchy. But in the United Kingdom the lesser evil, by far, is the obstructionist talk of extreme Home Rulers or Nationalists in the British Parliament. Besides, the continuance of such discreditable and intolerable obstruction as has been permitted, to the wonder of Continental politicians, for only too long a time, can, after all, be put an end to by wisely framed rules of parliamentary debate. Nowhere abroad, not in free Norway, not in republican Switzerland—let alone France, or other countries with representative institutions—would a spectacle be tolerated, such as has been offered by that small section of anti-English irreconcilables who assume the title of "Irish members," whilst being merely a little fraction, one-fifth, of the Irish representation.

In the United Kingdom, by far the greater danger is, to supply the spirit of hostility with a well-filled parliamentary stage on Irish soil itself. Reckless passion would there easily talk itself and its surroundings into a line which would fatally lead to violent conflicts. Is there any need to quote from the utterances, parliamentary and extra-parlia-



mentary, of responsible Irish leaders whose avowed programme now is—in Mr. Parnell's words—not to rest "until we have banished Messrs. Gladstone and Company and his Bashi-Bazouks—(loud cheers)—or any of his successors who may come after him?"

Angry Sibyls have sometimes played a notable part. It is, therefore, but fair not to entirely overlook the part which one of them plays, by her poetical effusions, in the movement led by her brother. I do not know how it is, but these things seem to be better studied abroad than in England. At least, I have found Frenchmen, Germans, and others, much better acquainted with these details of the movement in Ireland, than any of the numerous Englishmen to whom I have had an occasion of speaking on the subject. The English press either seems not to be so fully informed as it ought to be on so grave a matter; or it prefers what has been called abroad an "ostrich policy"—an expression which a member of the British House of Lords once used, or annexed, for his own rhetorical purposes. Now, I think it is no use blinking facts in political affairs. If an evil exists, it should become known to the full. Thus only can it be properly dealt with.

One of the latest remarkable productions of Miss Fanny Parnell, printed in the new Land League journal, *United Ireland*, which, under Mr. Parnell's auspices, has been established as a successor of the *Flag of Ireland*, runs thus:—

" TO ENGLAND.

" THE LAND BILL OF 1881.

" Tear up the parchment Lie !

Scatter its fragments to the hissing wind—

And hear again the People's first and final cry :

' No more for you, O lords, we'll dig and grind ;

No more for you the castle, and for us the sty ;

No more your gyves our equal limbs shall bind ;

A Power has breathed on torpid tongue and darkened eye ;

We will not drudge to glut your tills—but we can die ;

Tear up your chartered Lie !

We will not crouch, but we can die.'

" Call off your quacks of State !

Your mimes prinked out in Brummagem reform !

Fought we a landlord's greed by newer plans to sate ?

To gorge the suckers of the lawyer swarm ?

Was it for this we chose to suffer, starve, and wait ?

For this we faced the nakedness and storm ?

For this the dogs have licked our sores outside your gate ?

For this you claim our love, and marvel at our hate ?

Call off your imps of State !

We cannot love—but we can hate.

" Waste not your mouthing guile !

We know our friends, and well we know our foes ;

You weep for us, kind heart ! so weeps the crocodile ;

One hand you reach to help—the other stuns with blows ;

Damn not your soul too deeply ! 'twere not worth your while ;

Since we have looked behind your raree-shows,

Some things we've seen for speech too abject—some too vile ;

We dread not now your frown, we trust not now your smile ;

Waste not your clacking guile !

We scorn your frown, we loathe your smile.

" Hands off ! O cruel nurse !

Red-fanged and clawed !—alone we'll stand or fall,

Too long you've coined our blood and brains to swell your purse ;



Call off your sham Samaritans, and all  
 Your crew of ghouls that wait to gird our country's hearse ;  
 Take them away—she is no more your thrall ;  
 Take them away, ere yet the coming days be worse ;  
 Take them away—and with them take a nation's curse ;  
 Hands off ! O bloody nurse !  
 We cannot bless, but we can curse.

“ Tear up that parchment Lie !  
 You, Gladstone, sunk supine to quivering slush—  
 You, Forster, with the sign of Cain in breast and eye—  
 You, Bright, whose slopping tongue can gloze and gush—  
 You, puppet-brood, the lesser legislative fry—  
 A people's might your bungled work shall crush,  
 A people's wrath your grinning cozenage defy ;  
 We will not loose the land, we will not starve or fly ;  
 Tear up your chartered Lie !  
 This time we'll neither crouch nor die !

These ravings are virtually disposed of by the avowal Mr. John Dillon made, that the Land Act “ *confers immense benefits upon the Irish people.*” It is true, he also added that, in his opinion, every one accepting Land Reform from the hands of England ought to have been considered a “traitor,” because no officer of an army could allow the agents of the enemy to divide its ranks by offering a bribe ! This only shows that no Land Act, even were it a thousand times more satisfactory than the present one, would satisfy the heads of the League. It shows that the very name of “Land League” is a deceptive one ; that the object of the leaders is not Reform by means of Parliamentary enactments, but that they merely wish to keep a sore open, in order to nourish, among a suffering people, bitter feelings of hate and revenge against England : and that in the meanwhile they eagerly look out for opportunities to obtain, by force of arms, the disruption of the country.

The question of land tenure is consequently not the real incentive to the stormy wrath of the poetess. It is simply a convenient peg, for the time being, whereon to hang unspeakable abuse against England and Englishmen, including even that eloquent Tribune of the People, and now Cabinet Minister, who has for many years past been one of the best friends of Ireland and one of the most out-spoken advocates of land reform.

Mr. Parnell himself once said, in a moment of forgetfulness, that he would “never have taken his coat off” to work for the objects of the Land League, if he had not felt that this movement would lead to something else—namely, to Irish independence. It is, therefore, but allowable to assume that if he saw the agrarian movement running in lines which could not meet those laid down for Irish independence, even his zeal for the cause of Land Reform would correspondingly abate. This is a point which has much occupied the attention of some foreign observers, who had started with the idea that Land Reform was the main requisite for Ireland.

To the profounder students of Irish affairs it has, however, been known for years that many Irish Nationalists held rather moderate views on the land question, and that men like John Bright far out-



stripped them on this line. The very journal (the *Flag of Ireland*) which but recently was converted into a Land League organ under the new title of *United Ireland*, formerly held strong Nationalist, and Ultramontane, but only moderate agrarian principles—so much so that it often dissented from the League, and not only gave an underhand approval to the Government Bill, but sometimes openly sided with it. More than this, the same journal, and others of similar principles, often spoke bitterly, in alluding to Mr. Parnell and the League, of “the hollowness of merely professional patriotism,” describing the movement led by them as “a movement of more than doubtful parentage, and with many evil surroundings.”

The bearing of these journals, during the discussions on the Land Bill, generally was a mixed one; one part of the paper contradicting the other. Still, in editorial articles, they often went with Government against the League. A single quotation, out of many extracts before me, from an editorial article of May 7, when party feeling ran very high, may be sufficient. Said the Nationalist *Flag of Ireland*, immediately after the arrest of Mr. Dillon:—

“It has been suggested that the Irish members, to show their resentment against the duplicity of the Government in causing Mr. Dillon’s arrest, should oppose the Government Land Bill. But such advice could hardly be seriously meant—it suggests the proverbial folly of ‘cutting off one’s nose to spite one’s face.’ The Land Bill, *even if passed as it now stands*, will confer many valuable concessions upon the Irish tenantry; even the most extreme advocates of the ‘land for the people’ admit that the purchase clauses will be productive of *immense benefit* to the farming classes. If, therefore, the Irish members combine to defeat such a measure, because the Government have imprisoned one of their number, they will but give Ministers an opportunity of getting rid of a troublesome and not at all congenial task, by throwing over their Bill altogether, and placing on the Irish members the responsibility of its defeat. We do not at all doubt that the Government would gladly avail themselves of such an opportunity of escaping the risk of a collision with the Upper House, without which unpleasant possibility they can hardly hope to carry their Bill.”

Hence it is easy to see that it is not on account of having framed a Land Bill in accordance with present political possibilities that Mr. Gladstone is declared to be “sunk to quivering slush,” that Mr. Forster is branded as a “Cain in breast and eye,” and that to Mr. Bright is attributed “a slopping tongue that can gloze and gush.” No; these English statesmen are thus reviled because they are English statesmen who still uphold, as their bounden duty is, that Constitution which makes Ireland an integral part of the United Kingdom.

Over and over again, Mr. Parnell has declared, in and out of Parliament, that he will only “work by Constitutional means *so long as it suits us so to do*,” that he would not shrink from plunging Ireland into



civil war when he saw "a chance" and "a fair prospect of success;" that his "present path is within the lines of the Constitution," but that, on an emergency, he might "call upon the people of Ireland to go *beyond the lines of that Constitution.*" "We declare," he added, "that it is the duty of every Irishman to free his country if he can." On other occasions, even in the House of Commons itself, he threatened England, in scarcely veiled language, with the future doings of Irish conspiracies.

Enough has been said before to make it perfectly plain that in the opinion of Continental Liberals, and of men who fought and suffered for the cause of freedom, the priest-fed Parnellite movement is not to be placed on a par with the agitations for true liberty and deliverance from intellectual thralldom. As to the allies which some former Irish conspiracies had, the following quotation from a memorandum on the agencies which were at work between 1855 and 1865 in the camp of the extreme Secessionists, may be useful at this moment:—

"I well remember the 'PHŒNIX SOCIETY' out of which afterwards the Fenian League arose. I also distinctly recollect, and I can refresh my memory from notes made at the time, the bearing of a deeply disaffected Irish party, both during the early part of the Crimean War, when the success of England seemed for a while undecided; and during the subsequent Sepoy rebellion in India. The maxim, which for years had been dormant, that 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity,' was then suddenly revived. The Phœnix Society was originally founded—I have been told from a good source—by monks. It came into greatest prominence in 1858, shortly before Louis Napoleon began his war against Austria. A very serious consideration for the French Emperor was then how to neutralize, during the forthcoming war, the possible action of England, many of whose statesmen suspected him of a desire of aggrandizing his own Empire under cover of an attack upon the Habsburg monarchy. Louis Napoleon, with the conspiratory readiness which characterized him in the early part of his career, sought to forestall the danger by trying to occupy the attention of England at home. It is of my certain knowledge that agents of his were, in 1858, in confidential *rapport* with head centres of the Phœnix Society in Ireland. He also openly, by way of showing 'historical sympathy' with the cause of Irish independence, presented the Roman Catholic chapel of Aughrim with costly vestments, to be worn by the officiating priest on the anniversary of the famous battle of 1691, in which a French general fell, who had fought on the Irish side. There can be little doubt that if Napoleon III. had found it necessary, for the sake of creating a diversion, to give countenance, by means of arms and money, to an Irish rebel party, he would not have scrupled to do so, even as he gave such countenance in 1859 to exiles hostile to Austria, whom he afterwards, it is true, duped and betrayed. As a rule, the late French Emperor certainly preferred remaining on friendly terms



with England. Still, the famous threatening 'Addresses of the Colonels,' which he allowed in 1858 to be printed in the *Moniteur*, as well as the underhand dealings of his agents with members of the Phoenix Conspiracy, show that he was not scrupulous as to means."

The same memorandum continues:—

"As is generally the case in Irish plots, there were traitors in the camp of the Phoenix conspiracy. Towards the end of 1858, many persons known as, or suspected of being, members of this Secret Society, were arrested in Skibbereen, Killarney, Kenmare, Tralee, Bantry, Belfast, Antrim, and in various other places. Soon afterwards, a large number of men hastened to sail from Ireland for the United States and Australia. Evidently the Phoenix Society, under the fostering agency of a foreign Power, and with the connivance of some of the priests, had obtained a great many affiliates. In later years, when the FENIAN LEAGUE arose on its ruins, it was invariably alleged that the new organization had cast out the Romanist element; that, in fact, Fenianism was hostile to, and hated by, the priesthood. To some extent, especially as regards the majority of the American members of the League, this may have been true. But I can avow, from a positive communication by one of the head-centres at the time (an Englishman by birth, not a Roman Catholic, and who personally was of an enlightened turn of mind, though misled by self-seeking ambition), that even the Fenian League counted strong Romanists among its members; nay, that in some of the chapels in Ireland there were hiding-places for arms."

The fact of this connection even between Fenianism and Ultramontaniam has a curious illustration, at this moment, in America, whence nine-tenths of the weekly contributions to the Land League come through the *Boston Pilot* and the *New York Irish World*. Now, the *Boston Pilot*, the most prominent [Romanist] organ in the United States, and at the same time the chief mouthpiece of the League in America, is under the editorship of one who had been implicated in the Fenian conspiracy and imprisoned on that account.

In the light of such facts, Continental observers know what to think when they find, at the last Irish demonstration at Versailles, the sentiment proclaimed that "England's foe is Ireland's friend." With sorrow and regret they see the movement for agrarian and other reforms traversed by speeches like that which Mr. Egan, the treasurer of the League, made on that occasion, when he exclaimed:—

"To-day the Celt and the Saxon are more deadly enemies than on the day when Strongbow first set his accursed foot on the soil of Ireland. True it is that the Irish race at home, under the blighting rule of England and her vampire landlord garrison, is becoming rapidly diminished and impoverished; but thank God we have an Irish race abroad—in exile—hardy, vigorous, prosperous, and, if possible, more bitterly hostile to the enemy than our people at home. . . . It burns with a love for the old land, and it thirsts for vengeance on her despoiler (loud cheers). . . . To-day the struggle is against landlordism; to-morrow it



will be for national independence; and when the fight for Ireland's liberty arrives, let us hope that another Hoche will arise to invade Ireland with an army, not of fifteen thousand, but one hundred thousand Irishmen sworn not to turn back (enthusiastic applause)."

This speech was followed by the toast of "Ireland's Independence by the Sword." The Dublin Nationalist papers, in which the text of the above appeared, said, in regard to that latter toast, that it was "amply done justice to by General McAdarras." Such declarations of war against the English nation show, unfortunately, an irreconcilable animus of prominent leaders, whilst the sacerdotal connection and chieftaincy leave no doubt in the mind of the foreign observer what the result of any success of theirs would be. An "independent" Ireland would be a political Priest's Corner—a dependency of the Vatican. No Hoche's will any more be sent out by the present wiser generation of French Republicans, from the alliance with whom the Irish sacerdotalists, moreover, shrink in horror.

"MacMahon our King!" was a Fenian sentiment some twenty years ago. A sword of honour, to be presented to him, was at that time proposed to be subscribed for by Irish malcontents. If a new military Dictatorship or Imperialist Government were to replace the Republic in France, the squeamishness as regards an alliance would, no doubt, disappear among the priest-ridden faction which professes to be the whole representation of Ireland.

The "one hundred thousand fighting men" of Ireland were again paraded by Father Sheehy, not many days ago, when he called out, "Then let it be Separation!" That speaker, again, warned his audience against the English Democracy as against the most dangerous foe! Could any thinking foreign Liberals or Democrats doubt, then, where the foe of the cause is which they themselves have at heart?

Father Sheehy's proclamation was followed up by Mr. Parnell's proclamation of the impending "downfall of English institutions," and the "banishment of Messrs. Gladstone and Company and his Bashi-Bazouks, or any of his successors who may come after him in Ireland." At the same time, the new chief organ of the Land League declared, that the first object was "death to landlordism—death without parley and pity—(*la mort sans phrase*," death to be wrought by the "Destroying Angel," but that this was only the preparatory act for accomplishing that which is "behind the Land agitation"—if need be, at the price of blood. The assertion was added triumphantly:—"The country is slipping from between their fingers!"

And as if to show to them once more the true spirit of the movement, Continental Liberals saw Mr. Parnell, within the last few days only, going to the Dungarvan Convention, hand in hand with one who has acquired abroad the most unenviable notoriety for his extreme Ultramontane utterances in the Louis Veuillot style. According to the newspaper reports, speeches were made there, to this effect, that they



had two Governments in Ireland—one was Mr. Gladstone's, which no one minded, and the other was the Irish National Land League, which the people would obey; that they had a power in Ireland far in excess of the Saxon Government; that the Land Act was a snare for the Irish people; that before long they would hear the thunders of Irish artillery welcoming a Parliament of their own in College Green. To which Mr. Parnell, at the subsequent banquet, added that he must remind his hearers that "Ireland should be worse before she was better," and that "before long they would have national independence, which was the ultimate object of the Land League."

The establishment of Irish independence, amidst the roar of artillery, for the sake of offering a free stage to the priest's friends, and the enemies of the English Democracy and of French Republicanism, is not an aim with which Liberals abroad can possibly sympathize. Nor do they think, after the Land League has so loudly denounced the sufferings of the Irish agriculturists, that the condition of these latter should be made "worse," when there was a Land Act which would make it so much better. Ay, vastly better! *teste* Mr. John Dillon himself; so much so indeed, that Scotch, Welsh, and English farmers (and, for the matter of that, Lombard *coloni*) would be right glad to get a similar boon.

But what a glaring light is shed on the situation, when, under the leadership of Mr. Parnell—whom one of the papers friendly to him once praised for his "refined Jesuitry"—the Irish people are told, in reference to the Land Act, to "try and not to use it!"

To sum up: Public opinion abroad stands by England in her desire to see the reforming Land Act applied, as well as in her determination not to allow a rival or counter-Parliament to be set up at Dublin. Two Legislatures would be two mill-stones grinding each other terribly. Free-minded Englishmen, remembering the action of the Romanist Irish element during the struggles against Stuart tyranny—an action even now praised by Home Rule papers—may well shrink from the idea of presenting a sworn enemy with a political organization of his own. None can foretell what contests may arise in times to come. For aught we know, there may arise some sovereign, one day, or some unscrupulous statesman, who would gladly profit from the existence of two different Parliaments in London and Dublin, to set them against each other, whilst being himself bent upon some reactionary scheme. If a case of that kind should ever happen, an Irish Legislature would suddenly assume a very different aspect from that under which the more moderate, plausible, and soft-tongued advocates of Home Rule (whose number, however, begins rapidly to diminish before the wilder spirits) at present find it convenient to present their scheme. Let those who have the cause of free representative Government really at heart, reflect upon this danger. It is a danger which, if once formally



created, will always overhang English liberties like a threatening cloud, ready at any moment to burst with its charge of lightning.

The situation, then, is a serious one; but a wise statesmen, in the opinion of foreign observers, cannot feel any hesitation. In the People's own interest—in the interest of Parliamentary power—in the interest of Progress, England is expected to do her legal duty in the matter of the Land Act, and not to allow herself, by the despicable threat of a renewed obstructive by-play in legislative business, or of future armed rising, to be cowed into surrendering before a "Sonderbund" League.

A CONTINENTAL OBSERVER.

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*Postscript.*—The above was written when the news of the arrests came. Though Mr. Parnell is not on his trial, and though he, no doubt, would be the very last to deny his own utterances, nothing shall be said here which, by any stress of delicate consideration, could be considered forbidden by the circumstances. All I can repeat is, that every well-wisher of Ireland was grieved to see the scornful and hostile reception, on the part of the leaders of the League, of that Message of Peace which the Liberal English Parliament honestly sent. The hope abroad only is, that the mass of the Irish tillers of the soil will not be misled into rejecting an Act which confers "immense benefits" upon them, merely to further the ulterior objects of men whose ambition it is to play the part of rulers of Ireland under priestly sanction and guidance. As to England, who has to employ force for the sake of safety, she will, I trust, when public security is restored, remember that force, though sometimes very necessary, is itself no remedy. The true remedy is, the uprooting of the deeper causes of the evil, and the planting of healthier seed, so as to get rid of the blighting Upas-tree of Irish Obscurantism. The proper education of the masses, together with reforms for their material welfare, is a concern of the Commonwealth. To this, it is to be hoped, English Reformers will apply themselves with an energy thrice increased by the grave danger they at present see before them.



## COMMONPLACE FALLACIES CONCERNING MONEY.

**F**EW questions have been so frequently discussed by competent writers as that of money and currency; and, at the same time, there is no other subject on which opinions so diverge. As Mr. Bonamy Price, professor at the University of Oxford, states it, "It may almost be said that every man contradicts every other man about money, about what money is and what it is not, what it can and what it cannot do. In no other subject which occupies the thoughts of men does anything approaching the same disorder exist." I hope, therefore, I shall not be accused of presumption if I endeavour to point out that many of the principles put forward by the deductive school of political economy, and accepted by the English public as being evident truths and clear axioms, are in reality demonstrable errors, and in total contradiction to facts and events of daily occurrence. I will examine some of these axioms as they have been formulated by writers of well-deserved authority, and who may be taken best to express the generally accepted ideas.

The point which I think first needs to be elucidated is the following:—Is there an advantage in a community's possessing more or less money, or, rather, more or less of what may be styled monetary metal? It is known that the upholders of "the mercantile system" believed the principal riches of a nation to consist in the amount of precious metal it possessed. Everything, they urge, must be therefore done to increase that amount; and, to that end, a favourable balance must be created by stimulating exportations, and also by impeding, as much as possible, the importation of merchandise, so as to force foreigners to pay the difference of the commercial balance in precious metal. These notions, however, were early contested in England. In the year 1682, Petty maintained that it was an advantage to export coin, when goods of a greater value

\* "Practical Political Economy," p. 360.



were secured from foreign countries in exchange for it ("Quantulumcunque concerning Money"). Again, North, in 1691, says that a fortune in coin is no gain, as coin in itself is unproductive: therefore, no State should feel uneasy about its provisions of gold or silver. A rich country, he observes, will never lack either ("Discourse upon Trade," 11. 17). Berkeley assumes that a greater error cannot exist than that of estimating the wealth of a State by the quantity of gold or silver in its possession ("Querist," 1735). If we turn to the father of the Physiocratic School, Quesney, he labours to prove that it is impossible exportation can ever permanently and absolutely exceed importation; for, he says, "*Every purchase is a sale, and every sale a purchase*" ("Dialogues sur le Commerce"). Finally, Adam Smith, in his treatise, completely overthrew the mercantile doctrine, and moulded into definite shape the ideas which have remained current from his day until the present time. But the case might even be put more strongly. J. B. Say considers the exportation of coin as still more advantageous than that of any other merchandise, for he alleges it is the value of coin which constitutes its utility, and the value of what coin remains in the country increases in proportion to the amount exported. I borrow from Mr. Bonamy Price a statement of the opinion prevailing at the present time on this subject. It is couched in the most definite terms, and may be summarized as briefly.

Professor Price first lays down that coinage is indispensable amongst civilized nations. It serves as a means of exchange, and is the common measurement of values; but it is quite useless to accumulate more of it than is necessary for this end. Gold is merchandise, and is only to be obtained by the exchange of other merchandise of equal value in its stead. In this exchange, the person who receives the precious metal is no better off than the one who receives the commodities. It is therefore absurd to believe that a nation gains when what is called the "commercial balance" is in her favour; that is to say, when she has an excess of exportation, and foreign countries are obliged to pay her by a consignment of precious metals. Gold brings no advantage to the person possessing it, except at the moment when he parts with it, to purchase an object he can consume, or in some way enjoy.

Coin is a tool, a machine, a vehicle of interchange, like a ship or a waggon. It is a means, not an end; it transfers possessions and the right of property, just as a van transports bales. Who would think of accumulating waggons in his sheds solely for the satisfaction of feeling that he possessed them? Why, then, was so much joy exhibited on the arrival of bullion from California? It did not increase the wealth of England to the amount of one single pound sterling, for she paid for it all with her produce, value for value. Would agriculturists raise shouts of joy if it were announced to them that a whole cargo of ploughs had been imported? At a given moment a country requires a certain quantity of cash to accomplish exchanges, but all in excess of



that quantity is useless, and is even burdensome ; for gold, when remaining inactive, eats its own interest. It is a noticeable fact that the farther a country has advanced economically, the less requirement it has for precious metals. No country has, in comparison to the importance of her business transactions, so little of it as England. Less civilized nations have, on the contrary, a large amount of gold and silver—firstly, because they treasure it up ; and secondly, because a sale is never effected save for ready money.

But can a country suffer through a lack of cash, diminishing its economic activity ? By no means ; it is not with cash as with other necessary instruments of production. If there were fewer ploughs some agricultural land would remain unploughed ; harvests would diminish there, and the well-being of the country would be affected. Were there less cash there would be no diminution whatever in the production of commodities. Exchanges would be accomplished as before, either because credit would become more general, or because the gold remaining in the country would be enhanced in value, and would, therefore, serve to transfer the ownership of a greater quantity of goods. A fall in the value of any special merchandise—tea, for instance—increases the well-being of a community, for a larger amount of it is consumed. A fall in the value of cash, as a result of its superabundance, would be productive only of difficulties. The cheapness of precious metals would entail, as a necessary consequence, the being obliged to tender a heavier weight of them. Money would thus become very inconvenient to carry about, and bank notes and cheques would be largely substituted in its place.

When, after a bad harvest, gold is seen to emigrate abroad, people get alarmed ; doing so quite unreasonably. This gold brings in exchange what supports our workmen and labourers. Far from seeing a calamity in this, we should rejoice at it as a benefit for the nation. It is supposed that a drain of gold would thus cause a scarceness and “ depreciation ” of the monetary metal, and that a fall in prices would ensue as a natural result. These are unjustified fears. The power and the value of gold are about equal in all civilized countries, and the fall in prices would soon bring back the gold, and in that way re-establish the former level in prices.

The language of our merchants, of our bankers, of our financial papers, is still tainted with mercantile error ; they always speak of “ favourable and unfavourable balances,” “ favourable and unfavourable exchanges.” One would almost say that Adam Smith had published in vain his book, “ The Wealth of Nations.” The exportation and importation of gold are watched by attentive and, frequently, by anxious eyes, as if it were the one riches, *par excellence*. If we export much iron or coal there are rejoicings. If we export much gold it is just the reverse : we find lamentations and fears expressed in every financial paper. Whence this difference of opinion ? Is not gold just as much



merchandise as iron or coal? Those who propagate these ridiculous ideas really deserve to be buried, as Midas was, beneath the gold for which they clamour so madly. There is no necessity for uneasiness concerning the circulation of gold; it will distribute itself in different countries, according to the needs and requirements of each. It is even true that the more a country imports gold, the poorer she becomes. For, says Mr. Price, "what becomes of it when brought in by an excess of exports? So long as they remain, let us say, in England, they are locked in the Bank of England's vaults; they are wealth annihilated for the time. Meanwhile, how has it fared with England in respect of the exports for which there is so much rejoicing. They consumed a vast amount of wealth in making; food and clothing for labourers were used up, and all is gone. What has England in return? Some metal locked up in cellars. As long as it remains in England she is the poorer for these exports. The wealth returns only when the buried gold goes abroad to buy, and when the imports will exceed the exports, and the country is made the richer. Imports alone enrich a country, not exports. To buy gold which cannot be used is as pure an impoverishment for the time as if the purchasing goods had been given away for nothing."\*

The above is a short statement of what Mr. Bonamy Price teaches us on the subject of currency, summarizing, as clearly as possible, the doctrine of the deductive school. Can a more complete contradiction be conceived than that existing between these doctrines of speculative political economy and the language of the writers of the money market articles in the daily and financial papers? In spite of the remonstrance of Mr. Bonamy Price, and of other economists, they follow with the greatest attention every movement of the precious metals. When they flow in excess towards foreign countries, cries of alarm are raised; when, on the other hand, they return, or come in fast, they at once announce prosperous times. It is sufficient to have read the columns of the *Economist*, the *Statist*, the *Bullionist*, or the financial report in the *Times*, or any other daily paper, during the last two months, to be struck by this strange contradiction.† Who is right, and who wrong?

\* "Buying and Selling:" *Journal of the Society of Arts*, May 6, 1881.

† Here is an example of what can be read every day in all the financial papers of the world:—"In their last summary of the state of the New York money-market, Messrs. Melville, Evans & Co. mention 25 to 30 million dollars of gold as the probable import requirement of the States between August 1 last and January 1 next. This was the current estimate in New York a fortnight ago, and we think it not unlikely to prove an under-estimate should the speculation fever break out to the degree anticipated. But five or six millions sterling is a large enough sum to alarm us on this side in the present state of European bullion stores and gold requirements, for one million more withdrawn from the Bank of England would agitate our market, and cause rates to advance to at least 5 per cent.—no very serious rate for sound business, but a destructive one to much of the speculation now sustained here and on the Continent."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1881.

Mr. Bonamy Price and all the orthodox economists tell us that the export of gold is not merely a matter of indifference, but is rather a benefit; and, on the other hand, the City say that the loss of only one million—a mere trifle, indeed—would agitate, and perhaps upset, the money market in all Europe. Can there be a more complete contradiction? How should not political economy lose its credit, as a science, when its statements are in such open opposition to the most undeniable facts?



Economists are not wrong *in abstracto*; but one should also say that financial editors must be right, for they grasp economic life in its daily reality. Is it possible that merchants, bankers, and writers of the newspaper money-market articles should all be led astray by the sophism of "mercantilism," so as to understand nothing of the transactions occurring under their eyes? On the other hand, is it possible that the most eminent economists should be completely deceived on this subject? We can allow of neither hypothesis. The apparent contradiction arises from the fact that the problem has been regarded from different standpoints. It has been viewed in the "static" condition by economists, and in the "dynamic" aspect by capitalists and men of business, phenomena being looked upon at a given moment by the first as being at rest, in their development and as in movement by the second. Let us explain this: England, for instance, could easily effect all her exchanges with £80,000,000, or with £40,000,000 in gold, instead of the £120,000,000 she now employs; for, as J. B. Say remarks, the value of gold, as compared to that of merchandise, would increase as the quantity of the former diminished; or, in other words, the prices, calculated in money, would diminish as money became scarcer. If I have one shilling instead of two, it makes little difference to me if I can now purchase as much with my shilling as I could formerly with two. Double, triple, if you will, the amount of precious metal in a country, that country will be none the richer. The number of useful objects which constitute its real wealth will have remained the same, only two or three times as high a price in money will be put on each one. All these are evident facts, and hitherto the reasoning of the economists is perfectly sound; but as soon as we attempt to carry these abstract ideas into practice, they are completely contradicted by facts which are daily reported by the financial papers accused of "mercantilism." This is what we will next endeavour to show.

In the world of actual affairs all contracts, whether for a long or short date, the terms of loans made by banks, the rate of discount, in fact all business, are based on certain prices and on the availability of a certain amount of cash. If this amount of cash, or the prices which it determines, either increases or diminishes, the basis of all business transactions becomes necessarily modified. This is the important fact that economists have neglected to examine in its consequences. What are these consequences? That is the question we must weigh with the greatest attention.

Let us suppose, first, that gold increases in quantity: what happens? Here we are by no means reduced to speculative reasoning on a hypothesis. This phenomenon occurred and assumed colossal proportions under our own eyes subsequently to the year 1850. Compared with the year 1840, the production of gold increased tenfold after the discovery of the *placers* of California and Australia, and the production of gold and silver combined is fifteen times what it then was. The



consequences of this unheard-of change have been perfectly analyzed in the well-known work of Tooke and Newmarch, "History of Prices." When this extraordinary influx of precious metal reached Europe, Michel Chevalier raised a cry of alarm, which Cobden repeated, and which greatly impressed the different Governments. Prices, it was commonly said, would double, and this would lead to profound economic disturbance; gold should, therefore, be at once rejected, a silver standard being adopted. But Newmarch explained that this danger was not at all to be dreaded, because the gold, in arriving, would stimulate fresh economic activity, and in thus making for itself greater employment, would prevent its own depreciation. What followed proved that Newmarch was right and Chevalier wrong. After some few years, prices rose a little, to the extent of about 15 per cent., according to Mr. Jevons. The rise, however, was of short duration, and a fall ensued, although the total production of gold and silver has maintained itself at about £38,000,000. Thus the predictions of Michel Chevalier and of Cobden were not borne out by facts. The banker had made sounder deductions than the economists.

From the beginning, the prodigious development of the gold-producing countries, California and Australia, brought fresh stimulus to the industry and commerce of the whole world. These new countries did not send us the produce of their labour for nothing. For every million of gold received in Europe an equal quantity of goods was returned to them. These goods had to be made and transported, and thus fresh outlets for labour were created. This new opening for trade in the gold countries and the increased production in Europe which was needful to supply the wants arising—these occasioned more exchanges and therefore led to a more extensive employment of the precious ores, which are the metallic means of exchange and the basis of all fiduciary circulation.

Gold arriving in Europe is deposited in banks where it finds its prices fixed by the mints, and so those sending it get immediate remuneration. This accumulation of cash of course leads to a fall in the rate of interest. After 1850, discount fell to  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , and even to 1 per cent. A fall in the rate of interest stimulates the spirit of enterprise and the creation of new companies of all kinds, both at home and abroad. The surplus money must find employment for itself somewhere. Besides, when capital can be obtained at the moderate rate of 2 or 3 per cent., a great many undertakings may prosper which would never do so were the rate of interest 4 or 5 per cent. I will here borrow a very just comparison made by Mr. Bonamy Price, when he says that cash is a conveyance, but I draw from it a totally opposite conclusion.

When vehicles are plentiful they can be hired cheap, and, as a natural consequence, everybody uses them, and there is an extraordinary circulation. You see this at Naples, where the hire of a decent carriage is fivepence, and even the beggar rolls in a *corricolo*, at a penny. So, too, when the monetary mediums of conveyance are abundant, they also



are lent cheap. Circulation is active, and business is "brisk," as people say. Certainly the capital lent and borrowed is not in reality "money." Capital truly consists of all the materials requisite and necessary to production. Still, cash is the means of obtaining these materials. It is with gold that they are paid for, and it may be said to be gold which is necessary for every exchange. It follows therefore that, when gold is plentiful, the real capital is easily brought into action, and then production is developed.

The first effect of an influx of gold certainly is a fall in the rate of discount. But the phenomenon does not stop there. This fall promotes a movement of economic expansion until the demands for capital exceed the disposable quantity, and then the rate of discount rises. This was observable during the period of prosperity, from 1853 to 1870. The average rate of interest was high, in spite of the abundance of gold, because the prodigious development of production for which this period is noticeable caused an endless demand for capital. It was during this period that railways were largely made in all parts of the habitable globe; canals were opened, isthmuses cut, mountains pierced, and works, factories, and banks innumerable started. Mr. Newmarch only gives expression to general opinion when he says that the gold of the *placers* was the chief cause of this wondrous development.

The second result of an exceptional influx of the precious metals is to produce an average rise in prices. Gold, which gives facility to the creation of fresh business enterprises occasions a greater demand for everything. In works and factories, in railways, in all sorts of concerns undertaken on all hands, workmen, and iron, wood, and every kind of raw material are wanted in greater numbers and in larger quantities than previously. The increase of demand produces necessarily a rise in value. This rise takes place gradually, and the result of it is to produce that state of the market which we call "brisk." All who are engaged in producing profit by this. Workmen, being more sought after, are better paid; they consume more in the way of fuel, food, &c., and thus raise the price of the articles of common necessity, which naturally brings benefit to those who produce or manufacture them. Manufacturers, making more profit, buy more, and the prices of the articles they want rise in their turn; and in this way profit flows in upon a second category of manufacturers and tradesmen. The buyer of raw materials for the purpose of their conversion into manufactured goods almost invariably gains by a general rise in prices; for this raw material, flax, cotton, wool, iron, is worth more when resold than when it was purchased. The economic and commercial world thus forms one immense chain of causes and effects in which the value of each link is heightened by the activity imparted to labour, the true source of all riches. It may even happen that an "industrial" fall occurs in the price of many articles, great enough to counterbalance in the increase "monetary value;" because, thanks to the multiplication of fresh



enterprises and the introduction of fresh machinery, these commodities are produced at a much cheaper rate. These are the many favourable results which follow on an influx of the precious metals.

But, it will be said, these advantages are also attributed by inflationists to an abundant issue of paper money made legal tender. Doubtless this may be so; but the factitious excitement caused by the inflation is dearly bought, as it rests on no firm basis, and is brought about by an abuse of legislative power. It occasions a depreciation of the currency, the degradation of exchanges, and the permanent disturbance of foreign trade; and, sooner or later, large sacrifices have to be made in order to revert to the metallic circulation. It is quite otherwise when the impulse given to business springs from a natural source—viz., an increase in the amount of precious metal, the real basis of exchanges, and, at the same time, the true equivalent of every value. In this case, there is neither depreciation of currency nor disastrous reaction. All that could in any way occur would be a general rise in prices resulting from the large amount of cash suddenly thrown into circulation; but, as we explained, even this will probably not take place, for owing to the number of business transactions rapidly and permanently increased by the economic development which the abundance of cash will have stimulated, gold will find further employment. The demand for it will increase in about the same proportion as the supply. The precious metals will lose nothing of their powers of purchase, and prices will not rise. This is exactly what has occurred since the year 1850. The average annual production of the precious metals during the decade 1840–1850, was 362,000,000 francs. From 1850 to the present time, the average production has tripled, having risen to from 900,000,000 to 1,000,000,000 francs annually; and, in spite of this, if prices have risen for a time a trifle, they have fallen again to about what they were formerly. Thus, the extraordinary influx of precious metal which commenced 30 years ago, has been most beneficial in increasing economic activity all over the world, and this great advantage has been unaccompanied by drawbacks or difficulties. So long as I thus limit myself to stating only undeniable facts, I hope I shall not be thought guilty of either “mercantilism” or of “inflationism,” I merely give a summary of Newmarch’s chapters,\* and he, I imagine, is not likely to be accused of any such heresies.

Let me now examine the opposite phenomenon—the scarcity of cash—and try to ascertain its effects. The exportation of gold is a purely indifferent matter, says Mr. Bonamy Price, for exchanges are just as well effected with little as with much money.† Let us rather say, writes

\* It is useful to read with attention the chapters devoted by Mr. Newmarch, in Tooke’s “History of Prices,” to the study of the effect produced by the gold of California and Australia during the period 1848–1856.

† At the close of his book, “Practical Political Economy,” Mr. B. Price publishes, as an appendix, his correspondence with Mr. Henry Gibbs, ex-Governor of the Bank of England, on the question as to whether the Bank, in fixing the rate of discount, should, as a general rule, be guided by the amount of its reserve in gold. Of course, Mr. B. Price is strongly



J. B. Say, that the exportation of gold is an advantage, for in exchange for gold, which is dead capital, useful goods are obtained, and the gold remaining in the country is rendered more serviceable; since, to pay for the same number of articles a less weight is given and received, according as its quantity has diminished, its value having increased. If these propositions (which, not long since, all the economists of the deductive school were fully prepared to vouch for) be exact, we must conclude that the entire business world, the Bank of England, merchants, bill brokers, speculators, and all the writers of financial articles in the newspapers, must be suffering under the strangest hallucinations. All these authorities affirm that the crisis which has so long depressed the money market, and which becomes just now more acute, was in great part brought about by a monetary contraction, and recently by the exportation of gold to America, and argue that it became more or less serious as gold left us in larger or smaller quantities for the opposite shores of the Atlantic. It is, of course, economists who are mistaken, they having made a superficial analysis, basing it solely on abstract ideas. The study of the phenomenon must be recommenced by paying special attention to facts as they really exist. Here, again, we have only to recollect what has recently taken place beneath our very eyes.

When gold is to be exported it is taken from the banks of issue, because in their hands a large stock is always to be found ready at the command of all holders of bank notes or of well guaranteed commercial drafts. Banks, being compelled to have sufficient cash in hand to guarantee the fiduciary circulation, raise the rate of discount. That is exactly what is now going on (September, 1881). In a general way a rise of 1 or 2 per cent. is sufficient to bring back the precious metal by diminishing the price of all commodities, shares, debentures, and stocks in State funds, and by raising the hire of money; but sometimes (and it has been noticed that this happens about every nine or ten years) the outflow of gold induces a sharp crisis. Mr. Jevons connects these periodical crises with the spots appearing on the sun. I have endeavoured, in a work specially on this subject, "*Le Marché Monétaire depuis cinquante ans*," to prove that they are brought about by the agency of three circumstances. 1st, the very general use of "instruments of credit," which in turn causes the immense mass of fiduciary circulation, notes, cheques, promissory bills, and unpaid accounts, to rest on a very small metallic basis; 2nd, the existence in the market of a great many term engagements, the result of the multiplication of fresh enterprises, of increased purchases of goods, and of the general speculation fever which invariably accompanies a period of expansion and prosperity; 3rd, and finally, the still more decisive cause is to be found in the exportation of cash, necessitated either by the bad harvest, as in 1847, by foreign

against this line of conduct, which is contrary to his theory. Mr. H. Gibbs replies that if the learned Oxford Professor were a "practical man" and a banker, he would understand the question better. How should not political economy lose its authority when it thus places itself in opposition to the most evident daily business necessities?



investments, as in 1825 and again in 1856, or by exceptional purchases of certain goods, as happened after the cotton famine in 1864. Indeed, whatever may be the minor causes which work towards a crisis, it is always determined by the exportation of cash, which induces either the shrinking or else the complete collapse of credit, which follows on a sudden and too high a rise in discount. These exportations of cash are generally occasioned by some disturbance in the balance of trade.

Mr. Bonamy Price and other economists make gentle fun of the balance of trade, and speak of it as an "exploded fallacy." Nevertheless, the *Economist* and other special newspapers continue to write about it and to follow its course with the greatest care and attention. Here, again, business men are right. It is evident that the balance of trade can no longer be estimated, as it was formerly, by a mere calculation of exported and imported merchandise. The amount of money invested abroad and the interest gained upon it has now assumed immense proportions, and this, of course, modifies the balance, without the tables of the Custom-House showing any record of it. The richest countries, England and France for instance, are creditors of other countries for many millions sterling. The interest of these hundreds of millions, represented in goods, occasions imports to be made without any return exports. It follows, therefore, that rich countries import regularly much more than they export, and this without occasioning any disturbance in the balance of trade. Here are the figures for England:—

	1877	1878	1879	1880
		In millions sterling.		
Imports . . . . .	349·41	368·77	362·99	411·22
Exports . . . . .	252·34	245·48	248·78	268·41

Imports exceeding exports by 97·07 ... 123·29 ... 114·21 ... 142·81

This excess of imports naturally includes, besides the interest of money lodged in investments abroad, the immense sums for freights of merchandise, and for wares of all kinds which English vessels transport to all parts of the world, and also the profits of trade on the national and foreign produce that English merchants sell everywhere. The following is a calculation made on this subject by Mr. G. Medley. (See his work, "The Reciprocity Craze.")

Profits on Ocean Carrying Trade . . .	£45,000,000
Insurance . . . . .	3,500,000
Interest on Capital in Foreign Trade . .	5,000,000
Merchants' Profits . . . . .	17,500,000
Income from Foreign Investments . . .	55,000,000
Total . . . . .	£126,000,000

But if the state of things thus established, with an excess of imports for the creditor country, be troubled by the necessity of completing



fresh foreign investments, or by an exceptional purchase of corn being needed after a bad harvest, the result will be an unusual exportation of cash, followed by a crisis more or less severe. These sharp crises have sometimes most disastrous consequences. All shares fall in the market; bankruptcies may be counted by thousands; workshops are closed; workmen find themselves without employment, and want and suffering become very great. It cannot be maintained, therefore, that even in such a case as this, the exportation of the precious metals is a matter of indifference. All that can be meant is that its disadvantageous effects are but transient, commerce and industry quickly again presenting their habitual aspect. Prices rise, and two or three years' practice of economy suffices to repair what losses may have been sustained. A fresh period of prosperity, of expansion and speculation soon commences, which generally terminates in another crisis.

The effects of a slow and steady reduction of the stock of money are of a different character. They come into operation almost insensibly, being unaccompanied by any violent disturbance. Indeed, the cause of the evil is usually ignored, or else disputed. Instead of a burning fever it is a decline with which the social body is afflicted. A crisis of this description first occurred in the period 1816-1840, and it has been repeated from 1873 to last year. Each was brought about by identically similar circumstances. They may be thus specified—1st, insufficiency of the production of the precious metals; 2nd, exceptional demand for gold. Let us examine the facts. 1st, from 1816 to 1822, England, abandoning paper money, established the gold standard, and took from the general circulation of the world £20,000,000 sterling. This was an immense sum for that period, for it corresponded to ten times the then annual production;\* 2nd, the average annual production which was from 1801 to 1810, 259,000,000 francs, fell from 1811 to 1820 to 159,000,000 fr., sank still further to 151,000,000 fr. from 1821 to 1830, and amounted only to 202,000,000 fr. in the period from 1831 to 1840. After 1873 the United States, Germany, and the Scandinavian States, by adopting the gold standard, absorbed from 300,000,000 fr. to 400,000,000 fr. of gold. The production of both the precious metals taken together has not decreased; but silver, being no longer received in any mints, save for the currency in India, the monetary stock has had to be fed by gold alone, the production of which has diminished by one-third. The annual influx into circulation of the precious metal has thus fallen one-half—viz., from £40,000,000 to £20,000,000. Added to this, during these last three and a half years, America has taken from us £50,000,000 of gold. These three circumstances combined have produced subsequently to 1873, as they did also after 1816, a monetary contraction. It is that phenomenon,

\* Albert Gallatin, whose authority is frequently cited on these questions, wrote in 1829: "Not only has England by that experiment, in the face of the universal experience of mankind, gratuitously subjected herself to actual inconvenience, for the sake of adhering to an abstract principle, but, in so doing, she has departed more widely from known principles, and from those which regulate a sound metallic currency."



exactly the reverse of the expansion after 1850, which has been neglected by economists, and it is this which we must now study. This has not yet been systematically done, though striking references to it are to be found in different works, notably in Alison's "England in 1815 and 1845; or a Sufficient and a Contracted Money;" D. Lubé, "Argument against one Gold Standard;"\* "Report of the Monetary Commission of the Senate of the United States, 1876;" Dana Horton, "Silver and Gold;" R. Giffen, "The Recent Fall in Prices," *Journal of Statist. Soc.*, March, 1879.

In the case of a slow monetary contraction crisis, the precious metals are not suddenly taken away from the banks in large quantities, as is the case in sharp crises; credit is not shaken, and monetary stock diminishes almost insensibly by the industrial consumption of the precious metals, since the stock, not being fed as usual, does not keep up to the level of the growth of the economic development. Then commences an almost imperceptible fall in prices, spreading from one article to another. The unfortunate consequences of this circumstance, left unnoticed by Mr. Bonamy Price and by other economists, are as follows:—During the fall in prices the merchant and tradesman frequently lose, for they are often obliged to sell cheaper than they bought. Enterprises no longer bring in profit; on the contrary, they have often to be abandoned at a loss. Merchants, their hearts failing, relinquish part of their business, new undertakings of any kind become rare. Workmen, less and less sought after, see their wages lessened. They, in turn, consume less, and thus the manufacturers who provide for their wants have to reduce their productions. Merchants and tradesmen, making small or no profits,

\* The following are a few passages from these writings:—"Is there one man of sense and reflection whose mind is not sometimes occupied, and whose imagination is not startled by the actual and prospective state of the country? The monetary standard of England was what it is now and has always been throughout the rest of Europe—silver. Monstrous and incredible delusion! We are now told that the question is settled for ever. But with a gold standard, circulation cannot increase: so it opposes an effectual barrier to all improvement. By the gold standard the currency has been reduced below the point that would afford remunerative prices with the present taxes."—*Argument against One Gold Standard*, D. Lubé, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin. In 1832 Lubé strongly advocated the silver standard. This is what Sir Archibald Alison says on the subject of monetary contraction: "The distress among the mercantile classes for years after the dreadful crisis of 1825, of the agricultural interest during the lowering of prices from 1832 to 1835, and of the whole community from 1835 to 1842 was extreme. The investment of capital in agriculture was, during this distress, everywhere grievously abridged, and in many places totally annihilated. Ireland, during the whole period, has been in a state of smothered insurrection. The heart sickens at the evidence, numerous and incontrovertible, which the Parliamentary reports for the last ten years have accumulated of widespread and often long-enduring suffering amongst the labouring poor of England." After having described the progress of this state of things Alison adds: "Some external cause must therefore have paralyzed and blighted the wealth of the country in the midst of such an increasing growth of the national resources. Since the Peace, the all-important question arises, what was it which had this effect? The answer is, it was the contraction of the currency which was mistakenly made to accompany the resumption of cash payments by the Bill of 1819 that has been the chief cause of all these effects." Alison gives a perfectly complete description of the unfortunate results of the monetary contraction, the real cause of which generally passes unobserved. "It is as difficult to get the great bulk of men to understand that it is the currency itself that is shifting in value when great changes of price are going on around it, as it is to make them comprehend that the earth is moving rapidly through the heavens."—*England in 1815 and 1845; or, A Sufficient and a Contracted Money*, 1846, page 51.



do not live so well, and here again the manufacturers who work for the middle classes also suffer. There is a general decrease in economic activity. Capital, sunk into inactivity, lies in the banks, and the rate of interest falls, the demand for advances being few and small. Cash does not appear to be lacking, and, indeed, is not wanting, for, as J. B. Say said, the quantity, if it is diminished absolutely or comparatively, is "appreciated." Each unit is worth more and effects more exchanges. Reduce as much as you will the monetary stock, it will always remain sufficient, for, as prices fall, in proportion its value rises, and it will always buy and pay for the same amount of goods. When the fall in prices is at an end, the period of suffering resulting from it finishes, and the economic world gradually regains its normal condition. Only the transition is often tedious and accompanied by many cruel trials, as we have had occasion to see during the last few years.

The question now is whether when exchanges are effected with less cash, and consequently on a lower scale of prices, will the situation be what it formerly was, as the economists who reason on abstract principles pretend? I venture to say, not at all. The pressure of previously contracted debts will have increased exactly in the same ratio as prices will have fallen. In fact, to obtain the same amount of money, more goods or more labour will have to be given, as these will be worth less.

The nation in general, that is to say, taxpayers, mortgagees, public companies who have issued debentures, landed proprietors bound to pay fixed yearly incomes, pensions of one sort or another, all will be burdened and the bondholders alone will benefit. Some people will say, What does it matter? Some gain what others lose.

This is a mischievous mistake. It matters greatly, for production is sacrificed in favour of the fundholding class, or, as John Stuart Mill puts it, active capital is sacrificed for idle capital.\* As already most European communities are taxed to the extreme limit, the consequence of any indirect increase of the burden which these loans lay upon them would inevitably be the misery of the populations, if they

\* All the leading economists agree in thinking that abundance of money is more favourable to the progress of mankind than scarcity. Here are some quotations on the subject: "In fine," says Michel Chevalier, "a fall in the value of money will profit those who live by present labour: it will injure those who live on the fruits of past labour, be it their own or that of their fathers. In this respect it will act in the same direction with the greater part of those evolutions which are accomplished by virtue of the great law of civilization, to which ordinarily we assign the noble name of progress."—*La Monnaie*, 2nd edition, 1866, p. 760. J. R. MacCulloch, in his discussion on the effect of the great increase in the world's stock of gold after 1850, says in conclusion: "Though, like a fall of rain after a long course of dry weather, it may be prejudicial to certain classes, it is beneficial to an incomparably greater number, including all who are actively engaged in industrial pursuits, and is, speaking generally, of great public or national advantage."—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. "Precious Metals." W. Roscher, the learned professor of Leipzig, points out that the gold discoveries, by preventing a dearth of money, which without them would have probably occurred, saved the nation from a grievous malady. On the other hand, he explains, in the same sense as MacCulloch and Chevalier, how a fall in the value of money may stimulate to a notable increase of national production—*Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, §. 141). All the more known German economists—Nasse, O. Arendt, Adolf Wagner, Lexis, Schäffle, and even Goethe—express the same opinion. Vide, for example, Erwin Nasse, *Der Bimetallismus und die Währungsfrage*. Holtzendorff: Breutano, Jahrbücher II. 1.



continued to pay, or general bankruptcy in the event of their refusing to do so. It opens up a vision of the world of the Stock Exchange towering over the crushed ruins of the working world.

Finally it may also happen that the two sorts of crises, that which may be called the "anæmic" crisis, that is to say, the one which is due to a slow decrease of monetary stock, and the sharp crisis, due to a sudden and considerable outflow of gold, graft themselves so to speak one on the other, as they are doing at the present time. The exportation of metal to New York is impoverishing further our store of precious metal, and so is doubly disastrous. It retards the impetus of business which seemed to be springing again into life, and at the same time it keeps down prices which are already merely remunerative. We thus see to what extent the abstract ideas of the deductive school are contradicted by a simple statement of facts.

But these economists ask, Is it then not true that produce is exchanged for produce? If that be so, gold is as much a produce as anything else. The merchant exporting it has obtained in exchange goods of a higher value, or he would not have consented to the transaction. Therefore, if the merchant has gained, it is not possible that his country loses. All these axioms, which seem so clear and evident on paper, are nevertheless daily contradicted by experience. In reality, 1st, a great deal depends on the nature of the objects exchanged; and, 2ndly, it is not true that the metal of which money is composed is a merchandise like any other. Some very simple examples will serve to prove these two observations. Hunters are out in a forest in the far-west of America, and live on the game they shoot. The Indians they meet propose to give them in exchange for their guns furs of at least double their value; they accept the offer, for economists have persuaded them that produce must be always exchanged for produce, and that it is always a gain to obtain articles of a higher for those of a lower value. Their want of forethought, however, is speedily punished. They are very soon nearly dying of hunger. To get back their guns, they would now be willing to transfer not only their furs, but everything else they possess into the bargain. Again, a manufacturing town has sufficient cars and waggons to effect all necessary transports; foreigners buy from them a part of these at a very high price. The sellers profit by many thousands of pounds, and it seems a splendid business exchange of produce for produce, with clear gains on their side. But the vehicles having disappeared from the wharves and streets, there is no means of conveying goods from place to place. The manufacturers, no longer able to obtain raw materials, are obliged to stop working their machinery and to discharge the work-people. A general crisis arises, there being a deadlock as regards production, and misery continues to spread among the labouring classes until fresh waggons are made or got. The loss in this way incomparably exceeds the gains which were obtained from the



sale of the vehicles. Exactly the same thing occurs when gold goes off in too great quantities. He who exports it in payment of goods purchased in exchange does a good stroke of business, but the community suffers for it. Pieces of money are, for practical purposes, conveyances by means of which products are exchanged. If there be an insufficient quantity of these, the circulation becomes impeded; commerce and industry have to face difficulties in buying and selling; a crisis ensues. It is, therefore, not correct that the precious metals are as much a merchandise as anything else, and that it is a matter of indifference whether they are exported or imported.

But, Mr. Bonamy Price will say, you will not deny the truth of the following proposition, which, with several others, Mr. Mill has very clearly explained:—A country has always as much money as it needs; in fact, it is impossible that one country should export, and that another, with which it trades, should, at the same time, import cash for any lengthened period. Prices will fall in the country where gold is leaving, and will rise where it is accumulating. It would soon be to the advantage of the former country to buy where things are cheaper, and thus the excess of imports would quickly bring back the gold, and the balance would be again established.

I beg, first, to remark that this reasoning is neither more nor less than an application of the theory of the "Balance of trade," so decried by recent economists. On the other hand we find here again the same use of abstract ideas, leading to conclusions in which falsity is mixed with truth. Contemplating this purely superficial analysis, one is led to suppose that gold can pass from one country to another, in a similar manner to water passing from basin to basin seeking its level, and that neither advantage nor disadvantage is likely to accrue to either nation from the transfer. It is not so by any means. And, first of all, there is one very great exception to be taken as to the general axiom given us by Mr. Bonamy Price and Mill—an exception which plays a very important part in the general movement of the precious metals on our globe. I speak of India. From antiquity to the present time, an uninterrupted current has always carried silver to the far East. A rise in prices there, such as would have induced the Indians to buy more goods in Europe, and discouraged Europeans from buying from the Indians, has never taken place. And why? Because the silver on arriving in Asia is made into jewels and idols, and is, further, lost and hidden away by a population in India of 300,000,000, and of 400,000,000 in China, and so does not remain in circulation; thus, having no influence whatever on prices. The fact of the balance being always favourable to Asia is explained by the circumstance that Europe needs much commodities from thence, while the East takes very little of our produce.

Between European nations the balance is generally pretty equal; any momentary inequality is quickly set to rights by the variations in the rate of exchanges, and very little precious metal actually passes from country to country. In this case current economical theories find their



application; but let us consider the example of a balance where the tendency is persistently unfavourable, and where a constant exportation of precious metal becomes necessary. For the study of this phenomenon we have only to examine facts in connection with the trade between Europe and America. Here, as in the case of India, an unfavourable balance seems likely to become persistent. Since the United States re-established a metallic circulation, Europe is obliged to send them each year a growing quantity of gold. In 1879-1880 it amounted to 75,000,000 dollars, and in 1880-1881 to 91,000,000 dollars. The reasons tending to the production of this unfavourable balance for Europe are the same as in the case of India. We are absolutely forced to take certain produce from America; for instance, corn, meat, petroleum, and cotton. On the other hand, as industry becomes developed in the United States, thanks to the more general employment of machinery, and to the higher intelligence of their workmen, they are less in need of our products and manufactures. The difference, in this way, of the commercial balance that we owe to the United States, we are obliged to pay (silver being refused there) entirely in gold. Hence, these exports of cash, which occur generally in the largest quantities in the autumn, and greatly disturb the European money market. It is certain that these exceptional exports will cease some day, sooner or later. With a yearly drain of £15,000,000 to £18,000,000 sterling, there would soon be no gold left in Europe, for it produces none; and already her stock is very much reduced. On the other hand, as the Americans do not hoard their gold, or make anklets or bangles of it, as the Indians do with silver, the gold they receive, and that which they produce, by swelling the circulation, will raise the prices there, while they will fall in Europe, as a natural result of the diminution of the monetary stock. But to what famine prices will European produce have to fall before being able to pass the protectionist barrier—the American Custom-House—in quantities sufficient to turn the scales in our favour? For this to occur, the European market must be depressed severely—an event deeply to be deplored, whatever economists may say about it. One circumstance, which may singularly retard a reflow of gold to Europe is, that as soon as it reaches the opposite shores of the Atlantic, it finds immediate employment in creating new railways, new farms, fresh works of all kinds, fresh centres of production in the Far-West; for in these far-off regions the pioneers who people them love “hard money.” As the financial chroniclers say, The New York market is insatiable; gold coming from Europe evaporates there like water on heated sands. It scarcely is landed before it starts off westward. The United States are now enjoying the monetary advantages of that period of economic expansion which Europe experienced after 1850. European banks are to them now what the Californian “placers” there were to us then.

Gold can, however, return from the country where it has accumulated to the one whence it flowed, in another manner. In the impoverished country the fall in prices does not affect goods only; it extends, in some



degree, to investments. It is therefore advantageous to lend money there; and the country where gold is plentiful, and where, consequently, everything is very dear, will not fail to do this. These exceptional purchases produce a reverse balance: gold, obeying the fall in the rate of exchange, flows back again, and the equilibrium tends to re-establish itself. The economic theorem, stated by Mill and Mr. Bonamy Price, is thus verified; but an important change has taken place, which economists completely ignore. The country which, thanks to its gold, will have been able to invest money in the country momentarily impoverished, will hereafter be entitled to receive from the latter, as a kind of tribute, interest for the capital invested. It is thus that England has enriched herself, and that she can annually import a surplus of about £100,000,000 sterling in commodities, a large proportion of which represents the dividends of stocks, shares, bonds, &c., due to her by foreign nations. In 1847, France, in order to cover the deficit of a bad harvest, was forced to send large quantities of gold to Russia, and a crisis ensued. The Emperor Nicholas sent 50,000,000 francs to France. The gold returned, but Russia continued the creditor of France to this amount. Only, here again it must be noticed that the flowing back of gold from America to Europe will not be easy, because many years must elapse before capital can be more advantageously placed in Europe than in the United States.

Let us sum up these remarks on the movements of the precious metals. The real balance of trade, when all the facts are taken into account, is a very important point. It is that which determines the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, which again leads, when it passes the *gold point*, to the export of this metal. Under the influence of the variations in the exchanges, the balance generally regains its equilibrium, and thus the exports of precious metal are very nearly balanced. But when, after bad harvests, by large imports without compensating exports, or on account of freights or interest due, a country loses some of its monetary stock, it does not regain it without suffering some damage. The country in receipt of this excess of gold parts with it only to pay for goods at a cheap rate, or to purchase stock, the price of which has fallen, through the scarceness of the metal, or as a result of the monetary crisis.

I will finally examine one remaining question:—To what extent is it true, as orthodox economists allege, that it is a matter of indifference whether a nation be abundantly or scantily provided with the precious metals? I will restate their propositions. Precious metals, they say, are not essential to any absolute requirement. It is the abundance of useful or agreeable objects that constitutes the wealth of a nation. The more plentiful cash is, the higher each article will be priced; but this will add nothing whatever to individual well-being. The only result will be that money payments will be heavier, because, in order to obtain the same number of objects, a greater weight of gold or silver will have to be given in exchange.



These propositions are perfectly true, if we consider one country only, or are speaking of the entire world; but it ceases to be so when we examine the relations of one nation with others. This is what we must now make clear.

It is necessary, preliminarily, to explain the meaning attached to the words "abundance of cash." It refers to abundance in comparison with what is requisite for exchanges, and not to absolute abundance. Thus, it is certain that the more highly a country becomes economically developed, the less precious metal it makes use of in accomplishing the same amount of exchanges; firstly, because the monetary media, better employed, circulates more rapidly; and secondly, because cash payments are replaced by an extensive credit system. England, for instance, does more business than France, with half the quantity of cash. But yet, allowing for the necessity England is under always to maintain a certain quantity of the metallic means of exchange, it can be truthfully said that she is always abundantly furnished in that particular. The greater portion of the precious metals produced in the entire world passes through the London market, which reserves for itself only what it requires. All the nations of Western Europe are rich countries; cash is not wanting, means of circulation are plentiful, and prices are consequently high. The nations of Eastern Europe are, on the contrary, countries where gold and silver are scarce, the circulation slow, and consequently prices there are very low.

This difference in the prices of commodities is of very little consequence for the inhabitants of one or other of these groups of communities in their relations between themselves; everything there is dear or cheap. But it makes itself felt in any question of trade or intercourse between the high-price group and the low. The first can buy of the second at will; but the second, in their turn, cannot buy of the first. If I sell a chicken in London for 3s., I could procure three in Bucharest for the same money. A thousand pounds sterling in England would give me a triple power of purchase in Roumania or Bulgaria. An Englishman could, therefore, if it suited his convenience, buy up everything there is to be had in a poor country, he being ready to pay a price that no one there would give. It is for this reason that everything of the finest and most costly description is sent to London and to Paris from the producing countries. It is on this account also that so many Englishmen settle abroad. Their income gives them there a much higher power of purchase, and they can live in a higher style than in their own land. On the other hand, an inhabitant of Kief or of Sophia, wishing to come to London or Paris, to enjoy the value in his country of, say, forty or fifty quarters of corn, would have to sell double that quantity there to enable him to pay for the same enjoyment in the cities of Western Europe. The workman, who in New York earns a dollar for one day's work, could for that sum get five men to work for him where the wages are a mark a day, as in Silesia, and ten where the remuneration is 5*d.*, as in India. An Anglo-Indian civil service functionary



there keeps an establishment with ten or fifteen servants, wages being very low. Poor countries—poor in cash, or where the scale of charges is at a minimum—are, therefore, in truth, under the economic domination of rich countries where prices are high.

From all that has been said, therefore, I think it may safely be concluded that all the theories concerning the currency put forward in classic works need to be reconsidered and revised. They are superficial. They contain as much mistake as truth; and this portion of error has done much harm in preventing certain nations—England, for instance, and, quite recently, Germany and the Scandinavian States—from adopting a more rational monetary system.

The “mercantile” school was right in maintaining that an influx of precious metal stimulates commerce and industry, while its withdrawal throws both into difficulty and induces crises. It was also not in the wrong when it affirmed that gold and silver are not a merchandise like any other. These metals serve as conveyances to all other products; consequently, when they are in insufficient quantities, circulation, which is the life of the economic world, stops or languishes. But from these true observations, confirmed by daily experience, and relied upon by all business men and money-market chroniclers, the “mercantilist” reasoners have deduced erroneous conclusions: for instance, that gold and silver are the only riches, and that, consequently, in order to accumulate the largest possible amount of them, high protective duties must be imposed, so as to put an obstacle in the way of foreign import, and bonuses be offered for the purpose of stimulating exports. Economists were right in stating the true riches of a nation to consist in an abundance of useful objects, not of precious metals; but they made a mistake, and a very grievous one, in drawing the inference that it was a matter of indifference—in fact, was rather advantageous than otherwise, to export cash. It suffices to reflect for one moment on the disturbance occasioned from time to time in the economic and financial world by the draining of gold and the ensuing crises, in order to see how grave is their error. Nevertheless, the deductive school continues imperturbably to repeat its abstract axioms, although experience too frequently gives them flat contradiction.

What is to be desired in respect of currency, is that the monetary stock should be maintained at the level of the wants of circulation, and consequently that it should increase in proportion to the development of the exchanges effected in the world, so as to offer to all contracts, whether for a short or long term, as stable a basis as possible. In spite of history, to reduce civilized nations to make use of gold only, when Nature has placed two monetary metals at their disposal, and when it is evident that the yellow metal is produced in too small and too variable quantity, is to provoke a series of disastrous crises, shackling commerce, and completely strangling free trade.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.



## ON LANGUAGE AS THE VEHICLE OF THOUGHT.

IN the preface to his "Critick of the Pure Reason," Kant displays very visibly his embarrassment at being obliged to fix upon a starting-point for his disquisition. He labours to prove beforehand the possibility of the task which he meant to undertake: a labour which was superfluous upon the hypothesis that he was able to perform it, because the best proof that a thing is possible is the fact that it has been done. He had arrived at sundry conclusions, and it is to be presumed that he knew how he had got there. He had to consider whether his readers could or could not start from the same point with himself, travel by the same road, and so reach the same end. Upon his review of this question it would depend whether he should address himself to the world at large, or only to a favoured few, or whether he should keep his thoughts to himself as being in their nature incommunicable to others. But neither Kant nor anyone else has explicitly considered with the necessary attention this preliminary question of the possibility of communicating by means of language what he had to say. Nothing is more conspicuous in the history of philosophy than the astonishing ease with which every one has taken it for granted, that he will be able to express whatever meaning he may have had; and it has often happened, with a not uncommon human perverseness, that the greatness of the difficulty has been proportioned to the littleness of the effort to meet it. Ideas which would have taxed the subtilty, the consummate art, and the elaborate carefulness of Plato, have been embodied in an inordinate jargon, such as *Œdipus* could not have read without boggling.

The excellence of Berkeley's style, so far as regards his clearness and the good order in which he marshals his dialectic, is explained by his very early discovery that these things do not admit perfunctory treat-



ment. In a passage\* full of acuteness and good sense, he remarks how ill common language is adapted to be the vehicle of uncommon thought; and he demands most reasonably that the reader shall strive to follow the thread of his ideas, rather than carp at his language and catch at hitches which the circumstances made inevitable. This demand comes with no bad grace from a man who had done his best, by weaving his ideas into a thread, to give his readers a clue to follow. But the reader is seldom so happy as to have a thread put into his hand. He is more often forced to pick the random tufts from the thorns, and to twist them together as best he can. So rare is dialectical excellence, that we may partly explain by its absence the fact, made familiar to the world by those ingenious compendiums which their authors style Histories of Philosophy, that almost everybody can easily be interpreted to mean almost anything.

It is another familiar fact, and a much more important one, that the present state of philosophy is exactly parallel to the present state of theology;—a chaos of conflicting schools, each able to edify itself without convincing any other, every one regarding all the rest, not as witnesses against itself, but as food for dialectical powder and shot. The impartial bystander sees no sign that we are now nearer to agreement than in the days of Varro;† though the enthusiast of a school expects the world to be all some day of his opinion, just as the enthusiast of a sect believes vaguely in an ultimate triumph of the faith. We do not propose a nicer attention to language as the means to compose these dissensions. Every man who has given particular attention to them will be convinced that their cause lies too deep to be reached by the cunningest manipulation of terms and propositions. Yet it is impossible to believe that no good will be gained by substituting neatness, clearness, and orderly arrangement, in the place of clumsiness, obscurity, and disorder. The requisite investigations may throw some light upon the cause of the existing obstacles in the way of unanimity, and so tend indirectly either to their removal or else to the knowledge that they cannot be removed.

A very cursory inspection will reveal the outlines of the common dialectic. Philosophers may be divided into two classes: those (comprising the great majority) who had, or thought they had, something to reveal which was foreign to the stock of commonplace ideas everywhere current around them; and those few who, like Hutcheson, imagined nothing so daring, but only attempted to express platitudes with neatness and precision. If the former, with whom alone we are concerned, had remembered that the ideas aroused by words are those with which the words are associated, not in the speaker's or writer's mind, but in the mind of the hearer or reader, they would perhaps have set about their task with less confidence. How can new

\* "Theory of Vision" (1709), p. 137, § cxx.

† *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum.*



ideas be conveyed by language, when words are merely the arbitrary signs by which old ideas are aroused and placed in order? We shall see presently that this question admits an answer not incompatible with philosophical enterprise. But it nevertheless presents a formidable difficulty, which has been surmounted only by a very few writers, who have overcome it by aid rather of a natural instinct than of an intelligent review of the conditions under which they wrote.

The "new ideas" which most of us imagine ourselves to acquire daily from books and newspapers, are nothing but novel collocations of old ideas, nor is there anything new about them except their order and grouping. As a palmary example of very striking originality,\* consider the view taken of the Trojan War by Dr. Ernst Curtius in his "History of Greece." He thinks that it was a war of invasion, not of reprisal, waged by Æolian tribes from the Peloponnese under Achæan leaders from Argolis, followed by a settlement of the invaders, who had been themselves driven from the Peloponnese by the irruption of the Dorians; the stories of the return home are later and unfounded myths; and the Homeric pictures of Achæan life describing the manners of the Peloponnese, though they had their origin in the Troad, are compared with the songs of Beowulf, which were written in England, but describe the Saxon life in Germany. This is what men call a "new idea" when they read it; but the grouping in which old ideas are placed is the only source of its novelty. The common function of language, as used in what we call instruction, is thus to compound and put together into new combinations old ideas already existing in the hearer's mind. There is no impropriety in calling the result new knowledge, so long as we know what we mean. In the ordinary transactions of life there is no danger of confusion, and we do not need to fix our attention very carefully upon the process. But the case is altered when this process is no longer relevant to the matter in hand.

This process falls short of what is needed in other cases besides philosophy. It does not suffice for the poet; and we shall presently see something of the subtle devices by which genius suggests emotion which is not logically contained in the written words. But even here, however successful the device may be, it does not create or introduce the emotion, but only elicits into consciousness a feeling which potentially existed in the capacity of the reader to feel it. Such capacity for feeling what is as yet unfelt is no less real than the actual feeling itself; and it is possessed in very unequal degrees by different men. The poet is at the mercy of the reader's sensibility; and his success is limited and controlled by conditions which lie outside himself.

Even upon this rough review, we may see that the common metaphor, by which language is called the vehicle of thought, is not applicable with

\* This Essay was written in April, 1873.



strictness. The speaker does not create out of nothing the meaning which his hearer apprehends, nor does he, properly speaking, convey it from his own mind into his hearer's. The success of his work depends upon his audience not less than the success of a bricklayer's work depends upon the quality of the bricks and mortar set before him. This last metaphor serves also to point out that we are not disparaging the importance of the work done, but only marking its limits; for there is a vast difference between a well-built wall and an ill-built one or a mere heap of bricks. Or we might compare the given elements out of which a *meaning* is put together in the hearer's mind, to the notes of a musical scale, and the speaker or writer to the player upon an instrument, who can produce no effect of harmony or melody which is not a combination in varying proportions of sounds already limited and fixed. The least important defect, which becomes almost inevitable so soon as we pass beyond the simplest offices of common life, is the dumbness of some notes. But much more than this is needed to adapt the metaphor to the difficulties of obscure matter. There the notes sound quite differently to different ears, and the performer is at the best only dimly aware of the manifold differences.

With a little help from psychology, we can carry this train of thought some steps further. Let every mental phenomenon which can become an object of consciousness, be styled a feeling. Our first need is then a classification of feelings. Feelings are easily seen to fall under a double division, which has been recognized with a greater or less clearness ever since the introspective faculty gave rise to psychology. *First*, we observe that some feelings are (not to cavil at words) images or representations of others; thus we can think of a tune without hearing it, and can think of anger without being angry. Psychologists are not so well agreed upon the cause of this distinction, as upon its nature; and they use different terms to denote it, according to the view which they take of its cause. We are not here concerned with the cause, but only with the fact, and will use the terms "presented" and "represented" to denote the two classes of feelings. *Secondly*, feelings admit of another distinction, roughly expressed by dividing them into sensations and emotions. This is a cross division to the other. Both divisions apply to the whole class of feelings; and we must remember that emotions can be represented as well as presented; for, as was observed, we can think of anger without feeling angry. This twofold distinction of the whole class of feelings, or objects of consciousness, first into presented feelings and represented feelings, secondly into sensations and emotions, will suffice for the present purpose. We shall take the liberty to use the common word *idea*, when there seems to be no danger of ambiguity from its use.

A feeling may be styled *simple*, when it cannot be separated by reflection into several dissimilar elements. Objects of consciousness, commonly so called, are seldom or never simple feelings, but complex groups of these. A lengthened disquisition, or train of reasoning,



attempts to bring before the reader's mind a series of complex groups of feelings, springing one from another and connected together by links of sequence roughly formulated in the common logic. The last group of the series is the psychological equivalent of what is styled in logic the conclusion. Two problems here present themselves for discussion. *First*, under what conditions the relevant groups of feelings can be presented as objects of consciousness to the reader's mind; *secondly*, under what conditions they can be so presented as to become not only objects of consciousness but also of belief or conviction. A full discussion of these two problems would give us the true *Organon*, in search of which the intellectual world, has been engaged since the time of Aristotle, or even earlier. The discussion of the first problem is logically anterior to the discussion of the second; for a proposition cannot be believed before it is understood. To this the following remarks will be limited. We shall inquire into the conditions under which one man can, as the phrase goes, make his words intelligible to another. This will demand an inquiry into the various relations between words and the various classes of feelings; and the outlines of the inquiry will be found to tally with the classification of feelings above laid down. The main conclusions may be summed up in the following propositions.

(I.) Sensations cannot be presented, but only represented, by means of language: emotions may be both presented and represented.

(II.) Sensations can be represented by means of language only when they have been previously felt in experience, and have thereby acquired a definite association with the language employed; and this is true also as regards the representation of emotions. But emotions can be presented, even when they have never been felt before, by means of language between which and the emotion there exists no definite and established relation.

I. No proof is needed to show that the psychological distinction between presented and represented sensations cannot be obscured even by the most eloquent language. No words will make us believe that we see a table which we do not see, or that we feel a toothache which we do not feel. The exceptions to this rule are so trifling that they deserve mention, only to confirm the rule by contrast. They are limited to a few insignificant sensations, such as that called "setting the teeth on edge," which can in some persons be aroused by a mere description of the means no less strongly than by the means themselves. But the validity of the general rule will be easily affirmed by every man's own experience. A person of very excitable temperament might be greatly disturbed or even terrified by a horrid story, related under circumstances calculated to heighten the effect of every ghastly detail; but if the terror aroused by the words should make the hearer fancy he saw a ghost, we should infer the existence of some disease of the nervous organism. This illustrates the distinction between sight, a presented sensation, and terror, a presented emotion: the emotion can be presented by language to the mind, but not so the sensation. The eloquent orator



excites the anger or pity, and sways the emotions generally of his audience at will; and this power is, perhaps, the *κίνησις* of which Demosthenes is said to have spoken. The speaker has many aids which are denied to the writer; but the foregoing statements are true in the main of written as of spoken language.

II. Moreover, sensations cannot be even represented by language, unless they have been previously felt in experience; while emotions may be presented even though they have never been felt before. The first half of the statement needs little proof. No verbal description will enable a man born blind to realize to himself the colour scarlet, or the man who has never felt the toothache to know what the pain is. In the former case, the words will either be declared by the hearer to have no meaning at all, or else they will arouse, by means of some accidental association, some fanciful group of irrelevant ideas; as when, according to the old story, the blind man declared scarlet to be like the sound of a trumpet; which has been, or might be, plausibly explained by supposing him to have heard that soldiers are dressed in scarlet. In the second case supposed (that of the toothache) the words would enable the hearer to make imaginary transference of some other pain, supposed to be something like toothache, into the appropriate regions, and thus to get some imagined (represented) sensation, sufficiently like toothache, to serve the purposes of conversation but not a true image of it. This last is an example of that legitimate use of speech, by which complex ideas are put together in the mind by the aggregation of previously existing elements, whereby new knowledge is commonly said to be conveyed. The complex groups so obtained will represent possible objects of experience, which the hearer never did witness and perhaps never will, but which might be witnessed by him under the appropriate circumstances. Thus it is that the image of a palm or a banana might be so put together out of its separate visual elements, separately seen in other plants but never all in the same plant, that a man of vivid imagination could almost fancy the image to be due to memory. The success of such descriptions will depend both upon the deftness of the describer in making the necessary analysis into parts, and in choosing the words best adapted to recall them separately to the hearer's memory, and also upon the aptness of the hearer in making the corresponding synthesis. Deficiency in the speaker is much less fatal than in the hearer; and so (but chiefly in reference to emotions) it has been said that eloquence is found in the audience. Long practice makes the process of construction easy, within limited departments of knowledge: a good botanist will so readily apprehend the description of a plant which he has never seen, as to recognize it without difficulty when he next meets it.

Language can do for emotions all that it can do for sensations; that is, it can represent those which have been previously felt. But it can also do more: it can present, within certain limits, emotions which are quite new to experience. A little reflection will show that this is true.



Just as the emotions excited by a strain of music often strike us by their novelty, giving to us, as the phrase goes, a new feeling: so also, with the intricate diorama which passes through our minds as we read some great work of imagination, there mingle new elements, which easily pass unobserved in the throng but can be singled out and noticed for their unfamiliarity. No man of common sensibility can read through one of Shakespeare's great plays for the first time, without experience of emotions hitherto strange to his consciousness, which are new, not only in the sense of being more complex, but as being different in kind from any other. The dialectical machinery of the process may be thus described. The poet paints some comic or pathetic scene, such as would arouse in an actual spectator complex trains of vivid and subtle emotion; then the reader shares the emotion in proportion as his own imagination enables him to turn himself into a spectator. The poet uses as his materials to execute the painting, chiefly words denoting ideas of sense in order to bring a visible scene before the eye of fancy; he also uses words denoting the commoner emotions, which he may assume to be familiar to the reader and therefore able to be logically expressed by words. Out of these materials he constructs his scene; and the reader then feels, not only the emotions logically expressed in the speeches, but also some of those unexpressed emotions which he would have felt by sympathy if he had been present during the action. Moreover, this surplus emotion is imported into the speeches themselves, giving to them a breadth and depth of meaning which they would not possess if separated from the context. Hence it has been truly said, that no other poet suffers so much as Shakespeare, when his finest passages are read in the shape of elegant extracts. No other poet suffers so much, because no other poet has so much to lose; and what he loses when thus read, is the suggested emotion as distinguished from the emotion logically expressed. This power of suggesting what is not expressed, gives to dramatic poetry its superiority over lyrical, as the means to convey the deeper and rarer emotions; and we observe that lyrical poetry is obliged either to confine itself to the commoner emotions which admit of logical expression, or else to become covertly dramatic in order to produce its effects. This dramatic suggestion of ideas which are not logically expressed, is analogous to the process by which the current language is acquired and assimilated by the growing intelligence of a child. If the function of language were strictly limited to the logical expression of thought, it is evident that there could never be any beginning to the subtler use of speech. Language would be limited to a catalogue of names, denoting objects which could be pointed out by the finger, and recognized by the senses.

The division of ideas into sensations and emotions is very crude; but it suffices to illustrate the whole function of speech as the vehicle of thought. By its help we have analyzed the function of language into three parts—(1) *Indicative*, or purely logical, when the ideas treated



already exist, fully formed, in the hearer's mind, so that the words are needed only as signs to recall them. So far, language is adequate only to the simplest intercourse of everyday life. (2) *Synthetical*, when language is used to compound more complex ideas out of simpler elements already existing in the mind, which latter can be recalled indicatively. So far, language is adequate to the requirements of the physical sciences. (3) *Suggestive*, when the ideas sought to be aroused have never before been experienced, nor the parts of them. In this last case, though the idea has never been experienced by the hearer, yet he must be supposed to be potentially susceptible of it, since we should otherwise strive in vain to arouse it within him. The problem to be solved is the finding of a verbal clue, by which to connect the hearer's idea with signs under the speaker's control; so that the idea may be at first aroused by indirect artifice, but afterwards, having been marked with an appropriate name, by design and indicatively. In this way language is used by the poet, as we have seen; and also by the mathematician, as will be seen hereafter. The growth of a language proceeds by this gradual absorption of the suggestive function into the synthetical and indicative. By this means the poet is enabled to do what Wordsworth says that every great poet has done: to create the taste by which he is understood and enjoyed.

The foregoing remarks seem to be obvious; and the only apology for stating them at so much length lies in the fact that they have been and still are constantly neglected in practice. They suffice to make havoc of many books, or at least to reduce their scope within much narrower limits than the writers designed. They reduce written controversy, upon many important topics, to the task of convincing people who already hold in premiss what they deny in conclusion: that is, to set in order the existing ideas of people who are not sufficiently clear-headed to set in order their own ideas for themselves. And they reduce written instruction upon all topics to the task of compounding existing ideas into more complex groups. This last limitation is true in a certain sense even of the suggestive function of language. For (as has been already observed) there is some sense in which the ideas so suggested, though never before experienced, yet existed in the mind previously to experience. They existed potentially, in that they could be elicited into actual existence. This potential existence is no fiction or figure of speech: it is the necessary condition that the ideas may admit of subsequent experience. That the condition is something real, is shown by the undisputed fact that all men are not susceptible of the same ideas. To some men the poetry of Shakespeare or the music of Beethoven does convey hosts of novel emotions, to others it does not convey anything new or striking, however often it may be repeated. There must be some cause for this difference; and the fact that there is a cause is expressed by speaking of the potential existence of the effect before it has been caused.

The writer must find his meaning in the mind of his reader, as the sculptor finds the statue in the block of marble. In departments of



thought where the crude material is present in all minds, controversy has a definite aim and is fruitful of results. There is still room for great differences of dialectical skill; but this is of no importance to the result, because in all departments there are plenty of workmen able to do what work can be done. The physical sciences have for some generations been pre-eminent both in precision of expression and in certainty of conclusion. The latter quality lies outside our present scope. Their precision of expression is due to the fact, that they are concerned only with sensations, and chiefly with those derived from the five special senses (sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell), which are of all feelings the most widely diffused, the most nearly identical in different men, and the most definitely associated with the terms used to express them; so that they can be combined into groups, having an exactness, both qualitative and quantitative, such as is beyond the reach of language in all other cases;—except in one, presently to be considered, where even the physical sciences are perhaps excelled. The scientific use of language is only synthetical, in order to combine given elements into groups; and the physical sciences possess this great advantage over other departments (such as history) which also use language synthetically, that in the sciences any haziness or ambiguity of meaning which may chance to arise can be speedily dissipated by actual experience of the relevant ideas.

The physical sciences, pre-eminent in precision and certainty, use language only synthetically, and under the most favourable conditions. By one other department, Pure Mathematics, they are perhaps excelled, certainly equalled, in precision and certainty. It is both pertinent and interesting to inquire in what way the mathematician uses language. The reader will probably hear with surprise, that in his use of language the mathematician proceeds in close analogy with the poet. Different as their aims are, the two agree in this, that they both seek to arouse ideas never before present in the reader's mind, but capable of being presented; and they use a very simple artifice in order to effect what they propose. The ideas of which the poet treats are emotions, commonly so called; but not so the ideas of the mathematician. We need not enter upon the question, what they are and to which division in our psychology they must be referred; because the reader may be assumed to have a sufficient knowledge of them to dispense with a definition. It is enough for the purpose to remark that they are new. That the ideas relevant to the Calculus of Variations differ not only in complexity but in kind from those with which we began the study of Euclid and the elements of algebra, will hardly be denied by any one who is acquainted with the subject. But ideas which are new in this sense cannot be conveyed indicatively or synthetically by language: they must be suggested, or elicited by artifice into the consciousness of the student. We need not travel so far as the Calculus of Variations to prove the point in question. Every step in Euclid is taken by the same means.



Hamilton has somewhere quoted from Leibnitz the names of "two zealous but thick-headed logicians," who reduced the first six books of Euclid to formal syllogisms. This excites some curiosity to see their work, since there is not a single proposition in Euclid truly susceptible of such treatment. By no syllogism can it be proved, in the first proposition of the first book, that the two circles in the figure intersect; yet the proof fails without that assumption, and a similar *crux* will be found in each of the subsequent propositions. The method of Euclid is not syllogistic; nor is it demonstrative in the common but erroneous meaning of the term. It is closely analogous to the dramatic suggestion used by the poet; and the syllogistic form is a mere accident, from which geometry has reaped a doubtful advantage. The geometer paints a scene, like the dramatist; this scene is his diagram, and the appended "demonstration" is only an artifice for bringing its relevant features prominently before the reader's mind. Thereupon new ideas, potentially existing in the reader's mind, are elicited into actual experience; and so the course of the work proceeds, ever in every new proposition eliciting something which cannot be derived syllogistically from the sum of all the preceding statements. But these ideas are potentially existent in all minds; and therefore, since they can be elicited in all, the whole world is agreed upon the conclusions of geometry.

The foregoing remarks are only a summary of the "deliverance of consciousness" in these matters. The doctrine there stated is *psychologically*, but not *metaphysically*, identical with the Transcendental *Æsthetic* of Kant; which is based upon the observed fact, that synthetic\* judgments *à priori* are possible. This truth appears most conspicuously in geometry, or the science of pure space, and in the calculus or science of pure number. Kant sought for an "explanation" of the facts, and he found it in the doctrine that Space and Time are the *Forms* of our consciousness, in such a sense that we necessarily clothe all objects of consciousness with those conceptions; whence it appears that Space as a whole or in general, and Time as a whole or in general, are logically anterior to experience, of which they are the necessary antecedent conditions; and thus the mind may be said to possess, prior to all experience, two perennial fountains of the relevant ideas, from which spring the whole of geometry and the calculus; whereby those sciences possess their three notable characteristics, being (1) *synthetical*, (2) *universal*, (3) *necessary*. The sum of these adjectives imports that geometry and the calculus are capable of a true enlargement in the manner above pointed out, and that they are apprehended by the mind, even without experience, as being true without exception.

Is this doctrine to be taken for more than an apt summary of the facts of consciousness? We observe that, so far as regards the correlation of space and geometry, the summary is admirably perfect and

\* In this paragraph, the word *synthetical* is used in the Kantian sense, not in the sense which it bears in the rest of the essay.



eminently seductive to the fancy. But this aptness is not so obvious in the other case. Very noteworthy is the fact, that both Kant and his followers, while they speak most luminously of space and geometry, speak most hazily about time and number; nor is it at all clear whether they meant to assert the same correlation to subsist between time and number as they asserted between space and geometry; or, rather, it is quite clear that they themselves are not agreed upon the question. Waiving this point, let us ask whether Kant intended to do more by the theory than to sum up the facts of consciousness. There is no doubt that he did. His theory was not content to be psychological: it claimed to be what he called transcendental, and what is commonly (but not in the Kantian sense) called metaphysical. Let us mark what followed. He had before him the old problem of the poet and the mathematician. It was certain that the indicative and synthetical functions of language would not suffice for his need. He was compelled by the conditions of the problem to use language in what we have called its suggestive function. That is to say, he must endeavour to elicit into consciousness something which, by hypothesis, transcends every possible fact of consciousness. This truly impossible feat is not always seen to be impossible; but the result of every attempt to perform it has always been such as we might expect. No two of Kant's interpreters are agreed about his meaning; and the various schools who revere his name have diverged so widely that the human mind is not able to measure the distances between them.

Had Kant possessed in perfection the dialectical skill which he did not possess at all, he would have got no nearer than he did towards convincing the world; but he would have written much more charming and shorter books, and would have spared his readers many pangs. He would have done just what he did; but with much less trouble to himself and with infinitely less trouble to everybody else. It is even not impossible that the success of Transcendentalism would have been increased rather than diminished by a clear and precise statement. The doctrine cannot be addressed to the whole world, even on the hypothesis of its truth; just as the Calculus of Variations, though undoubtedly true, cannot be addressed to the whole world. And the world has always contained men fitted to receive it: the men who opine, with Dr. Kuno Fischer, that Kant "has set up a standard which must serve as a polar star to all subsequent philosophy." Nor is it possible to refute men who declare themselves to possess a faculty enabling them to understand things which transcend all possible facts of their consciousness. The whole world has been always acting upon the tacit assumption that everybody has such a faculty; and their authority may suffice to back up the few who claim it in explicit terms. But the further pursuit of this subject lies beyond our present limits, and must be reserved to a future occasion.

H. W. CHALLIS.



## TWO DECADES OF INDUSTRY.

NOTHING is more surprising than how little note people take of the extraordinary industrial development of which Great Britain is the centre, and its effects on the business of every-day life, as regards the whole human family. The unskilful manner in which statistics have generally been treated is some explanation of the apathy felt in such matters, and encourages me to ask the reader's attention for a few minutes in examining the four salient points of the subject.

1st. The increase of commerce in the decade ending 1880, as compared with the previous one.

2nd. The disuse of gold and silver in the trade of the world.

3rd. The fall in prices, and its effect on the industries of nations.

4th. The marvellous increase of British industry.

To complete the picture I may be permitted to compare the year 1880 with the decades under consideration.

### 1st,—INCREASE OF COMMERCE.

All merchandise must figure as Exports before it becomes Imports, and hence the former is the surest measure of the world's trade. The decade ending 1880 showed an increase of 48 per cent. on that ending 1870 in the value of the exports of all nations, but the actual increase in weight or bulk was 80 per cent. (as will be seen later on), and yet the growth of population was hardly 11 per cent. in the interval. The value of the exported products of all nations, in millions, sterling, was as follows :—

	Annual Average.			
	1861-70.	1871-80.		
United Kingdom . .	166	220	...	223
British Colonies . .	107	140	...	168
British Empire . . .	273	360	...	391
Continent . . . .	369	561	...	666
United States . . .	36	112	...	167
Other countries . . .	101	122	...	131
	779	1155		1355



The above does not include Australian or American gold or silver, all bullion being excluded, but simply the merchandise exchanged between nations. In observing that the United States have multiplied their exports four-fold, we must not forget that in the first decade that country was a prey to civil war, and that in the period before us Europe sent five and a-quarter million emigrants to the United States, thus doubling the productive power of that country.

When the above Exports reached their various destinations they became changed into Imports of much higher value, the difference being almost 13 per cent. in the first decade, 14 per cent. in the second, and a little under 13 per cent. in 1880. As this difference is made up of freight, insurance, commission, &c., we may distribute it according to the carrying-power of the British and other flags, thus :—

	1861-70.		1871-80.		1880.
Exports of nations	779	...	1155	...	1355
British flag, earnings	46	...	85	...	90
Other flags, „	53	...	81	...	83
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
Value of imports	878	...	1321	...	1528
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>

The balance of trade against Great Britain, which gives rise to so many forebodings among persons who have partially studied the matter, exists more in apprehension than in reality; it has been altogether 10 millions per annum for the two decades in question (which is only equivalent to 1 per cent. of the earnings of our people), and if we be allowed to take the trade of the British Empire as of one nation the balance not only disappears, but leaves a surplus in our favour (million £) as follows :—

	United Kingdom. 1861-70. 1871-80.			British Empire. 1861-70. 1871-80.	
Value of exports	166	220	...	273	360
Earnings of merchants	46	85	...	47	86
	<hr/>			<hr/>	
Exports and earnings	212	305	...	320	446
Value of imports	223	314	...	319	441
	<hr/>			<hr/>	
	- 11	- 9	...	+ 1	+ 5
	<hr/>			<hr/>	

It is true that the balance against Great Britain for 1880 reached 35 millions, after allowing for the earnings of our merchants, but this is still a trifle, for our investments abroad are known to exceed 1,100 millions, producing at least 60 millions per annum.

The following table shows the commerce of all nations since 1860:—



## COMMERCE OF THE WORLD (Merchandise only, no Gold or Silver).

Annual average, in millions £.

	1861-1870.			1871-1880.			1861-1880.	
	Imports.	Exports.		Imports.	Exports.		Surplus Imports per an.	Surplus Exports per an.
United Kingdom	223	166	...	314	220	...	76	0
India . . . . .	29	32	...	37	60	...	0	23
Australia . . . . .	29	19	...	40	34	...	8	0
Canada . . . . .	16	13	...	18	15	...	3	0
West Indies . . . . .	7	7	...	7	8	...	0	0½
Other Colonies . . . . .	15	16	...	25	23	...	0½	0
<b>British Empire . . . . .</b>	<b>319</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>0</b>
United States . . . . .	49	36	...	99	112	...	0	0
Brazil . . . . .	14	15	...	17	21	...	0	2½
Spanish America . . . . .	39	36	...	42	45	...	0	0
<b>America . . . . .</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2½</b>
France . . . . .	109	110	...	156	139	...	8	0
Germany . . . . .	100	67	...	174	127	...	40	0
Russia . . . . .	27	28	...	49	48	...	0	0
Austria . . . . .	30	35	...	57	50	...	1	0
Italy . . . . .	36	26	...	47	44	...	6½	0
Spain and Portugal . . . . .	22	16	...	25	24	...	3½	0
Belgium . . . . .	30	24	...	56	44	...	9	0
Holland . . . . .	32	26	...	63	43	...	13	0
Scandinavia . . . . .	17	15	...	35	26	...	5½	0
Greece, Turkey, &c. . . . .	18	22	...	17	16	...	0	1½
<b>Continent . . . . .</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>561</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>0</b>
Egypt . . . . .	7	18	...	5	13	...	0	9½
China . . . . .	22	20	...	23	22	...	1½	0
Java . . . . .	5	9	...	9	16	...	0	5½
Japan . . . . .	2	3	...	6	5	...	0	0
<b>The East . . . . .</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13½</b>
<b>The World . . . . .</b>	<b>878</b>	<b>779</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>1321</b>	<b>1155</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>0</b>

The difference of value in imports over exports was 13·75 per cent. in the twenty years.

## 2ND,—DECLINE OF GOLD AND SILVER MONEY.

Although commerce rose 48 per cent. in the second decade as compared with the first, the shipment of precious metals over sea declined by one-fourth, between the term ending 1870 and the year 1880:—

	Annual average, millions sterling.			Year 1880.
	1861-70.	1871-80.		
Gold movement. . . . .	51	50½	...	42
Silver " . . . . .	44	40	...	28
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>90½</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>70</b>



If we compare these amounts with the value of merchandise sent over sea, we shall find the coin or bullion stood for 12 per cent. of the medium of exchange in the first decade, 8 per cent. in the second, and only 5 per cent. in the year 1880. This is not so much owing to a diminished yield in the gold- and silver-bearing countries, as to the introduction of submarine cables, and the steady demonetization of silver. The use of bills and cheques is rapidly superseding that of coin, to such a degree that before long the same ratio of coin as in England (22 per cent. of our trade) will be found sufficient in other countries, and this would induce a saving of 355 millions sterling—viz :—

	At 22 per cent.		Millions sterling. Sum in actual use.		Saving possible.
Great Britain . . . . .	143	...	143	...	0
France . . . . .	70	...	232	...	162
Germany . . . . .	66	...	109	...	43
United States . . . . .	68	...	145	...	77
India . . . . .	29	...	130	...	101
Other countries . . . . .	219	...	191	...	—
	<hr/> 595	...	<hr/> 950	...	<hr/> 355

It is customary to call England the strong box of the world, and yet we have relatively the smallest quantity of the precious metals. If we needed as much as the French or the Americans use (compared to commerce) we should have to call in 300 millions of money at present invested in colonial enterprises that bring us about 15 millions yearly.

Sir John Lubbock shows that advancing civilization tends to put gold and silver in the background, the trade of Great Britain being at present carried on by means of 99½ per cent. paper, and only ½ per cent. precious metal. Therefore the panic about commerce possibly coming to a stand-still for want of coin is a groundless alarm.

The movement of gold and silver during 20 years has been as follows :—

## CURRENT OF SPECIE, 1861 TO 1880.

Annual average, in million £.

	Gold.				Silver.			
	Decade of 1870.		Decade of 1880.		Decade of 1870.		Decade of 1880.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
Great Britain . . . . .	17	11	18	17	9	9	13	12
France . . . . .	19	12	15	9	9	8	11	5
United States . . . . .	3	11	4	7	1	2	2	7
Australia . . . . .	—	10	—	7	—	—	—	—
Spanish America . . . . .	1	1	1	1	—	7	—	6
East . . . . .	2	2	3	4	23	—	12	—
Other countries . . . . .	9	4	9½	5½	2	18	2	10
	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 50½	<hr/> 50½	<hr/> 44	<hr/> 44	<hr/> 40	<hr/> 40



## 3RD.—THE FALL IN PRICES.

As a result of the multiplication of railways and steamboats since 1860 all nations are enabled to send their goods to market, thus balancing supply and demand, which has led to a fall of price in most of the commodities in general use. It is possible to arrive at the exact price of each by comparing the quantities and values of goods imported or exported through the British Custom-house—viz.,

		1861-70.		1871-80.		1880.		Difference since 1870 per cent.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Bacon	per ton	60	1 0	44	6 0	40	1 0	-33
Beef	"	41	2 0	44	2 0	47	13 0	+15
Butter	"	103	0 0	122	0 0	130	0 0	+27
Coal	"	0	9 8	0	12 0	0	9 0	-7
Coffee	"	70	5 0	87	18 0	89	0 0	+27
Cotton (raw)	"	116	14 0	59	5 6	59	3 8	-49
Hides	"	64	16 0	82	0 0	83	0 0	+27
Iron (pig)	"	2	16 0	3	16 0	3	6 0	+18
Sugar	"	33	1 0	31	10 0	29	5 0	-11
Tea	"	172	13 0	124	2 8	125	1 4	-27
Wheat	"	12	15 0	12	15 6	11	1 8	-13
Wool	"	150	5 4	133	8 0	127	17 4	-15
Cottoncloth (1,000 yds.)	"	17	10 0	12	16 8	11	13 4	-33
Linen	"	31	13 4	31	5 0	30	1 0	-5
Woollen	"	163	15 0	143	16 0	135	1 0	-17

Thus out of 15 articles that form the chief elements of commerce we find that 10 have fallen, and 5 have risen, the decline in price over all being equivalent to five or six per cent. This is an immense benefit to mankind in general, as it enables a greater number of people to make use of the industry of their fellows. This is clearly shown by the quantities of merchandise carried over sea in the two decades under consideration:—

		Annual average.		Year 1880.
		1861-70.	1871-80.	
Grain, million bushels:				
United States	48	...	202	260
Russia, &c. &c.	127	...	201	160
	175	...	403	420
Cotton, million lbs.:				
United States	410	...	1420	1862
India, &c.	670	...	790	735
	1080	...	2210	2597
Wool, million lbs.:				
Australia	122	...	270	374
River Plate, &c.	140	...	285	290
	262	...	555	664



	Annual average.				Year 1880.
	1861-70.		1871-80.		
Meat, tons:					
United States . . .	55000	...	250000	...	540000
Denmark, &c. . .	70000	...	130000	...	120000
	<hr/> 125000	...	<hr/> 380000	...	<hr/> 660000
Coal, million tons:					
Great Britain . . .	9½	...	15	...	19
Belgium, &c. . .	4½	...	7	...	11
	<hr/> 14	...	<hr/> 22	...	<hr/> 30
Iron, tons:					
Great Britain . . .	1780000	...	2810000	...	3720000
Germany, &c.. . .	140000	...	680000	...	870000
	<hr/> 1920000	...	<hr/> 3490000	...	<hr/> 4590000

The above six articles showed a weight of 21,000,000 tons in the first decade, 37,000,000 in the second, and 47,500,000 in the year 1880. There has been, therefore, an increase of 80 per cent. in the second decade, or of 110 per cent. in 1880, which is almost 10 times greater than the increase of population.

#### 4TH.—INCREASE OF BRITISH EXPORTS.

This little island of ours is the most productive spot on the globe; it is a vast workshop, and the amount of minerals and manufactures that we export will almost seem incredible to the future historian. No country of ancient or modern times has surpassed us; none but ourselves can be our parallel. An idea is unhappily too prevalent that our power of production is declining, but the following ratio of measure and bulk of exports, per inhabitant, shows that our people were never more industrious than at present:—

	Annual average per inhabitant.				Year.
	1861-70.		1871-80.		
Steel, lbs. . . . .	3·30	...	3·35	...	5·50
Sugar „ . . . . .	0·90	...	3·00	...	3·15
Soap „ . . . . .	0·70	...	0·90	...	1·50
Paper and books . . .	0·75	...	1·32	...	2·02
Cotton cloth, yards .	81	...	113	...	131
Woollen „ „ . . .	8	...	9	...	7½
Linen and jute „ . .	8	...	9	...	105
Silk „ . . . . .	0·10	...	0·15	...	0·0
Iron, tons . . . . .	0·06	...	0·08	...	0·11
Coal „ . . . . .	0·32	...	0·45	:	0·25

There is but one item (woollens) which shows a decline, while the other nine industries have risen so rapidly that the average product per inhabitant, on the aggregate, is fully 70 per cent. greater than in the decade ending 1870, although the value of exports has risen only 35



per cent. It is foolish, if not criminal, for people to go about with lamentations for the decline of English industry in view of the facts which the following table places before the eyes of all :—

INCREASE OF BRITISH EXPORTS.			
Average Annual Exportation.			
	Decade ending, 1870.	Decade ending, 1880.	Year 1880.
Coal, tons . . . . .	9,600,000	15,050,000	19,070,000
Iron „ . . . . .	1,760,000	2,730,000	3,710,000
Steel, cwts. . . . .	880,000	980,000	1,680,000
Copper, tons . . . . .	36,000	43,000	52,000
Sugar „ . . . . .	12,300	45,000	48,000
Leather „ . . . . .	3,200	8,600	7,400
Soap „ . . . . .	9,000	13,500	19,600
Cotton cloth, million yards	2,400	3,700	4,490
Woollen „ „ „	255	302	263
Jute „ „ „	30	115	183
Linen „ „ „	203	190	165
Silk „ „ „	3	4½	6½
Books, tons . . . . .	2,150	4,100	5,000
Porcelain, value . . .	£1,500,000	1,800,000	2,100,000
Machinery „ . . .	£4,700,000	8,000,000	9,800,000

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to point out with as few figures as possible the precise growth of commerce, the relative disuse of the precious metals, the absurdity of supposing that we are on the eve of a disastrous gold-famine, the fall in prices which has occurred since 1870, the increased production of the earth as shown by the bulk of merchandise exchanged, and the rising scale of industry in this great nation.

M. G. MULHALL.



## CANADA AND MR. GOLDWIN SMITH.

THOSE residents in the United Kingdom who desire to maintain unimpaired the connection so happily subsisting between it and the Dominion of Canada, will naturally expect from some representative of the opinions of the vast majority of the Canadian people, a reply to Mr. Goldwin Smith's contribution to the September number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Notwithstanding the title of the paper, its apparent object is to prepare, those who believe in the competency of its author to make forecasts, for the separation at no distant period of the Dominion of Canada from the British Empire. He has elsewhere maintained that "ignorance of the future can hardly be good for any man or nation," and being endowed with a prescience, to which other fallible mortals lay no claim, he conceives it his duty to give timely warning of the Political Destiny of Canada. He repudiates altogether the notion that he is a revolutionist, or an annexationist. He holds that "to tax forecast with revolutionary designs or tendencies is absurd," but, on the other hand, it is "to renounce statemanship" "for those who are actually engaged in moulding the institutions of a young country, not to have formed a conception of her destiny." Holding as he does—though as it will be shown most erroneously—that Canada, owing to her position as a dependency, has incurred expenditure "for military and political railways," he thinks that this "is enough to convict Canadian rulers of flagrant improvidence," unless the permanency of the present system is clearly established in their minds. What Mr. Goldwin Smith has frequently maintained is, that Canadian policy should be based on the assumption, that the absorption of Canada in the United States is her inevitable destiny, and as it would be manifestly impossible to carry out such a policy without avowing it, most people will probably come to the conclusion that it is not altogether absurd.



"to tax forecast with revolutionary designs." It is perhaps needless to remark, that those "engaged in moulding the institutions" of Canada, whether "Liberal-Conservatives" or "Reformers," whether "Protectionists" or "Free Traders," have faith in the permanence of the system, by which expression is merely understood a belief that it is as likely to be permanent as any other established Government. Mr. Goldwin Smith, claiming the gift of prescience, has made a forecast, that at no distant period there will be a disruption of the Dominion of Canada, owing to the secession of one or more of the Provinces of which it is composed, and he professes to believe that this will take place without civil war. In a paper which I contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* in May last, I noticed that, when invited to point out an instance of such amicable separation, Mr. Goldwin Smith had cited such cases as Alaska, Cyprus, Alsace-Lorraine, and the Transvaal as "changes of allegiance without civil war." Unfortunately the illustration did not hold good in the case of the Transvaal. But I pointed out that in all of these cases territories were transferred by one great power to another, just as, in the event of an unsuccessful war, Great Britain might be compelled to transfer Canada to the United States. Mr. Goldwin Smith has laboured assiduously, as well in Canadian as in British and United States periodicals, to induce the belief that some design has been formed to introduce "Imperialism,"—or, to use his favourite, though wholly unmeaning expression, "Jingoism,"—into Canada. He has even condescended to quote extracts from a dancing master's appeal for patronage, and to dignify the author with his own title of professor. His unremitting efforts to sap the loyalty of the Canadian people having proved unavailing, he has sought by his late contribution to persuade the people of England that no reliance is to be placed on the continuance of the subsisting connection between the United Kingdom and the Dominion of Canada.

The Canadian tariff is an unfortunate subject for one who professes to believe in the influence of "Jingoism." It will not be imagined for a moment, by any intelligent person in the United Kingdom, that Imperial influence was used to inaugurate the present Canadian tariff. On the contrary, that measure has been a crucial test of the good faith of the mother country in conceding independent government to the Dominion. Whatever may be deemed the merits or demerits of the Canadian tariff, or of the respective policies of Free Trade and Protection, the tariff was framed in accordance with the wishes of the Canadian people, after a direct appeal to them, and it is not unworthy of remark that Mr. Goldwin Smith, although theoretically a free trader, "took the stump"—to use an American electioneering phrase, which he has himself applied by innuendo to Lord Dufferin—in support of the protectionist party. It is probably more congenial to his taste to appeal to the British public in the columns of a review than "to take the stump" in Canada in defence of the tariff which he lent his influence to



establish. The arena on which a free trade policy for Canada must be discussed is on her own soil; and it is a significant fact, and well worthy of the attention of the British public, that at the very time when Mr. Goldwin Smith, a professed free trader, was occupied in defending the Canadian tariff, the Hon. Mr. Blake, the leader of the Canadian Opposition, was engaged in one of the most remarkable political campaigns of which there is any record. Mr. Blake is a practising barrister, a resident of the City of Toronto, and being by universal admission second to none in his profession, the value of his time may be readily imagined. For upwards of two months Mr. Blake was engaged in addressing public meetings in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, in favour of free trade, and in condemnation of the present tariff, with what success, those who do not pretend to be able to make forecasts must be satisfied to learn after the next general election. Meantime, while Mr. Blake and his friends declare themselves quite satisfied with the result of his tour, the Ministerial and Protectionist Party are equally sanguine that he did not succeed in making converts to free trade.

In order that there may be no mistake as to the grounds on which Mr. Goldwin Smith defends the present Canadian tariff, it seems desirable to cite a few brief passages from his contribution to the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*:—"Nor is the Canadian tariff protectionist, except in relation to the Coal Tax, which is imposed avowedly for the purpose of compelling Western Canada to burn Nova Scotia coal, but does not concern England." Special notice of the coal tax, as concerning England, will be taken before the close of these remarks; meantime, further extracts on the main point at issue will be given:—"It is the offspring of clear fiscal necessity." . . . "The character of the tariff as a revenue tariff is thus vindicated by the result." . . . "The writer of this paper has been assured by leading commercial men in Canada, who are in principle free traders, and who are unconnected with politics, that the measure was as well framed as the circumstances would permit." . . . "The object announced from the throne was not the protection of native industry, but the equalization of revenue with expenditure, and the framers are men who have always professed Free Trade sentiments, besides being the heads of the Conservative or Imperialist party." . . . "The tariff, though not in the proper sense protectionist, has a quasi-protectionist aspect." . . . "It may be at once granted that to Canada a protectionist system would be ruinous." . . . "The motives of the Canadians in framing their new tariff were purely financial and commercial." In refutation of the foregoing statements of Mr. Goldwin Smith, reference may be made to some prominent articles subjected to duty, and to the opinions of those who are responsible for the tariff, as to the objects they had in view. The articles selected as fair illustrations of the protective character of the Canadian tariff, are cottons and woollens, the aggregate duties on which are about



twenty-five per cent. of the entire Customs revenue. And it will not be difficult to determine whether the duties on those classes of goods establish the correctness of Mr. Goldwin Smith's assertion, that "the object was not the protection of native industry, but the equalization of revenue with expenditure." In the case both of woollens and cottons, the general rate of duty on all articles not specified, is twenty per cent., which is only two and a half per cent. more than the duty on unenumerated articles under the old tariff. The specified articles in woollens, such as shawls, blankets and flannels of every description, cloths, doeskins, cassimeres, tweeds, coatings, over-coatings, cloakings, felt cloth of every description, horse-collar cloth, yarn, knitting yarn, fingering yarn, worsted yarn under number 30, knitted goods—viz., shirts, drawers, and hosiery of every description, are liable, in addition to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, to a specific duty of seven and a half cents per pound weight. On clothing, ready made, and wearing apparel of every description, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the Alpaca goat, or other like animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, except knit goods, ten cents per pound, and twenty-five per cent. *ad valorem*. It is alleged by Mr. Goldwin Smith that "the tariff is directed, if against anybody, against the people of the United States, who were excluding Canada from their markets, and at the same time throwing their surplus goods, whenever there was a glut, at very low prices into the markets of Canada." Let this assertion be tested in the case of woollen goods. In the year 1878, before the new tariff went into operation, the imports from Great Britain were over 8,000,000 dollars in value, while those from the United States were about 400,000, or five per cent. of those from Great Britain.

Turning now to cottons, the proportions from the two countries in 1878 were from Great Britain \$4,400,000 and from the United States \$2,488,000. In the case of cottons, the percentage of imports from the United States is larger than in that of woollens, but still the English imports were considerably in excess. It would be tedious to state in detail all the specific duties on cottons, but reference will be made to a few leading articles. "On grey or unbleached or bleached cottons, sheetings, drills, ducks, cotton or Canton flannels, not stained, painted, or printed, one cent. per square yard, and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*." On all cotton jeans, denims, drilling, bed-tickings, gingham, plaids, cotton or Canton flannels, ducks and drills, dyed or coloured cottonade, pantaloons, stuffs, and goods of like description, two cents per square yard, and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. On cotton wadding, batting, &c., two cents per lb., and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. On cotton shirts and drawers, cotton hosiery, clothing made of cotton, 30 per cent. Cotton sewing thread in spools, 20 per cent., in hanks, 12½ per cent., a protection of 7½ per cent. being allowed to the importer of hanks. It surely cannot be necessary to enter into a more detailed examination of Mr. Goldwin Smith's free-trade tariff, which he has been assured by



leading commercial men in Canada, who are in principle free traders, and who are unconnected with politics, "Was as well framed as the circumstances would admit." The writer of this Paper does not believe that there is a leading commercial man in the Dominion of Canada who is "unconnected with politics" if the meaning of that expression be taking no interest in the political contests. Of course there are many men, who might properly be so designated, who have not come forward as candidates for the representation of the people in Parliament.

It is inconceivable that any sincere free trader can approve of the present tariff, and it must be sufficiently obvious that if Revenue alone had been the object it might have been obtained as easily by adhering to the principle of the old tariff, which was to obtain the bulk of the Customs Revenue by an *ad valorem* duty on unenumerated articles. It has been shown that the tariff is strictly protective in its character, and it may be desirable to prove that it was deliberately intended that it should be so. If the framers are, as Mr. Goldwin Smith alleges, "men who have always professed free trade sentiments" they must either have materially changed their views, or else, like Mr. Goldwin Smith, who professes still to be a free trader, and who, moreover, declares that "a protectionist system would be ruinous to Canada," they must have a strange mode of giving effect to their convictions. In a recent address delivered at Montreal by Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, at a reception given him after his return from a protracted absence in England, the following passage occurs:—

"When Mr. Mackenzie's Government succeeded us, they carried out their principle of free trade to the fullest extent. Mr. Mackenzie, at least, had the courage of his convictions. In the House and out of the House he announced himself as an absolute free trader. We took issue with him on that question, and it will be remembered that every session I moved resolutions declaring our principle. We submitted our case to the country; and if there was ever a case, in which a general election was decided upon a simple issue, it was that of 1878. It was a question of free trade and protection, and the country declared itself in a manner which could not be misunderstood."

Sir John Macdonald is so thorough a protectionist, that, during his recent visit to England, he expressed himself so strongly in favour of a protective policy for Great Britain, as to have his opinion quoted by the Duke of Rutland, on the occasion of a Conservative celebration at Sheffield. It seems unnecessary to dwell further on the Canadian tariff question, and more especially, as it is not the object of the writer of this Paper to discuss the subject on its merits, but to combat the opinions of the learned essayist on the relations between Great Britain and Canada. Before leaving the subject, however, the promised notice of the coal tax must be taken. That such a tax "does not concern England" is an extraordinary statement in view of facts. In the year 1880, the last for which there are statistics, the imports of bituminous coal into the Province of Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces, were, from Great Britain 144,841 tons, and from the United



States 3,382 tons. Ontario obtained its coal almost entirely from the neighbouring States of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and not a ton from Great Britain; Nova Scotia has its own collieries; and New Brunswick is supplied chiefly from Nova Scotia, but it takes a much larger quantity from Great Britain than from the United States. The coal tax does not compel Ontario consumers to burn Nova Scotia coals, it only compels them to pay a tax on United States coals. Its practical effect is to cause the consumer in the Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick to use Nova Scotia coal, or to pay the tax on British. This the figures above quoted prove most satisfactorily. Another statement in the Paper under consideration, relating to the tariff, is calculated to mislead. It is as follows: "There is a rider to the tariff, providing that if the United States will lower their duties, Canada will lower hers." It would naturally be inferred that the rider, as it is termed, was applicable to all classes of goods, whereas it is limited to natural products, such as animals, grain of all kinds, butter, cheese, lard, tallow, coal, salt, &c., which were formerly admitted duty free into both countries, under the reciprocity treaty. Those who are familiar with the views of Mr. Goldwin Smith, as propounded by him on various occasions during the last few years, will not be surprised to find that, while vindicating the protective tariff of Canada as a necessary measure, he has endeavoured to throw upon the Imperial Government the entire responsibility for its adoption. He says that "Imperialism, though it may be a magnificent policy, is a policy for which you pay; and that for the increased duties laid by her North American Colonists on her goods, England has mainly herself to thank." Although most unwilling to introduce on this occasion anything of a personal nature, the writer can scarcely avoid noticing a direct reference to an alleged warning given by him that Canada's "liabilities are being piled up at a most dangerous rate, and that the reckoning day is at hand." This charge was preferred in the year 1880, in the May and June numbers of the Canadian *Bystander*, a monthly periodical, in which, during a period of eighteen months, Mr. Goldwin Smith commented on current events throughout the world. It was founded on a passage in an article contributed by the writer of this paper to the *Montreal Journal of Commerce*, which it was alleged was inconsistent with an approval of the decision of the House of Commons of the Dominion, to prosecute the construction of the railway in British Columbia. The charge was met at the time, and an extract or two from the reply will be a sufficient answer to the repetition of it in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW:—

"We are not inclined to discuss the Pacific Railway with the *Bystander*, because it is impossible that an advocate for the annexation of Canada to the United States can enter into our views on the subject. If by the term 'Imperialist' the *Bystander* means one who is in favour of maintaining the existing institutions of the Dominion, then we feel assured that it is correctly applied to Sir Francis Hincks, but we cannot admit that such a term is properly applied to persons holding the views of an overwhelming majority of the people of Canada."



As to the charge of expressing an opinion that Canada was "drifting into bankruptcy," the reply was:—"Our reason for using the expression drifting into national bankruptcy was that the policy of the Government, and of Parliament, was to discourage imports to the utmost of their power, and that some zealous supporters of the Government were advocating a resort to *fiat* money to be used for the construction of public works." It was never suggested in the article that the construction of the Pacific Railway should be postponed, but the undertaking of new enterprises, especially railroads, was deprecated. The imputation that "England has mainly herself to thank" for the Canadian tariff, is merely a repetition of what Mr. Goldwin Smith has been alleging for a considerable time back. The charge in his own words is as follows:—"Of the public debt of Canada, half, at least, may be set down to the account of public works, undertaken not so much for the commercial objects of the Colony, as for the political objects of the Empire, and especially to the account of a vast system of political and military railways, destined to carry into effect a policy of British antagonism to the United States."

The foregoing statement can only be met with an unequivocal denial. I affirm boldly and unreservedly that the Imperial authorities are not responsible, directly or indirectly, for one dollar of the expenditure on Canadian public works. The work especially referred to is the Intercolonial Railroad, of which it is said:—"The construction of this work is enjoined upon the Dominion by the Imperial Act of Confederation, and was promoted by an Imperial guarantee. It has cost about 30,000,000 dollars." It is to me inconceivable how Mr. Goldwin Smith could have ventured to repeat such a statement. The Imperial Act of Confederation was framed in accordance with the wishes of the Canadian people, who were represented in London, at the period of its enactment, by a body of delegates, including some of the present Dominion Ministers, the Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, having been chairman. The terms had been previously agreed upon by a larger body of delegates, which met at Quebec for their consideration. The project was first started in Nova Scotia, nearly forty years ago, and Canada joined with the Maritime Provinces in soliciting the co-operation of the Imperial Government, so far as to place an officer of the Royal Engineers in charge of the survey, the Provinces undertaking to defray all expenses. Can it be said that by complying with such a request, the Imperial Government incurred responsibility? In course of time, Major Robinson, the engineer officer selected, completed his survey, and recommended in substance the line finally adopted. After the reception of the Report, the Colonies interested entered into negotiations among themselves as to the amount of their respective contributions; and a delegate from Nova Scotia proceeded to England, and succeeded in prevailing on the Imperial Government to recommend a guarantee for debentures to be issued, so as



to enable the Colonies to raise the necessary loan on more favourable terms than they could have done on their own security. The Imperial Government was strongly urged to take a share in the work, but persistently declined doing so. In process of time a difficulty arose as to the location of the line in New Brunswick. Nova Scotia had always been favourable to the North, or Major Robinson's line. In New Brunswick, the principal settlements were in the valley of the river St. John, and the majority of the representatives of the province were strongly in favour of a southern line, which would have passed through the cities of Fredericton, the Capital and St. John, the principal seaport. The representatives of the northern counties had comparatively little influence. The New Brunswick Government positively refused all aid to the northern line. In the year 1852, the writer of this paper, then first Minister of Canada, accompanied by two of his colleagues, visited Fredericton and Halifax, with the view of effecting an arrangement, if possible, in which all the provinces could concur; and the result was a compromise, by which New Brunswick agreed to assume a larger share of the liability, for the benefit of Nova Scotia; the latter consenting to adopt the southern line of the valley of the St. John. In the spring of that year I proceeded to England, in company with the late Lieutenant-Governor Chandler, of New Brunswick, and arrived shortly after the change of Ministry. The correspondence on the subject had been carried on with Earl Grey, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it was hoped that his lordship would sanction the change of route. It is needless to discuss the subject, further than to state that Lord Derby's Government felt it their duty to adhere to Major Robinson's line, and that the negotiations fell entirely through, and were not resumed for a considerable time. Meantime, Canada constructed a portion of the line, south of the St. Lawrence, and east of Quebec, through the instrumentality of the Grand Trunk Company; Nova Scotia constructed a portion, if not the whole of her section of the line; and New Brunswick constructed lines, which were deemed of most commercial importance. No aid or interference of the Imperial Government was sought while these roads were being constructed. In process of time the Confederation of the Provinces became a subject for consideration; and after lengthened discussions and negotiations between the leading statesmen of the various Provinces interested, a measure was agreed on, which Her Majesty's Imperial Government was solicited to sanction. The Secretary of State was the Earl of Carnarvon; and it is scarcely necessary to bear testimony to the zeal which was displayed by His Lordship in mastering a subject of great intricacy. It will surely not be contended that Great Britain incurred any responsibility for the Intercolonial Railroad because she consented to embody in the act one of the conditions stipulated for by the delegates from the three Provinces. The British America Act of 1867 had the cordial assent of those delegates, and of



the Provincial Legislatures; although, on grounds wholly unconnected with the Intercolonial railroad, there was dissatisfaction with the Act in Nova Scotia, until Sir John Macdonald's Government, after a full consideration of the objections entertained by the representatives of that Province, introduced a measure which is sneeringly referred to by Mr. Goldwin Smith, as "better terms," but which the representatives of the whole Dominion did not hesitate to pass into law. After Confederation, the question of the line became again the subject of discussion. The great majority of the Ministers, including all from the Province of Quebec, favoured the Northern, or Major Robinson's line, modified in some respects by the Chief Engineer; while of the two Ministers from New Brunswick, one was for the Southern, and the other for the Northern line. The two Members who differed from their colleagues, very properly yielded their opinions, although pressure was brought to bear on them to induce them to resign. Such is a faithful history of the Intercolonial Railway; but it may not be out of place to cite the opinion of the *Toronto Mail*—a leading organ of the Protectionist Government—which, as might be expected, has "no fault to find" with regard to Mr. Smith's views "on the main question of the tariff." On the other point, the *Mail* declares:—"It is an exaggeration of the worst kind to contend that our public works were undertaken for Imperial—meaning Military purposes. They were, in fact, undertaken for purposes purely commercial and colonial, and their political importance, even in the case of the Intercolonial Railway, was quite a secondary matter in the minds of the men responsible for their inauguration." A few remarks on the Pacific Railway seem to be necessary. The construction of this gigantic work originated with the Government of British Columbia which sent three delegates to Ottawa, to negotiate for the admission of that province into the Dominion. The existing communication between Canada and British Columbia, is by the United States Railroad, known as the Central Pacific, to San Francisco, and thence by steamer to Victoria. It was proposed by the British Columbia delegates that Canada should at once construct a turnpike road to the Pacific, and spend not less than a million of dollars a year on a railroad. The Canadian Government, after a long negotiation, agreed to build the railroad, and to complete it in ten years; and Parliament ratified the agreement. Great complaint has been made of the shortness of the time, and experience has proved that it was wholly inadequate. It may fairly be considered in the light of what is known as an "imperfect obligation," binding the Dominion Government to exert itself to the utmost of its power to complete the work. Owing to alterations of plans—consequent partly on political changes—the work has been delayed, but it is at present making rapid progress, and there is just ground for hope that no further complications will ensue. Mr. Goldwin Smith states that "the very company to which the construction of the Pacific Railway has been consigned is in part American, and has



its head-quarters at St. Paul, Minnesota." The head-quarters of the Canada Pacific Railway Company are at the City of Montreal, where its president, vice-president, and secretary reside. The foundation for the above statement is, that a few years ago, some Canadian capitalists, in conjunction probably with friends in New York, purchased a line of railway having its head-quarters at St. Paul. Some, possibly all, of these gentlemen, in conjunction with other capitalists in England, France, and the United States, entered into negotiations with the Dominion Government for the construction of the Pacific Railway, which were ultimately successful, and which were in due course sanctioned by Parliament. Mr. Goldwin Smith disapproves of the construction of the line through British territory, taking the same view as the Canadian opposition. It is not intended to discuss the merits of the line adopted, but merely to call attention to the injustice of describing as "a political line" a railway authorized by the Canadian Parliament, and without the slightest interference on the part of the Imperial authorities. It is said, "like the Intercolonial, it has received an Imperial guarantee." This is a misleading statement. No guarantee was given in aid of the Pacific Railway. At the time when Canada was called on to give its consent to those provisions in the Treaty of Washington, which affected her interests, there was just ground of dissatisfaction that the question of compensation for losses sustained in repelling the invaders of Canadian territory from the United States had not been entertained by the Joint High Commission. It is needless to enter at any length into the merits of the claim; but it was thought not unreasonable by the Canadian Government, that if the United States claimed compensation on the ground of the failure of Great Britain to prevent the sailing of the *Alabama*, Canada might justly claim adequate compensation for the omission of the United States Government to prevent the Fenian invasion of her territory. What bears on the present question is, that the Canadian Government proposed as a mode of settling a question of considerable difficulty, that Great Britain should guarantee a portion of the cost of constructing the Pacific Railway, and should likewise consent to the diversion to the same object, of a guarantee, previously sanctioned, for the erection of fortifications. Under the circumstances stated, I must positively deny that Great Britain gave any direct aid to the Pacific Railway. It would have been given to any other Canadian object. As Mr. Goldwin Smith admits that the terms arranged between the Government of Canada and the Pacific Railway Company were the best that could be obtained by able negotiators; as he further admits that the organizers of the company are men of the highest character; and as he is of opinion that if the work, and the contracts connected with it, were in the hands of Government, there would be great danger, if not certainty, of corruption, little more need be said of the Pacific Railway. It is, however, worthy of remark that, while in England certain papers have not hesitated to denounce the scheme, and



to endeavour to destroy the credit both of the Canadian Government and of the Company, its Canadian opponents describe it as "a gigantic swindle," and profess to believe that the profits will be enormous. It will scarcely be denied by any one but Mr. Goldwin Smith, that whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Pacific Railway scheme, Canada alone must bear the responsibility, and enjoy the benefit, or suffer the loss, that may result from the undertaking. The two great works already noticed are those more particularly referred to by Mr. Goldwin Smith; but the cost of the great ship canals, the enlargement of which was provided for by the Confederation Act, as well as the Intercolonial Railway, forms a considerable portion of the Canadian debt, and most assuredly the Imperial authorities have never interfered with those works, which, though costly, have far more than repaid the country for all that has been expended on them. There is a curious passage in the paper under consideration, which may be cited here:—"To the expenditure on Canadian public works in general, a percentage may be said to have been added, by deflection from the line of commercial advantage, in the interest of imperial policy. Of this the Rideau Canal is an example. It may well be doubted whether the author of the foregoing passage understood the subject on which he wrote. The Rideau Canal was constructed some sixty years ago by Great Britain, at her own expense, avowedly as a military work. It was projected soon after the last war in the United States, and many years after completion was handed over to Canada, merely to save the cost of maintenance. What bearing it has on the charge that Imperialism has put Canada to great expense it is difficult to comprehend. Again, it is charged that the Act of Confederation has given Canada "a needless, complicated, and expensive form of government." The answer is simple. Not only was the Federal system established at the request of the Canadian people, but the seven provinces, after fourteen years trial, prefer to be separate. Surely their wishes ought to prevail rather than those of Mr. Goldwin Smith. There are many who believe that it would be a wise policy for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island to unite and form one government, and who are likewise of opinion that much expense would be saved if all the Provinces would follow the example of Ontario, and abolish the Legislative Councils. What end is to be gained by discussing such questions for the benefit of the people of England? Surely Mr. Goldwin Smith would not wish the Imperial Parliament to compel the Provinces either to unite or to abolish their Second Chambers. In connection with this subject, it will not be irrelevant to cite the opinion of the Speaker of the Ontario Legislature. That gentleman, during a recent visit to the United States, was interviewed, according to modern custom, and his answers to the interrogatories put to him occupy a large space in a Chicago newspaper. Among the numerous subjects to which his attention was called, are some which have been treated by Mr. Goldwin.



Smith, and amongst them is the one just noticed—viz., the number of small governments. It may be remarked that the Speaker of the Ontario Legislature is a reformer. He says:—

“There are few, if any, who seriously desire a return to the old state of things. Some have talked in favour of a Legislative Union rather than a federal one, but they would be among the first to resist such a change were it seriously proposed. It would be as impracticable with us as with you. Having once tasted the advantage of provincial control of provincial affairs, not even Conservative Quebec would abandon the free exercise of such powers.”

The same gentleman, who is not an Imperialist, but a staunch radical reformer, assures his questioner, who cannot comprehend Canadians desiring to remain “in leading-strings,” that they “have no sympathy with the few attempts at the introduction of annexation sentiments made by Constitutional grumblers.”

The next complaint is, that a militia organization is kept up, and “a good deal of money has been and is wasted on military preparations against a foe who will never come, and whom, if he did come, with his immense superiority of numbers and resources, it would be impossible to resist.” It is not very long since this very militia was suddenly called on to defend the country from invasion at a time of profound peace with the nation which furnished the raiders. It is, however, needless to discuss the subject or the question, whether “the police too is inadequate.” The police are chiefly maintained by incorporated cities and towns, and really Mr. Goldwin Smith should be satisfied to leave such questions to be discussed in the Dominion Legislature on the estimates of the Minister of Militia and Defence, and should abstain from dragging before the English public the details of the Canadian estimates.

It is rather amusing to read the passages in Mr. Goldwin Smith's paper referring to “an attempt to kindle Jingo sentiment in Canada,” and to “Canadian Jingoism beginning to spit fire at the American Republic,” and to the consequences of which the prescient writer has made a forecast. It is one of the delusions of the writer that there is a hostile feeling towards the citizens of the United States on the part of those Canadians who refuse to believe in his power to make forecasts of the future. The manner in which Canadians of all shades of party received the news of the calamity which recently befell the American nation affords conclusive proof that the most friendly sentiments are entertained throughout the Dominion towards the citizens of the United States. Surely Canadians may be allowed to prefer their own institutions and to frame their own tariff, without subjecting themselves to the charge of entertaining unfriendly feelings to their neighbours. As to the merits of the respective systems of Government, the Speaker of the Ontario Legislature stated to his interviewer:

“You are beginning to discover the defects which exist in your own system, and I cannot help thinking that, before many years pass, you will take a leaf



from the history of the mother-land, and improve your institutions still further by the adoption of the responsible system of government which has existed for two centuries in England, and has given the people direct Parliamentary control over the Executive—a control, let me add, much more effective than that which you now possess.” “What you mean no doubt is that the members of the President’s cabinet should hold seats in Congress, and be directly responsible to the people.” That is my meaning.” “I thank you for the remark. The same thought is frequently expressed by some of our own political students.”

Those who doubt Mr. Goldwin Smith’s object should read attentively the passage in his paper commencing :—“What is the object, so far as the English people generally are concerned, of all these desperate efforts ; of wasting all this money ; of running all these risks ? Suppose the dreaded consummation were to arrive to-morrow. Suppose to-morrow the English-speaking race in North America were to become a single confederacy.” The waste of money and the risks are all to be consequent on the realization of a dream or delusion of Mr. Goldwin Smith, that “Canadian Jingoism would spit fire at the American Republic,” that ill-feeling between England and the United States would be revived, that England contemplates egging on a British dependency to place itself in an attitude of antagonism to the United States, and compelling the United States, which are now content with the smallest of peace establishments, to put their army and navy on a more costly footing.” Mr. Goldwin Smith has not pointed out a single act performed or a sentiment uttered in Canada, at which the United States can with justice take offence. The relations between the two countries are of the most friendly character. It is true that Mr. Goldwin Smith, who, having made a forecast, has spared no efforts to bring about the result which he has predicted, endeavours to irritate the Americans by stating that “the tariff is directed, if against any body, against the people of the United States,” and by calling their attention to the “diminished importation of American, and increased importation of British, goods.” The Americans are far too shrewd to be misled by such statements. They know well that the principal cause of the decreased exportation of their goods to Canada is the increased demand in their home markets, from a revival of trade, and that their previous large exportations, when Canada was made what has been termed their “sacrificé market,” were caused by the serious depression of trade, and consequent overstock of goods. There are times, as the English manufacturers are well aware, when forced sales must be made, and it is the universal custom to make them in foreign rather than in home markets. The Americans cannot complain that their exports are admitted into Canada on the same terms as those from Great Britain, although they might prefer Mr. Goldwin Smith’s scheme of a commercial union, under which Canada would adopt the high protective tariff of the United States, and admit all American goods free of duty, a singular mode, it must be admitted, of establishing free trade.



Mr. Goldwin Smith has been unsparing in his efforts to convince the people of Canada that this scheme of "Commercial Union" would be beneficial and feasible; but, although frequently challenged to explain how it could be practically carried out, and although it is notoriously repudiated by all thinking men in the United States, except those who make no secret that their real object is to obtain possession of Canada, he has maintained a discreet silence. The annexationist view was plainly stated in the paper contributed by the writer to the May number of the *Fortnightly*, and was in substance that they wanted political union to follow commercial union. But Mr. Goldwin Smith denies "that anybody, either in Canada or in the United States, is attempting, or at all wishing, to precipitate the course of political events," the meaning of which is, that, out of regard to their own necks, no one will prematurely get up a rebellion, such as was "precipitated" in 1837, and brought several unfortunate men to the gallows. Mr. Goldwin Smith does not propose to attack the citadel by storm, but to make very gradual approaches, the first of which is "Commercial Union;" and it must be admitted that in recommending such a measure, in an English periodical, and specially to English readers, he has displayed not a little courage, or, as some might characterize it, audacity. He does not hesitate to declare that—

"The customs line across the Continent must be removed, nor can there be any doubt as to the growth in Canada of opinion favourable to commercial union," adding "all men of sense are contented to leave the political question to the future, feeling, that it would be unwise, as well as wrong, to do violence to any existing sentiment, and that the indispensable condition of a change in the external relations of the country is the full and deliberate consent of the great mass of the people."

In view of the fact that there is not a single Member in either House of the Canadian Parliament who has ventured to recommend this scheme of Commercial Union, there is no cause for alarm. Mr. Goldwin Smith, however, labours under the delusion that the Canadian Parliament does not represent the opinions of the Canadian people. When reminded in Canada of the fact that his opinions were not represented in Parliament, he replied that the politicians would not allow any one holding them to get a nomination. Now he declares that "power is practically in the hands, not of the people, but of the politicians; who, as a class, and without distinction of party, are naturally wedded to a system, which, as has been truly said, causes Canada to grow more politics to the acre than any other country in the world." He, however, consoles himself with the belief that "what frightened Imperialists call 'a shadowy party' is beginning to appear," although he afterwards admits that this "shadowy party" is one that "appeared in force at the last general election, when the people left the old party lines by thousands," and voted for the Protectionist, against the free trade candidates, as Mr. Goldwin Smith



advised all those, whom he was able to influence, to do. The Commercial Union scheme, it must be admitted, has been framed with some ingenuity. All that is asked is freedom of commercial intercourse on the American Continent, which would have a charm for free traders, as well as protectionists; the former would have free trade over the North American Continent, while the latter would have extravagant protection against the rest of the world. Then the great forecaster of events calculates, and not without reason, that if Canada were to enter into a Commercial Union with the United States, based on a high tariff against Great Britain, there would be a general demand for the severance of the political connection, and annexation would be peaceably accomplished, before the stupid advocates of Commercial Union had had time to comprehend the consequences of their folly.

Mr. Goldwin Smith has undertaken, in a portion of his paper, to give advice to the Imperial Government as to the qualifications which they should seek in a Governor-General of Canada. The principal of these qualifications is, that the Queen's representatives shall not be sent "to use their influence as Governors-General in propagating anti-continental sentiment." Now, it must be sufficiently obvious that continental sentiment is wholly inconsistent with loyalty to the Queen and British connection, by which it is not intended to convey the idea that the American people have not the strongest feelings of veneration and regard for Her Majesty. It is, however, manifestly absurd to suppose that the sentiments of the citizens of a republic can be favourable to monarchical institutions. The utterances of Governors-General are almost invariably delivered in response to loyal addresses from the people, or their representatives. It would certainly be rather an anomalous position in which to place a Governor-General, to instruct him to be careful not to propagate anti-continental sentiment, when her Majesty's Canadian subjects addressed him, as they invariably have done, with assurances of their devoted loyalty to their Sovereign, and attachment to the political institutions which they enjoy under the protection of the Empire. Mr. Goldwin Smith, however, holds that "there is little use in appealing to a Colonial Secretary. Make a Liberal Colonial Secretary and he at once becomes a Jingo of the drab, if not the scarlet species." It has long been apparent that the Earl of Dufferin was no favourite of Mr. Goldwin Smith, and it caused no surprise when he made eulogistic remarks on his lordship's predecessor, Lord Lisgar; remarks in which there will be general concurrence on the part of all those who had the opportunity of forming a correct opinion. I learn for the first time that "Lord Lisgar's administration is treated with scorn by the admirers of the more ambitious *régime* which followed." I had the honour of serving under both the noblemen named, though for a longer period under Lord Lisgar. The compliment paid to Lord Lisgar, that "he did not go on the stump, meddle with the press, or use his high station



to propagate his own opinions," can only be interpreted as an insinuation that Lord Dufferin committed all those reprehensible acts. Both noblemen faithfully performed their duty to the Crown and to the Canadian people; but there is no doubt that Lord Lisgar did not visit the various provinces and cities of the dominion to anything like the extent that his successors have done; and the inference to be drawn from Mr. Goldwin Smith's language is, that by not doing so he has incurred "scorn." It would therefore appear to be his opinion that "going on the stump," or, in other words, receiving and answering loyal addresses from the people, is very wrong, but at the same time very popular. The implied charge of "meddling with the press" is one that cannot be substantiated, and which I refrain from characterizing. Lord Dufferin was wholly incapable of meddling improperly with the Press.

Mr. Goldwin Smith has not failed to lend his assistance to those who have endeavoured to injure Canadian credit. He warns English capitalists "to be cautious how they send politicians in quest of a reputation, to earn one by a brilliant administration of Canada." He states that "a large amount of English money—too large an amount, as some authorities assert—is invested, not only in the public debt of the Dominion and in Canadian railways, but in Canadian mortgages and debentures." He then states that the farms of Ontario are reduced in value twenty or thirty per cent., and "are carrying a heavy load of mortgage debt." It would be well if farms in other parts of the Empire were as little reduced in value as those in Ontario; but it is probable that the investors in the securities named do not require advice on the subject. The public debt of the Dominion ought not to have been classed with railroads and mortgages; but it is scarcely necessary to make any remark on the warning, further than that no well-informed person has the least apprehension that Canada will fail to meet in the future, as it has done in the past, all its pecuniary obligations. Mr. Goldwin Smith professes to be apprehensive that, at the next election, the advocates of a national currency, or, what is termed in the United States, *fiat* money, will "sweep the country," as the Protectionists did at the last election. He must, however, be well aware that the advocates of a similar currency have ten times the influence in the United States that they have in Canada, and that, nevertheless, they cause no alarm.

I will only remark, in conclusion, that it is with deep regret that I have witnessed the persevering efforts of Mr. Goldwin Smith to persuade those over whom he has influence, that the Imperial Government is responsible for the expenditure on Canadian public works, and that the subsisting connection is disadvantageous to both countries.

F. HINCKS.



## To the EDITOR of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,—In *The Contemporary Review* for October, there is an article upon my knowledge of the land and the people in which and with whom I dwell. The article is written with the avowed object of telling and teaching the public that instead of knowledge I am possessed by an absolute ignorance of both the country and the nation. The name appended to the article is unknown to me, but the methods of warfare used are very hackneyed ones, and it would not be worth while to say a word about them, were it not that when an obscure writer takes it upon herself to attack and correct a well-known author, the former should be at the least careful of and very sure of her weapons of offence.

I pass over the offensive personalities of the paper, and also the stale device (so often favoured by reviewers who have nothing else to say) of attributing neglected typographical errors to the ignorance of the creator of a book. But when, beyond this, your contributor proceeds to put forth her own mistakes as superior culture, it seems to me time to undeceive her as to her own qualifications for the office she has assumed.

Your contributor considers that she has proved my want of accurate knowledge of the people with whom I have lived for ten years, when she discovers the provincialism *Ferragosto* spelt with two r's, and put in the mouth of a modern speaker. Now *Ferragosto* occurs in the "Village Commune," only in an ancient ballad quoted there—the sweet and tender *rispettò*, which begins *Al piè d'un faggio*, and which my humble heroine sings on the eve of her bridal. No less an authority than Professor Tigri spells the word with two r's. When the maiden of the ballad says her lover will give her the nuptial ring at *Ferragosto*, she uses the expression as meaning the first day of August, not the August fair.

*Stenterello* is not the Tuscan Punch, as your contributor states; he is one of the mimes who, with Punch, Harlequin, and others, made the laughter of Italy for so many centuries, until Goldoni crippled their omnipotence. *Stenterello* is still the jest-maker of the Florentines, but he is not the Punch: miserliness is his chief feature, and the satirists of Florentines quote him therefore as their type. I certainly do know how his name is spelt, as it stares me in the face, in letters a foot long, on all the theatrical announcements of every Carnival.

Your contributor quotes *strombetti* as an impossible word, and triumphantly conjectures that I printed it by some confusion of mind with *stornello*, with which, she proceeds to add, it has no resemblance. Now, *strombetti* is a very old troubadour's word, which is still in use amongst the peasantry of the Tuscan mountains to designate any sort of amorous poetry, even as it did in the Middle Ages. Therefore, not only is the word entirely correct, but it has an affinity with the *stornello*, or any other kind of Italian love-lay. Professor Tigri, by whose authority I am again content to abide, derives it from *strani motti*.

These three examples will serve to show how your contributor's zeal in detraction has outrun her wisdom. As regards the municipal forms of administration, she denies the accuracy of my description of them, without giving a tittle of evidence that she has been in any position to study them. She speaks of a syndic as of a functionary solely elected by the will of his community; whereas a syndic's appointment must be submitted to the prefect (nominally to the king), and, as a matter of fact, the prefects interfere with and influence these nominations all over the country, so that the men of whichever ministerial party is uppermost should be chosen. In the winter of this year I became acquainted with the most disgraceful facts of prefectorial interference whereby a Tuscan noble, who had been syndic of his district for twenty years, and universally beloved, was turned out by intrigue, that he might be replaced by a new man who held the politics of the ministry, whilst the Marchese had belonged to the Conservative side.

This is but one instance of a system of ministerial pressure which prevails throughout the land.

I cannot understand how any woman can applaud conscription. Had she sons to be torn from her she assuredly would not do so. At its best, it can only be a stern and sad necessity, and I believe the results here to be unmitigated evil. I believe that every object of training might be obtained by a volunteer system like that of England; but though the young men desire this, the Government is afraid of it, and refuses permission for it. The loss of their sons to the army falls most cruelly on the agricultural classes. A contadino, whilst his son is away, has to pay a labourer to replace the lad. I doubt very much myself whether a *bultero* on the Campagna, a sheep-herd on the Maremma grasslands, a Pistoiese woodman amongst his chestnut woods, is any the happier or better for learning to read indifferently and write a scrawl. Reading and writing, even if the unmixed boon and legal birthright of man that a certain school declares them to be, may be too dearly bought, and are not worth the sacrifice of homely virtues and cleanly living, and sage contentment with a humble lot. In Italy, as in France, the newly-acquired power of reading is chiefly used for the perusal of inflammatory and communistic newspapers. Here, as in France, the peasantry are sensible, peace-loving, and averse to agitation; it is the towns which are the centres of eagerness for unconsidered war and foolish credulity of bombastic Radicalism. Myself I prefer the unlettered mountaineer of the Luchese hills who can recite the "Gerusalemme Liberata," learnt by ear, and has as fine a sense as Mendelssohn of true melody in music, to the "educated cad" of the Turin or Florence streets, who has just heard enough of



Fourier and Bradlaugh to think that society ought to maintain at ease his ugly idleness, but who could not for the life of him tell you the name of a field flower, or say by heart a line of Tasso. The town-youth of Italy is for the most part lazy, conceited, ready to sponge on any relative rather than work; and I believe this to be in a great measure owing to the military service, which takes the young men from their trades and occupations, and from their home life, at the most critical time of their existence, and takes them into the coarse and noisy life of barracks; always a debasing one in time of peace.

As for De Amicis' military sketches, they are pretty and tender tales written from an optimist's point of view; but they are laughed at by Italian officers as "rose-water"—*anglicè*, humbug. Moreover, the opinion of no Piedmontese is to be taken seriously as of any political worth; the Piedmontese have got all the plums out of the cake, and naturally declare and believe that no cake was ever better mixed, or better baked, or more excellent for digestion.

If I did not know the language of the country I live in, I should not have as much brains as the dullest green parrot, for I could read and write Italian when I was a child, and I have now lived, as I have said before, ten years in Italy, with many of its country people in my employ. All the abuses I have described in the "Village Commune" I have drawn from facts; and I may add that one of the most famous of the *Liberali* thanked me for the book, and added, with a sigh, how difficult it was to introduce any reform against the temper of apathy and interested egotism which marks alike the highest and the lowest officials of the land. When an honest minister does come into office, depression and weariness settle down on him at sight of the Augean stable of corruption he has to cleanse, and the net-work of "wire-pulling" wound around all public life. Endless and unscrupulous office-seeking replaces all statesmanship and stifles all parliamentary life.

It may be said that this is a matter of opinion not capable of mathematical demonstration. But I have never heard anyone qualified to judge deny that this is the true description of the body politic of Montecitorio. It is a great pity that in England the old kind of "No Popery" feeling tinges the views of so many, inasmuch that they believe because Rome has been taken from the Popes, all the cardinal virtues and eternal felicity must needs have entered in the breach made by Porta Pia. Your contributor attributes to me "violent partisanship." Of what? Certainly not of the *Progressisti*. As certainly not of the *Papalini*. Of what then? Of the entire people?

I am happy to accept the indictment. Nevertheless, though I do charge the nobility with supineness and too great indifference, the statement that I hate the upper classes will surprise my Italian friends, and is distinctly false. It is not the aristocracy who furnishes either the *impiegati*—or the ministries—on whom my work of the "Village Commune" declares war.

I will add, in conclusion, that the assumption that the *borgo* of Santa Rosalea is the *borgo* of Signa, is incorrect. Signa was once and for all described in my novel which bears its name, and Santa Rosalea is sketched from a much less picturesque and less historically interesting place.

I beg to remain, sir, yours obediently,

Oct. 14, 1881.

QUIDA.

#### ERRATA IN "CIVILIZATION AND EQUALITY" IN THE OCT. NO.

- Page 653, line 1 should read "when he learns I am able to accept it, I am," &c.  
 " 658 " 9 from bottom, for "defence" read "difference."  
 " 659 " 11, for "only" read "really."  
 " " 24, delete "very."  
 " 661 " 10, for "original source" read "material."  
 " " 27, for "would" read "could."  
 " 662 " 17 from bottom, for "burdens" read "bewilders."  
 " 663 " 10 " for "commonly" read "conceivably."  
 " " 9 " for "It is quite true" read "It is true indeed."  
 " 666 " 4 " should read "Even that is doubtful," replied Seacorts; "but, at all events, it was desire for," &c.  
 " 667 " 22 " for "It is as," read "It is a."  
 " " 20 " for "product" read "production."  
 " " 12 " for "make" read "create."  
 " " 7 " for "genius" read "genesis."  
 " 668 " 7 " for "impossible" read "possible."  
 " 669 " 12, for "The shaft that you thought meant for," read "The shaft that was aimed at."  
 " " 28, for "doing" read "attempting."  
 " 672 " 26, for "cheering" read "cherishing."



## TWO STUDIES IN DANTE.

### I. DANTE AND ROGER BACON.

IT might seem as if the whole *orbis terrarum* of literature which finds its centre in the great name of Dante had been so mapped, surveyed, and explored to its remotest corner, that there was no opening for any fresh investigation. The catalogue of a *Biblioteca Dantesca* would itself fill volumes, and the books of which that library is made up are, many of them, monuments of unwearied labour and life-long devotion to a great task. If I think that I have yet something to add, if not to what has actually been done—for it may well be that others have toiled in the same region, of whose labours I am ignorant—yet to what is generally known, it is only that I come in as the gleaner of grapes when the vintage is done, seeing a few clusters still hanging ungathered, and perhaps only half ripe, upon the topmost bough. In July, 1866, I wrote a biographical article on Roger Bacon in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*. I am not, I think, unduly revealing the secrets of the editorial cabinet if I acknowledge the authorship of an article on Dante in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1869. I was led to study the lives and works of the two great representatives of that marvellous mediæval period as seen, on the one hand, in its science, and, on the other, in its poetry and theology. I treated then of each apart. Later studies in connexion with a translation of the “*Com-media*,” on which I have been engaged for some years, have led me to the conclusion that there was a closer relation between the two than the fact that they were, for twenty-seven years, contemporaries, and that the works of the Franciscan friar may profitably be studied, as throwing light on those of the poet of Florence. The evidence on which I have formed that conviction I now submit to the reader.

A preliminary question meets us and calls for examination. Had Dante ever been in England, and if so, at what time, and with what



purpose, and with what results did he come as a pilgrim to our shores? There are not a few, as Mr. Symonds remarks in his "Introduction to the Study of Dante," who would tread the High Street of Oxford with more reverent footsteps if they had grounds for thinking that that city also might claim, with Florence and Ravenna, and Verona and Paris, the honour of having once been the home of the poet of the "Commedia."

For the most part, it must be owned, the biographers and commentators are sceptical on this point. They do not see where the distant journey can be fitted into his life. They think that the evidence on which the tradition rests is vague and untrustworthy. They do not find traces of the journey in the "Commedia" or in Dante's other works.

What, then, is the evidence?

(1.) There is the Latin poem of Boccaccio in which he writes of Dante:—

"Traxerit ut juvenem Phæbus per celsa nivosi  
Cyrreos, mediosque sinusque, recessus  
Naturæ, cœlique vias, terræque, marisque,  
Aonios fontes, Parnassi culmen, et antra  
Julia, Parisios dudum, *extremosque Britannos.*"

*Epist. ad Petrarch.*

It is obvious that the last line is intended to emphasize the fact that Dante had trodden the *avia Pieridum loca* in the most literal sense; that he had wandered in search of knowledge into the most remote and least likely regions, in which no Italian poet before him had ever set foot. The literal fact is the crown and consummation of the figurative language which precedes it. Boccaccio, it is true, was a somewhat light-hearted and gossiping writer, but he was born seven years before Dante's death, he knew his sons, and wrote his life, and lectured on his poems. In regard to Paris, it is admitted by most biographers that he was right, and most commentators find a reference to Dante's sojourn there in the *Paradiso* (x. 136-8):—

"Essa è la luce eterna di Sigieri,  
Che, leggendo nel vico degli strami,  
Sillogizzò invidiosi veri."

[There dwelleth Sigieri's light eterne,  
Who, lecturing in the Street surnamed of Straw,  
So syllogized, it made men's envy burn.]

The poet, with his characteristic minuteness, remembered the Rue du Fouarre (Straw Street), otherwise known as the Rue de l'Ecole, in which he had attended the lectures of the professor who, though soon forgotten by his contemporaries and followers, seemed to him worthy of a place among the master theologians of Christendom. Was it likely that the biographer, right in this matter, should be altogether wrong in regard to the "Britanni"?

(2.) A more definite statement rests on the authority of Giovanni da



Serravalle, Bishop of Fermo in the early years of the fifteenth century, who translated the "Commedia" into Latin, and wrote a commentary on it. In this he says of Dante (I quote from Fraticelli's "Vita di Dante," p. 177): "Anagogice dilexit theologiam sacram, in quâ diu studuit tam in Oxoniis in regno Angliæ, quam Parisiis in regno Franciæ, et fuit Baccalaureus in Universitate Parisiensi in quâ legit sententias pro forma magisterii." Here again we have a statement, written in A.D. 1414, and therefore within a century after Dante's death, which, even if it stood alone, might have a fair claim to credit. There are, however, one or two circumstances connected with the Bishop of Fermo which have been overlooked by most commentators, and which give, as I venture to think, a special significance to his testimony. He attended the Council of Constance in A.D. 1414, and while he was there he made his translation of the "Commedia," at the request of the Bishops of Bath and Salisbury, who had come to attend the Council as representatives of the English Church (Collier's "Church History," bk. vii.). Here, then, we have at least the fact that men in high places in England were so attracted by the name and fame of Dante that they wished to become acquainted with his great poem. Is it not a tenable hypothesis that they brought with them memories of the traditions of their own university life, and that the statement of the Bishop of Fermo as to Dante's sojourn in Oxford may be traceable to Oxford as its source?

(3.) Can we find any corroborative evidence in Dante's writings of this visit to England, as we have found it in the case of Paris? Here, too, the evidence has the character of strong circumstantial probability. If, with all Dante-students, we trace the poet's travels in his vivid pictures of the tombs at Arles (*Inferno*, ix. 112), of the arsenals in Venice (*Inferno*, xxi. 7), and, as we have seen, of the "vico degli strami" at Paris, we can scarcely be wrong in finding a like trace in the description of the coast of Flanders:—

"Quale i Fiamminghi tra Guzzante e Brugia  
Temendo il fiotto che in ver lo s'aventa  
Fanno lo schermo, perchè 'l mar si fuggia."

*Inferno*, xv. 4-6.

[E'en as twixt Bruges and Guzzant\* Flemings make,  
Fearing the flood that on their sea-beach rose,  
A bank whereon the sea's great strength may break.]

But what, we may ask, could have drawn the poet, bent on seeking culture, to a region so unattractive? There were no schools of art or philosophy there; no "master of those who know," at whose feet he could sit and gather knowledge. Is it not probable that he found himself there only *in transitu*, as a convenient quarter from which he could take ship and make his way to England? Nor are the traces of the English wanderings far to seek. The Abbey of Westminster would be

\* I content myself with transliterating the name, leaving the question whether Dante meant Ghent, or Cadsand, near Bruges, or Wissant, near Calais.



among the first places which the traveller would visit, and in that Abbey there was a relic which would connect itself in Dante's mind with an event which, when he was yet a child (A.D. 1271), had sent a thrill of horror through the whole of Italy. Guy de Montfort, son of the Earl of Leicester, had assassinated Prince Henry of England, son of Richard Earl of Cornwall, at Viterbo, as he was in the act of receiving the consecrated Host, and had dragged the bleeding carcase through the church. The body of the victim was embalmed and brought to England, and was interred in the Abbey of Hayles. The heart was put into a golden vase, and placed on the tomb of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey (Barlow's "Contributions to the Study of the Commedia," p. 125). Is it not natural, with these facts before us, to see in the words with which the Centaur, who is the poet's guide in one stage of the *Inferno*, speaks of Guy de Montfort—

"Colui fesse in grembo a Dio  
Le cor che 'n sul Tamigi ancor si cola."  
*Inferno*, xii. 120.

[One spirit by itself he bade me note,  
And said, "In God's own lap he pierced the heart,  
Which now finds honour where the Thames doth float."]

—a personal reminiscence of the emotions with which he had gazed upon the memorable relic? Other passages at least admit naturally of an analogous explanation. The reverence with which he speaks of Henry III.—

"Vedete il Re della semplice vita,  
Seder là solo Arrigo d'Inghilterra;  
Questo ha ne' rami suoi migliore uscita."  
*Purgatorio*, vii. 130-2

[See ye the king, alone 'mid all the host,  
Pure simple Henry, wearing England's crown;  
He in his branches happier is than most.]

the allusion to the wars between Edward I. and Balliol—

"Lì si vedrà la superbia ch' aseta,  
Che fa lo Scotto e l' Inghilese folle,  
Sì che non puo soffrir dentro a sua meta."  
*Paradiso*, xix. 121-3.

[There shall be seen the pride that thirsts for gain,  
Which drives the Scotch and English people mad,  
That neither can within their bounds remain.]

the insight which he shows into the source and character of the hostility between Henry II. and his favourite son—

"E perchè tu di me novella parti,  
Seppe ch' io son Bertram dal Bornio, quelle  
Ch' al Re giovane diedi i ma' conforti."  
*Inferno*, xxviii. 133-5.

[And that thou may'st true news report of me,  
Know thou my name, Bertram dal Bornio,  
Who the young king misled to treachery.]



the introduction into the *Paradiso* (x. 131) of the pre-eminent English scholar, Bede—these are, all of them, phenomena which, though singly they prove nothing, converge to the same conclusion.

If that conclusion be accepted as so far, at least, probable, there remains the further question, "To what period of Dante's life are we to assign this visit to England, this stay at Oxford?" For the most part the biographers agree in employing the poet's more extended wanderings to fill up the gaps presented by the scanty records of the years of his exile. I agree, however, with Wegele ("*Leben Dantes*," p. 94), in thinking that they come far more naturally and probably into a much earlier period of his life. One whose goods had been confiscated—who was dependent on the patronage of this or that noble at Verona or Ravenna for bare subsistence—who had learnt

"Come sa di sale,  
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle  
Lo scendere e il salir per l'altrui scale."  
*Paradiso*, xvii. 58-60.

[How salt the taste of bread thou then shalt know,  
That others give thee, and how drear the way  
Or up or down another's stairs to go.]

—was hardly likely to have the means for such extended journeys. He appears, it may be, too frequently on the Italian scene of action during those years for the supposition that he undertook these longer and more arduous journeys. If he had undertaken them, they would scarcely have been passed over in the prophetic summary of his wanderings which he puts into the mouth of Cacciaguida, in *Paradiso* xvii. Lastly, it may be added that such journeys, undertaken for the sake of study, belong, in the nature of things, rather to the ardour of youth pursuing knowledge, and sitting at the feet of the great "masters of those who know," than to the ripeness of age, when the scholar feels that he has completed his work of self-culture, and devotes himself for long years together to the great task-work of his life.

On all these grounds, then, it seems probable that the Paris and Oxford period of Dante's life must be placed *before* his exile. It falls in with that conclusion that Sigieri, of whom he speaks with a reverence which evidently implies personal knowledge, died before A.D. 1300, and that the incident to which he refers in the life of Pierre de la Brosse, who was put to death by Philip le Bel, in A.D. 1276 (*Purgatorio*, vi. 22), was more likely to have impressed itself on the mind of one who was in Paris as a student in the last decade of the thirteenth century than it would have been twenty years later. And there is a period in Dante's life in which these distant travellings would have come naturally, almost necessarily, as a relief to a great sorrow. The absolute silence which Dante preserves from first to last as to the marriage of Beatrice, though he dwells repeatedly, both in the "*Vita Nuova*" and in the "*Commedia*," on her death, shows how deeply he felt what must, at



the time, unless his nature was different from that of other men, have been a crushing blow to all his hopes and aspirations for the future. Of that sorrow he would never speak, would strive not even to think, though, doubtless, with him as with others, the very effort at suppression did but intensify his anguish. Had Beatrice passed into a matron-like Donna dei Bardi, with children and children's children round her, later generations might probably have never heard her name. It was not till death had united what the *mariage de convenance* had parted, and he felt that she was his, once more and for ever, in a transfigured and glorified beauty, to be worshipped with a purified and profounder love, that he could bring himself to record the birth and growth of his earlier passion. And even then, as we know throughout the "*Vita Nuova*," the marriage itself is absolutely ignored, and treated as though it had not been.

On any estimate of psychological probabilities it was almost a matter of necessity that one suffering as Dante must have suffered should seek relief in travel and in study, as a thousand others have done in like conditions. To pace the streets even of his beloved Florence and to see his Beatrice as the wife of another would make life intolerable. He was young. His father was dead, and had left him with ample means. It was the fashion of the time for young men in Italy, as in other countries, to complete their education by attending for some few months, now at this and now at that University. His master, Brunetto Latini, had recently returned from Paris, where he had sought an asylum during the dominance of the Ghibelline party, and the memorable "*Tesoro*," or "*Trésor*," which had been written in French, may at once have served to initiate his pupil in the study of that language, and laid open to his view the wide field of an encyclopædic knowledge *de omni scibili*, on which he might thus enter. The marriage of Beatrice took place before 1287, when she is named as married in her father's will. She died in June (possibly December), 1290. The battle of Campaldino, the first event after her marriage in which Dante is known to have taken part, was in June, 1289. We have thus an interval of at least two years, probably, indeed, three, unaccounted for, and, on the grounds given above, I offer the hypothesis that they were spent in travel as the most tenable explanation of the silence of the records.

The incidental notices that have been already referred to help us almost to construct an itinerary of his progress. Assuming Paris to have been his first destination out of Italy, the most natural route for him would have been to make his way by land or sea from Florence to Marseilles. The former would take him through the regions of the Maritime Alps, and so give him the experience of the mountain phenomena the chasms and ravines, the snow falling on a windless day, which he describes so vividly in the *Inferno* (xii. 1-9, xiv. 30). There he would be attracted to the memorable scene at Arles, the wide-spread plain looking



like a vast cemetery, which furnished the archetype of one bolge of the *Inferno* (*Inferno*, ix. 112). Thence he would journey up the valley of the Rhone, with its affluents, the Isère and the Saône, and so to that of the Seine (*Paradiso*, vi. 58-60), and so to Paris.

Here we may reasonably assume a stay of some months, during which the young Florentine student would be attending the teaching of the school in the Rue du Fouarre, where Sigieri, of the "eternal light," delivered his prelections. There, if we compare his own language in the *Inferno* (xv. 106) with that of Roger Bacon in the "*Compendium Studii*," he may have been led to see how little the culture even of the great scholars of the time availed to save them from unutterable baseness. But to him, as to other students of the thirteenth and of other centuries, there came the desire to pass on

"To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new;"

and the twofold lines of study, in both of which Dante sought and attained pre-eminence, would naturally determine his next movements. As a metaphysician and theologian, he would be led to seek the schools which the great Albert had founded at Cologne (Albert himself had died in A.D. 1280), and as a student of physical science, perhaps, also, as seeking for such knowledge of Greek as might be attainable, he would be drawn to the yet greater Franciscan, who, after having filled Paris with wonder at his indomitable industry and his marvellous experiments and his wide-spread research, and had shared the common fate of those who proclaim "*invidiosi veri*," had a little before been released from imprisonment and allowed to return to his beloved Oxford.

Of the travels to which this desire led we have sufficiently distinct traces in the "*Commedia*." He had looked on the Rhine with all the emotion which belonged to it as the scene of Cæsar's triumphs (*Paradiso*, vi. 5-8). He had been at Cologne, and had seen the

"Cappucci bassi  
Dinanzi agli occhi, fatte del taglia  
Che per li monaci in Cologne fassi."

*Inferno*, xxiii. 61-63.

[Cloaks had they with hoods low, o'er eyes and face,  
Down-hanging, made in fashion like to those  
Which at Cologne are worn by monkish race.]

He had learnt to place Albert of Cologne on a level with the great Thomas of Aquinum (*Paradiso*, x. 98). As he made his way thence to England he would pass, as we have seen, through the country between Cadsand and Bruges, which he describes so vividly. The ship which bore him up the Thames would bring him under the shadow of the great Abbey, in which was the heart of the young Prince whose murder had filled Italy with horror, and which gains a fresh interest, in addition to all its many memories of the past, from the thought that Dante may have trod its aisles. There the memory of "the king of simple life"



was still held in reverence, and the knightly fame of his successor gave promise of a glorious reign, marred, as we have seen from Dante's point of view, by the insane ambition, which, at a later date, plunged England and Scotland into internecine warfare.

And thence, according to the tradition with which we started, the way was clear to Oxford, to which he had probably been drawn by the fame which Bacon had left behind him in the schools of Paris. It remains now to inquire whether that tradition is confirmed by internal evidence, and, if I mistake not, we may find that evidence in coincidences hitherto unnoticed between the works of the two great mediæval thinkers, who were thus brought into contact. Dante, we may remember, may well have heard of Bacon's fame even before he arrived in Paris. The three works on which the fame of the Franciscan friar mainly rests were written in 1265-6, at the request of Pope Clement IV., who when Cardinal Bishop of Sabina had visited England, as a Papal legate, in the pontificate of Urban IV. On ascending the Papal throne he applied to Bacon to send him a report of his studies, and the discoveries to which they had led. In some earlier communication Bacon had dwelt on the evils which were eating into the life of the science, the religion, and the polity of the time, and the indefatigable student, in little less than a year, wrote and despatched the "*Opus Majus*," the "*Opus Minus*," and the "*Opus Tertium*," in answer to this request, pointing out, somewhat after the manner of his great namesake's "*Advancement of Learning*," the defects which he noted in each of these regions, and suggesting the remedies which he thought appropriate.

It is in these works, especially in the "*Opus Tertium*," that I find the coincidences of which I have spoken, and which I will endeavour, as far as my limits allow, to bring forward with sufficient clearness.

(1.) Of all the many digressions of the "*Commedia*," none, perhaps, strikes the reader as more entirely irrelevant to its main subject than the dissertation in the second canto of the *Paradiso*, on the causes of the spots which are seen on the moon's surface; and in which the fanciful superstition of the time saw Cain with his bush of thorns (*Paradiso*, ii. 51). When the poet-seer enters the sphere of the "*eternal pearl*," he seeks for a scientific explanation of the phenomenon, and he puts into the lips of Beatrice, as the guide who was leading him into all truth, physical as well as theological, what he holds to be the true solution of the problem. The current opinion of the men of science of the time, which he represents himself as having till then shared, found it in the fact that the reflected light of the moon varied in its brightness according to the degrees of "*dense or rare*" in the reflecting body. Beatrice, in a lecture which fills eighty-eight lines, expounds what he looked on as a great discovery, which placed him high above the level of the other physicists of the schools. The light of the moon is not the sun's light reflected, but proceeds from its own inherent



rightness. The "formal principle" of luminosity varies in degree according to the body in which it dwells, and this accounts for the dark spots on the moon's surface.

"Da esso vien ciò che da luce a luce  
Par differente, non da denso e raro:  
Essa è formal principio che produce,  
Conforme a sua bontà, lo turbo e 'l chiaro."

[Hence comes it that there seems 'twixt light and light,  
This variance, and not from dense or rare:  
This is the formal cause which works in might  
Proportioned to its goodness, dark or clear.]

We smile as we read the hypothesis on which Dante obviously so prided himself, that it seemed to him worthy to be introduced as an apocalypse from the lips of his Beatrice. He was below the knowledge of his age when he thought himself above it. In rejecting one wrong hypothesis, he introduced another that was still more erroneous; and, after all, his explanation gave no true theory of cause and effect. The surface of the moon is, as he puts it, more or less luminous, according as it possesses in greater or less measure the formal principle of luminosity. "*L'opium endormit parce qu'il a une vertu soporifique!*" Dante's blunder becomes, however, less startling when we find that he erred in company with the man whose fame for physical science stood almost without a rival in the universities of Europe. Strange as it may seem to those who have learnt to look on him almost as the prophet of that science, this was Roger Bacon's theory of the moon's light. "All say that it is the light of the sun reflected from the moon's surface;" but he maintains that "that light is not reflected, but the proper light of the moon, which, however, is evolved through the virtue of the sun in the body of the moon from the potency of its matter" (Bacon, "*Opus Tert.*" c. xxxvii.). Is not the hypothesis of a relation between the two men, such as I have suggested, a natural explanation of this curious coincidence? Can we not think of the young Italian poet sitting at the feet of the great English astronomer of the thirteenth century, as afterwards, in the seventeenth, Milton sat at the feet of Galileo? Is not the passage which I have condensed from the *Paradiso* as distinct an echo of that teaching as the well-known picture in "*Paradise Lost*" (i. 286-291) is of Milton's reminiscences of Dante's illustrious countryman?

"The broad circumference  
Hung on his shoulders, like the moon, whose orb  
Through optick glass the Tuscan artist views  
At evening from the top of Fesolè  
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,  
Rivers or mountains, in her spotty globe."

Literature hardly presents, I think, so striking a parallelism.

It may be noted as a detail which makes the coincidence still more



striking, that Dante describes an experiment as confirming his hypothesis:—

“Tre specchi prenderai, e due rimovi  
Da te d' un modo, e l'altro più remosso  
Tr'ambo li primi gli occhi tuoi retruovi.”  
*Paradiso*, ii. 100.

[Take thou three mirrors; two of them remove  
From thee at equal distance, and the last  
Between the two, and further from thee, move.]

The experimentalist is then to place a candle behind him and watch whether the distance of the reflecting surface affects the brightness of the reflection. The experiment is after Bacon's own heart. Nothing delighted him more than these arrangements of mirrors. But in this instance he, too, actually rests his theory on a like experiment. The common view was, that “the sun's light was reflected by the moon, *as a candle is by a mirror*.” The opposite theory was proved (it is, perhaps, not easy to see how) “per æqualitatem angulorum incidentiæ et reflexionis.”

(2.) This is perhaps the most striking example of the coincidences of which I speak, but it is not the only one. Once again Dante airs his knowledge of astronomy by alluding to the error in the Julian computation of the year, which, if uncorrected, would in course of time alter the seasons, and carry January into spring, or even summer.

“Ma prima che Gennaio tutto si svern  
Per la centesima ch'è laggiù negletta.”  
*Paradiso*, xxvi. 142.

But ere that January pass to spring,  
Through that small hundredth men neglect below,  
These higher spheres shall with loud bellowing ring.]

Here, again, we have a point of contact. There is scarcely any point on which Bacon dilates with greater vehemence than on the “horribiles errores” of the calendar of his time. Again and again does he urge his papal correspondent, on the grounds of the confusion which would be caused by its manifold inaccuracies to undertake the work of correction, which was afterwards effected by Pope Gregory XIII. (“Opus Tert.” liv.).

(3.) Dante (*Paradiso*, xiii. 124) names the most conspicuous among the philosophers of Greece who had failed to find the truth for which they sought.

“E di ciò sono al mondo aperte prove,  
Parmenides, Melisso, Brisso, e molti,  
Li quali andavan, e non sapean dove.”

[And in the world proofs open of the same,  
Parmenides, Melissus, Brissus, stand,  
Who knew not of the end to which they came.]

It is at least noteworthy to find Bacon (“Opus Tert.” xxxix.) giving the same names in the same connection. “*Parmenides et Melissus*



credebant quod omnia corpora mundi fuerunt unum continuum a terra usque ad ultimum cœlum."

(4.) Conspicuous as a characteristic of both writers is their pitying recognition of the virtues of the heathen, whom yet their stern theology compelled them to classify among those that were shut out from eternal life.

"Che tu dicevi : un uom nasce alla riva  
Dell' Indo, e quivi non è chi ragione  
Di Cristo, nè chi legga, nè chi scriva :

"E tutti i suoi voleri ed atti buoni  
Sono, quanto ragione umana vede,  
Senza peccato in vita e in sermoni."

*Paradiso*, xix. 70-75.

[For thou didst say, a man his first breath drew  
On Indus' banks, and there were none to tell  
Of Christ, or write or speak the doctrine true;  
And he in every wish and deed lives well,  
As far as human reason may descry,  
And, sinless, doth in life and speech excel.]

We ask, where did the poet learn a feeling so much wider and more large-hearted than that of the current theology? The answer is not far to seek. He might have imbibed such thoughts from the writings, perhaps even from the lips, of Bacon:—"Mirum enim est de nobis Christianis, qui sine comparatione sumus imperfectiores in moribus quam philosophi infideles. . . . summus enim zelus castitatis, et mansuetudinis, et patientiæ, et constantiæ, et omnium virtutum fuit apud philosophos ("Opus Tert." cxiv.).

Elsewhere he recognizes that the old seekers after wisdom had received from God special illumination (*Ibid.* cxxiv.); or, again, in the very accents of Dante, speaks of the philosophers "qui cum fuerint sine gratiâ gratificante, quæ facit hominem dignum vitæ æternæ, in quâ nos ponimur in baptismo, tamen sine omni comparatione vitæ eorum fuit melior et in omni vitæ honestate, et in contemptu mundi, et omnium deliciarum, et divitiarum et honorum" ("Comp. Stud." c. i.).

(5.) Another point common to the two thinkers is their keen sense of the corruptions of the Roman Curia and of the Religious Orders. Thus we have in Dante, speaking of the Franciscan friars as fallen away from the greatness of their founder:—

"Ma il suo peculio di nuova vivanda  
È fatto ghiott sì, ch' esser non puote  
Che per diversi salti non si spanda,

"E quanto le sue pecore remote,  
E vagabonde più di esso vanno  
Più tornano all' ovil di latte vote,

Ben son di quelle che temono il danno  
E stringonsi al pastor ; ma son sì poche  
Che le cappe fornisce poco panno."

*Paradiso*, xi. 124-132.



[But now his flock so eagerly demands  
 New food that it, of sheer necessity,  
 In pastures widely different strays and stands;  
 And so, the more his sheep thus scattered lie,  
 And further from him wander to and fro,  
 With less milk come they for the flock's supply.  
 Some are there who, in fear of that loss, go  
 Back to their pastor, but so few they be,  
 That little cloth would make them hoods, I trow.]

And in Bacon ("Compend. Studii," c. 1): "Consideremus religiosos; nullum ordinem excludo. Videamus quantum ceciderunt singuli a statu debito, et novi ordines jam horribiliter labefacti sunt a pristina dignitate."

St. Peter speaks of the state of Rome under his successors, and says that it had not been his intention to be a watchword for hostile armies:—

"Nè ch'io fossi figura di sigillo  
 A' privilegi venduti e mendaci  
 Ond'io sovente arrosso e disfavillo.  
 "In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci  
 Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi:  
 O difesa di Dio, perchè pur giaci.

*Paradiso*, xxvii. 49-54.

[Nor that I should as seal give force of right  
 To venal and corrupt monopolies,  
 Which make me blush and kindle at the sight.  
 Wolves, in the shepherd's garb, with greedy eyes  
 Are seen from hence, through all the meadows fair;  
 Vengeance of God, why dost thou not arise?]

While Bacon gives his own judgment:—"Laceratur enim illa sedes sacra" (the *Curia Romana*) "fraudibus et dolis injustorum. Mores enim sequuntur ibidem perversissimi; regnat superbia, ardet avaritia, invidia arrodit singulos, luxuria diffamat totam illam curiam, quæ in omnibus dominatur."

(6.) I suggest that the works of Bacon throw some light on a remarkable passage, in which Dante speaks in the most glowing terms of a thinker, otherwise unknown to fame. He sees in the sphere wherein dwell the souls of Christian philosophers—

"Questi, onde a me ritorna il tuo riguardo  
 E il lume d'uno spirito, che in pensieri  
 Gravi a morire gli parve esse tardo."

*Paradiso*, x. 133-5.

[He from whom now turns to me thy regard,  
 Is of a soul the light, in thought so stern,  
 It deemed the way to death both slow and hard.]

This is the spirit of the Sigieri of whom I have already spoken, is identified as having taught at Paris by the locality names. How is it, we ask, that one whom Dante thus holds in that admiration as his only record? It is a



once and again lavishes the highest praise on a Parisian teacher, whom he does not name :—

“Unus solus est qui potest in hoc (*alchemy*), at peritissimus est in istis omnibus.” . . . “Non enim cognosco nisi unum qui laudari potest in operibus hujus scientiæ; nam ipse non curat de sermonibus et pugnīs verborum, sed persequitur opera sapientiæ et in illis quiescit. Et ideo quod, alii cæcutientes nituntur videre, ut vespertilio lucem solis in crepusculo, ipse in pleno fulgore contemplatur.”—*Opus Tert.* c. xii. xiii.

It is possible that Bacon may mean himself, or his friend Peter of Maharncuria, of whom he elsewhere speaks in nearly equal terms of praise, but it is against this view that he is not shy of speaking of his own merits in *propria personâ*, and that he often names his friend. Is it not possible that Dante's Sigieri may have been the man thus described? Do not the “*invidiosi veri*” of which the poet speaks precisely correspond with the teaching which Bacon describes, and which had left one whom both he and Dante admired as one of the master-spirits of the age out in the cold, while less worthy teachers had their full share of patronage and popularity?

(7.) The state of the University of Paris in the last quarter of the thirteenth century supplies yet another point of comparison. Dante, in his *Inferno* (xv. 106), places, in company with his own master Brunetto, many who in their day were honoured as

“E letterati grandi e di gran fama,”

who had yet been stained with the vilest form of impurity. Bacon (“*Compend. Studii*,” c. ii.) describes a like corruption of morals as having prevailed in Paris in his time :—“Multi theologi Parisiis et qui legerunt in theologia, sunt relegati a civitate et a regno Franciæ, per multos annos, publice damnati propter sodomiticas vilitates.”

(8.) In one point, over and above their keen and ardent zeal in the pursuit of physical science, the poet and the thinker would have found a bond of sympathy. They agreed in their love and veneration for the mysterious power of music. Milton's reference to Casella, whom Dante

“woo'd to sing,  
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory,”

has made one instance of that reverence a household word in English literature. That which Dante had most loved in Casella's music was that it poured forth the amorous song—

“Che mi solea quetar tutte le voglie.”  
[Which calmed, of yore, my every eager care.]

He seeks for its consolation in the terror with which the world behind the veil had filled his soul. And music is, as has often been noted, the pervading element both of the Purgatorio and Paradiso. In the one it is the healer of the soul from the sickness contracted during its earthly pilgrimage. In the other it is the utterance of the praise of the saints in proportion as they drink in the love and light of the



beatific vision. Each circle of the Mount of Purification has its appropriate canticle. Each sphere of the blessed echoes with a strain of marvellous and unearthly sweetness. Nowhere in the whole range of literature has the power of music to soothe and assuage, to purify and strengthen, been so nobly set before us. Bacon's language is, however, scarcely less rapturous and glowing "Opus Tert." c. lxxiii.) :—"Munus enim musicæ super omnes scientias est et spectanda potestas. . . . Moris enim reformat, ebrietates sedat, infirmitates curat, sanitatem conservat, quietem somni inducit." If we did but know the inner secrets of the art, brutes would be tamed by its subtle power. "Similiter et hominum animi in quemlibet gratum devotionis raperentur, et in plenum cujuslibet virtutis amorem excitarentur, et in omnem sanitatem et vigorem."

(9.) Common to the two thinkers is a somewhat subtle theory as to the stellar influences, and the power they exercise upon human character and fortune. They reject the superstition of the vulgar astrology, and protest against the fatalism to which it too commonly led, and in which they saw a denial of the freedom of man's will, and therefore of his responsibility. The soothsayers and diviners, from Tiresias to Michael Scott, are in one of the pits of Dante's *Inferno* (canto xx.). He looks on the notion that the planets determined men's fate as having led men to worship the Jove and Mercury and Mars whom they identified with the planets. But he admits their influence up to the limit of its compatibility with human freedom (*Paradiso*, iv.); and accounts it the great blessing of his life to have been born under the influence of so propitious a constellation as that of Gemini :—

"O gloriose stelle, O lume pregno  
Di gran virtù, dal quali io riconosco  
Tutto qual che si sia, il mio ingegna."

*Paradiso*, xxii. 112-114.

[O glorious stars, O light supremely rich  
In every virtue, which I recognize  
As source of all my powers, whate'er their pitch.]

Dante's teaching on this point is scarcely more than the echo of Bacon's ("Compend. Studii," c. iv.) :—"Liberum arbitrium non potest cogi, tamen excitatur fortiter per complexionem corporis et cœli . . . A cœlo est origo complexionis radicalis per constellationem in conceptione et nativitate."

(10.) A comparison of the works of the two writers throws some light on the question which has been raised as to Dante's knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. We have no ground for thinking that he had read a single book in either language, and yet he is fond of airing, as it were, the little that he knows. In the cry of Plutus (*Inferno*, vii. 1) :—

"Pape Satan, Pape Satan, Aleppe ;"

in the hymn which opens *Paradiso* vii. :—

"Osanna sanctus Deus *Sabaoth*,  
Superillustrans claritate tua  
Felices ignes horum *Malahoth* ;"



in his discussion of the Divine names, *El* and *Eli*, or probably *I* (= *Jah*), in *Paradiso*, xxvi. 131–134, we have instances of some acquaintance with Hebrew. His account of *ἐπιτείκεια* in the “*De Monarch.*” i.; of “tragedy,” “comedy,” and “allegory,” in the “*Letter to Can Grande*,” of “*protonoë*” and “*philosophia*” in the “*Convito*” (ii. 3; iii. 11), shows that he knew at least a little Greek.

Roger Bacon’s knowledge of both languages was probably more extensive. He had read some treatises of Aristotle in the original; he had compared the Vulgate with the Hebrew; he could frame conjectures as to the mystical number of the Beast from the numerical value of the letters in the Greek alphabet (“*Compend. Stud.*” vi.). His ideal of linguistic studies, however, may be measured by his boast (“*Opus Tert.*” xx.) that he would undertake to teach either language to any fairly diligent student “within three days.” Is not Dante’s knowledge precisely what we might expect in one of Bacon’s pupils, taught within these, or perhaps slightly extended, limits?

(11.) A remarkable passage in the *Inferno* (xvi. 105) has suggested to most commentators the idea that Dante had at one time taken on himself the vow of the Tertiaries of the Order of St. Francis, and had intended to devote himself to the task of reforming the evils of Florence as a preacher. Had he done so, he might have anticipated the career of a Savonarola.

“Io aveva una corda intorno cinta  
E con essa pensai alcuna volta  
Prenda la lonza alla pelle dipinta.”

[I had a cord which round my waist I wore,  
And with it many a time I thought to take  
The panther with its skin all dappled o’er.]

If there ever were such a moment in Dante’s life, it might well be the time when, in bitterness of spirit and strong enthusiasm, he sat at the feet of the Franciscan teacher. If there ever was a disciple in whom that teacher might see the promise of one who should make the work of preaching a reality, and be, like the Berthold of Regensburg of whom Bacon speaks so admiringly at the close of the “*Opus Tertium*” a source of blessing and infinite good to thousands of his hearers, it might well be the young Florentine who was then at Oxford.

(12.) When Dante finds himself in the presence of St. Peter, he describes himself (*Paradiso*, xxiv. 46–48):—

“Si come il baccellier s’arma, e non parla,  
Fin che ’l maestro la quistion propone,  
Per approvarla, non per terminarla.”

[As baccalere his arms of proof doth view,  
\*—I speaks not till the master puts case clear,  
judging, but debating if ’tis true.]

ct reminiscence of Dante’s student days. It  
s. It may as well have belonged to Oxford.



If it does not prove the theory I am maintaining, it at least falls in with it.

(13.) Dante's mystic prophecy of the Reformer of the evils of the Church as one who was to be indicated by the mysterious numerals of

"Un cinquecento dieci e cinque,"

in which commentators see either the word *Dux* (= *Dvx* = 515) or the initials of the name of Can Grande of Verona, finds a suggestive counterpart in Bacon's explanation of the number of the Beast, in which, among other hypotheses, he names (following Bede) one which finds that number in the two words, *Dic*, *Lux*, because the Antichrist will say that he is the light of the world ("Compend. Stud." c. vi.).

I close for the present the comparison which furnishes materials for the induction, but I do so with the feeling that it is as yet far from being complete. It would be found, I believe, that an examination of the section on Geography in the "*Opus Majus*" would furnish many illustrations of the allusions to the remoter regions of the earth's surface which Dante scatters profusely throughout his poems, that well-nigh every reference of his to the facts of physical science and astronomy might receive fresh light from the thinker who, in these regions of knowledge, was confessedly the master-spirit of his time. As Ozanam, in his "*Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*," has shown with an exhaustive fulness which leaves nothing to be desired, that, as a theologian and ethical philosopher, the Florentine poet, whom his epitaph rightly describes as

"Dantes theologus nullius dogmatis expers,"

has followed step by step the teachings of Thomas of Aquinum, so it will, I think, be admitted that the evidence now produced warrants the conclusion that he embodies also the physical science of his age, as that science was represented by the Franciscan friar of Oxford. I do not say that the evidence of derivation, though it is the natural inference from the converging lines of external tradition and internal coincidence, is demonstrative; but, even on the hypothesis of entire independence, proof has, it is believed, been given that any student of Dante would do well to prepare himself for his task by gaining some knowledge of the science of the thirteenth century, as presented by Bacon, that no Commentary on the "*Commedia*" can henceforth be considered as even approximating to completeness if it ignores the relation between the two.

It may naturally be asked why, on the assumption of the indebtedness which I have endeavoured to prove, Dante should make no mention of the teacher to whom he owed so much. The answer to that question is not, I think, far to seek. Bacon, like Dante, was an idealist reformer of abuses in Church and State; but the ideal to which he looked as the pattern of a perfect polity was the very opposite of Dante's one, as we know, in the Ghibellinism of his later life, looked of a supreme potentate as representing the majesty of  
pire, ruling the nations, for their good doubtless.



of iron, at least co-ordinate with the successor of St. Peter, and in his own sphere absolutely independent of him. Bacon's ideal, on the other hand, was essentially democratic and ecclesiastical. There was but one "perfect legislator," and that was God's Vicar upon earth." It was his "to dispose of all kingdoms, and to rule over the whole world" ("Opus Tert." c. xiv.). He dwelt upon prophecies, which he urged Clement IV. to fulfil, of a reforming pope who should restore the canon law in its purity from the cavils and frauds of the jurists and bring about a reign of universal justice ("Opus Tert." xiv.). He recognizes the right of the people to depose and put to death an unrighteous ruler, and to choose another. "Not to do this is to disobey God himself, and men are not responsible for the blood that may thus be shed. If they choose an unworthy ruler, and his unworthiness be proved, let them depose him and elect yet another" (MS. cited by Charles, "Roger Bacon, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages," p. 255). Dante complained that the jurists of Italy were studying the Decretals instead of the Gospel and the Fathers (Paradiso, ix. 134). Bacon's complaint, on the contrary, was that the study of the canon law was neglected, and that men were expending their labours upon the civil law—the basis of the Ghibelline theory of polity—which was "destroying the Church of God, and through which the whole world was lying in wickedness" ("Comp. Stud." c. lv.; "Opus Tert." c. xxiv.). Lastly, and here we come to the point of divergence which must have touched the author of the "Commedia" most keenly to the very quick, Bacon taught that the distinction between Hell and Purgatory and Paradise was not local, and that there was therefore no motion from one to the other as from place to place; that the three conditions, that is, were spiritual states and not places ("Opus Tert." c. i.).

It can scarcely be thought surprising that with these serious differences in their conception of the polity of earth and heaven that Dante should have declined to assign to Bacon a place in his Paradise side by side with Aquinas and Buonaventura. The respect which he felt for him as a teacher and a man would, however, as naturally deter him from placing him in the Inferno or the Purgatorio. It is significant that he is in like manner silent about Abelard, though he places St. Bernard high in the celestial spheres.

## II. DANTE IN CHAUCER AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

It will not, I think, be without interest to trace the influence of the great poet of Italy on the first, in order of time, of the great poets of England. That influence is all the more remarkable from the contrast between the character and the works of the two writers. It is scarcely possible to imagine a greater unlikeness in literature than that between the dreamy, yet passionate idealist of the "Commedia," never losing his self-consciousness, subjective to the last degree of subjectivity, and the healthy, objective geniality of Chaucer,



sympathizing with all forms of human character, sensual or spiritual, humorous rather than enthusiastic, anticipating almost, or altogether, the all-embracing humanity of Shakespeare.

The relation of the two in order of time is also significant. Dante died in exile in 1321. Chaucer was born in 1328. Yet by the time the latter had grown up to manhood the fame of the former was recognized not only in his own country, in which, while he lived, he had been as a prophet without honour, but had reached the "*extremi Britanni*," whom, as we have seen, he had probably visited in his youth. In 1373, Boccaccio, then at the age of sixty, was appointed to lecture on the "*Commedia*" at Florence; but Chaucer's acquaintance with Dante's writings must have begun at an earlier date, and was probably, as we shall see, traceable rather to Petrarch than to the author of the "*Decamerone*." That he, an English gentleman, filling this or that office in the Court of Edward III., should thus have known the three great names in the Italian literature of the time, shows that there was a more real fraternization between the men of letters of the two countries than has been common since. It was partly, perhaps, consequent on the intercourse of England with the Papal See, and the consequent missions from one Court to the other—partly, also, to the habits of the university life of the time, which led Italian students to come to Oxford and Cambridge, and English students to visit Bologna and Padua. When Chaucer was chosen in 1368 as an envoy to Genoa, it was probably because he was already known to possess some acquaintance with the language and literature of the people to whom he was despatched. The mission to which he was thus appointed was connected with the marriage of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, a son of Edward III., with Violante, the daughter of the Duke of Milan, at which Petrarch was present. To this intercourse with the Italian poet, Chaucer refers his knowledge of the tale of Griseldis, the Clerke's Tale:—

"I wol tell you a tale, which that I  
Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,  
As preved by his wordes and his werk.  
He is now ded, and nailed in his cheste,  
I pray to God so yeve his soule reste,  
Fraunceis Petrarke, the laurent poete,  
Highte this clerke, whose rethorike swete  
Enlumined all Itaille of poetrie."

It is a reasonable inference that it was through this converse with Petrarch that Chaucer became acquainted with the "*Decamerone*" of Boccaccio, of which he afterwards made such full use in the "*Canterbury Tales*," and with Dante. The manuscript of Dante's works which he brought back with him may reasonably be looked on as the first copy that had found its way to England. Chaucer, at all events, was not slow to recognize the greatness of the poet whose life and character presented so vivid a contrast to his own.



Thus we find in the Prologue to the "Legend of Good Women," written probably in 1382 :—

"Envie is lauender\* of the Court alway;  
For she ne parteth, neither night nor day,  
Out of the house of Cæsar, thus saith Dant,"

where we have a manifest reference to the *Inferno* (xiii. 64), where envy is painted as

"La meretrice, che mai dall' ospizio  
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti,  
Morte comune, e delle corte vizio."

[The harlot who her lewd eyes ne'er withdrew  
From the high palace of the Cæsar's state—  
The common bane and vice of courts she grew.]

So again, in the "House of Fame" (l. 453-458), he speaks of Æneas :—

"And everiche tourment eke in Hell  
Saw he, which long is for to tell.  
Which paines whoso lists to know  
He must rede many a row  
In Virgile or in Claudian,  
Or Dante, that it tellen can."

In the "Canterbury Tales," belonging to the period of completed culture in Chaucer's life, the quotations are, as might be expected, more numerous. Thus, in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* (6708-6721) we have :—

"Wel can the wise poet of Florence,  
That highte Dante, speken of this sentence.  
Lo, in swiche maner rime is Dante's tale  
Ful selde up riseth by his branches smale  
Prowesse of man, for God of his goodnesse  
Wol that we claim of him our gentillesse;  
For of our elders may we nothing claim  
But temporal thing, that man may hurt and maime.  
Eke every wight wot this as well as high,  
If gentillesse were planted naturally  
Unto a certain linage down the line,  
Prive and apert, then wolde they never fine  
To don of gentilness the faire office,  
They mighten do no vilainie or vice."

Here the quotation is in part from the *Purgatorio* (vii. 121-122) :—

"Rade volte risurge per li rami  
L' umana probitate; e questo vuole  
Quei, che la dà, perchè da lui se chiami."

[But seldom human excellence hath grown  
Though branches of the tree; this He doth will  
Who gives it, that we ask of Him alone.]

It is interesting, however, to note in the lines that follow these that Chaucer's acquaintance with Dante as a poet was not limited to the "*Commedia*." The definition of the nature of true "gentillesse" is a

\* Lauender = laundry-maid, and used by Chaucer as a euphemistic equivalent of "meretrice."



distinct paraphrase, as a comparison will show, of the *canzone* which opens with

“Le dolce rime d’amor, ch’io solea.”

Chaucer writes thus :—

“Here may ye see well, how that genterie  
Is not annexed to possession.  
For God it wot, men moun ful often find  
A lordes sone do shame and vilanie.  
And he that wold hau prise of his genterie  
For he was boren of a gentil hous,  
And n’ill himselven do no gentil dedes,  
Ne folwe his gentil ancestrie that ded is,  
He n’is not gentil, he he duk or erl;  
For vilain’s sinful dedes make a cherl,  
For gentillesse n’is but the renomee  
Of thine auncestres, for his high bountie,  
Which is a strange thing to thy persone :  
Thy gentillesse cometh from God alone.”

Compare this with Dante :—

“Però nessun si vanta  
Dicendo: ‘Per schiatta i’ son con lei  
Ch’elli son quasi dei  
Que’ c’han tal grazia fuor di tutti rei;  
Che solo Iddio all’anima la dona  
Che vede in sua persona  
Perfettamente star.”

[Wherefore let no man boast,  
Saying, “By descent her fellowship I share :”  
For half as gods are they  
Who have such grace with no ill thoughts to mar :  
For God alone bestows it on the mind,  
Which He doth perfect find.]

The Frere’s Tale gives a passing humorous allusion. The foul fiend appears to a soumpnour, and answers his questions as to the infernal world with the mocking promise :—

“Thou shalt hereafterward, my brother dere  
Come, where thee needeth not of me to lere.  
For thou shalt, by thine own experience,  
Conne in a chaire rede of this sentence,  
Bet than Virgile, while he was on live  
Or Dante also.”

In the Monke’s Tale (C. T. 14, 700–772) we have a more elaborate attempt to introduce Dante to the notice of English readers. The tragedy of Ugolino and the Tower of Hunger had impressed itself, in its unspeakable horror and terrible simplicity, on Chaucer’s mind, and he gives a condensed rendering of it, passing from the first person, in which Dante makes Ugolino tell his own story, to the third. At the close we read :—



"Who so wol here it in a longer wise,  
Redeth the grete poete of Itaille,  
That mighte Dante, for he can it devise  
Fro point to point, not o word will he faille."

Enough has been said to show that it was through our own morning star of poetry that Dante, as the Italian dayspring from on high, first came within the ken of English readers. Did my limits of space allow, it would be interesting, I think, to trace the influence of the new element thus introduced in the subsequent history of English literature. As it is, I must content myself with a few passing notes. Gower, Chaucer's friend, perhaps at an earlier date than that of the poems above referred to, mentions in his text "Dante the poete," with a marginal account of him as "*quidam poeta Italie qui Dante vocabatur*" ("Conf. Amant." vii.). Lydgate, in his "Fall of Princes," speaks of Dante, "of Florence the laureate poete, demure of loke, fulfilled with patience," almost as if he had seen the portrait of the Bargello, and mentions the three parts of the "*Commedia*." The request of the two English bishops at the Council of Constance, which led the Bishop of Fermo, as stated above, to translate the "*Commedia*" into Latin, shows that the name of the Florentine was already known to them, and held in honour. In the early poetry of the Tudor periods, Petrarch had, perhaps, a more commanding influence—as seen in the sonnets of Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey—than Dante; but Puttenham, in his "Art of Poesie" (i. 31), names both those writers as having studied also in the school of the author of the "*Commedia*," and in Sackville's "Induction" we have a vision of hell, which shows distinct traces of its influence. In 1550, William Thomas published his "Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar, with a Dictionarie for the Better Understanding of Boccace, Petrarche, and Dante," and so supplies evidence that the last-named poet commanded the attention of English students aiming at literary culture. Among these, in the century that followed, the name of Milton is, of course, the most conspicuous; and his sonnet "to Mr. H. Lawes" remains as a perpetual tribute from well-nigh the greatest of English poets to the greatest Italian.

"Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher  
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing  
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory."

So, in his "Reformation in England," he strengthens his case against the union of Church and State, by quoting from the *Inferno* (xx. 115):—

"Ah, Constantine, of how much ill was cause  
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains  
That the first wealthy Pope received of thee."

It will not, I think, be without interest to note that one, at least, of the great theologians of the English Church in the seventeenth century was also a student of the "*Commedia*." Jeremy Taylor, in his "Life



of Christ" (Disc. xiv.), treating of the miracles of the Gospel, and especially of those which gave sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf, writes: "The miracles were wholly an effect of Divine Power, for Nature did not at all co-operate; or that I may use the elegant expression of Dante, it was such

‘A cui Natura  
Non scaldo ferro nai, nè batte ancude—’

for which Nature did never heat the iron or beat the anvil."

In the literature which followed on the Restoration, however, the form of Dante drops into the back-ground. Quotations or allusions are few and far between; and he is, for the most part, conspicuous by his absence. Perhaps the most striking illustration of that absence is to be found in the fact that Addison, in his "Notes on Italy," travels through Ravenna and Florence, and does not seem to have bestowed even a passing thought on the great poet who was born in the one city and buried in the other.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.



## EVOLUTION, PHYSICAL AND DIALECTIC.

AS the work of philosophy is continued, two things require to be kept steadily in view, the preservation of the best results of prior thinking, and appreciation of new phases of the problem of existence, as these are the product of continued research. Neither department of study is likely to be overlooked. An essential part of all philosophic inquiry is a deliberate estimate of the work of the most noted thinkers in the world's history. As time advances, the study of history becomes more laborious; in accordance with this, the influence of the past becomes more potent. This remains true, notwithstanding all that we have to say concerning nineteenth century thought, supported by outcry against what is antiquated. The problems of existence are the same for all generations, and the results of human thought are cumulative. Even metaphysics, though it be named the most contentious of sciences, does not consist in mere overthrow of preceding theories, to make room for some new speculation. Past centuries are laying their treasures at our feet, some centuries adding more largely to the store than others, but such is the united intellectual worth of these contributions, that nothing but superficiality can discredit the discipline attained by searching into the records of past effort. Even from a purely educational point of view, the training which such research implies, gives a breadth and fulness of intellectual life not otherwise to be had. But, leaving out of account educational questions, and keeping more directly on the line of history itself, there is no interpreting the present without discovery of the forces at work in the past. No one can legitimately believe in a sheer reversal of thought, but only in evolution, by criticism throwing off what may be external and needless, and by fresh analysis preserving while still extending. These are the very conditions of intellectual progress, prescribing law for philosophy itself.

\* On the other hand, it is the business of philosophy to keep observa-



tion directed on all new phases of the problems of existence, as these forms are determined by extending knowledge. The great advances in physical science which are the achievement of this century, have severally and unitedly their significance for philosophy. These have suddenly made certain forms of philosophising hopelessly antiquated; nevertheless they leave the basis or ultimate principles of philosophising untouched, and even accepted as essentially true. The wider extension of the area of ascertained fact, has only altered the forms of philosophic problems, without affecting their nature. We do not turn to Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, expecting to see in their thought adaptation to the results now attained by scientific methods; but we find in their thinking a contribution towards a deeper philosophy of existence than we should possess even in a summary of results of the magnificent advances in science we are now exulting over. Even after we have been told all that science has to tell—and I am not undervaluing its marvels—we still need to go back on the fundamental questions with which Greek thought concerned itself.

Concentrating meanwhile, however, on the most recent thought, it is most desirable to form some estimate of its philosophic worth. This may be done to advantage by contemplating the deeper currents as they flow through ethical territory. For there is nothing more marked at the present time than the extent to which ethical speculation directs the current of thought. Of this the number of works either devoted exclusively to ethical science, or including ethical questions as if they presented the higher and testing problems, affords ample proof.

A slight survey is sufficient to convince every one that a scheme of evolution, in one form or another, is that which most interests thinkers amongst us, and in connection with which most hope is cherished. Closer observation makes it evident that there are cross currents flowing, one on a lower level, moving towards materialism, tending to carry on its surface all that was formerly taken as distinctive of mind; another on a higher level, moving through the physical in search of the spiritual, and at length flowing into the Absolute as the sum of all existence. Of the force of these currents we are not left in any uncertainty, and as little can we doubt as to their essentially antagonistic character, even while both tell of the fascination exerted by the conception of evolution of Being.

Attention may first be turned upon the current flowing on the lower level, which involves chiefly the conditions supplied by energy and matter. This form of the evolution theory, variously modified, is the product of scientific progress in the interpretation of the universe. While it is thus in a sense scientific, it is in reality the popular theory in the sense of close alliance with ordinary tendencies of thought, commending itself to all classes of scientific men.

A point to be noticed in starting, however, is that the present day



science has become metaphysical. It does, indeed, pride itself in condemning metaphysics, and often sneering at its results. This has become quite a recognized pastime, insomuch that we have grown familiar with the phrases which have become hackneyed in the service. Nevertheless, what we are now required seriously to ponder is the metaphysics which scientists have begun to connect with scientific advances. In vain did Auguste Comte proclaim against metaphysic, as a form of thought suited to the adolescence of the race; in vain did he proclaim the finality of positive thought. Science has become metaphysical, and signs are not wanting that some scientific men at least have keener, if not deeper interest in this, than in pure science, showing special readiness to enter the lists in behalf of the metaphysic, which is now the close companion of science. In this way it happens that not a few physiologists and biologists show greatly keener interest when they insist on a dogmatic utterance in support of evolution, than when explaining the functions of nerve ganglia, or stating the exact distinction between a fish and a bird.

There is nothing strange in this result—least of all is there anything to condemn. There are not two men in a hundred of the truly scientific, who are capable of being pure scientists. Human reason is too strong, too restless in the consciousness of its strength, and too prone to devious and distant wanderings, to be bound with the green withes of Positivism. Hence it happens that scientific men become keenly metaphysical—perhaps all the while denouncing metaphysics in the old style; but such language of condemnation is only a “survival” of a bygone time. Metaphysic is avenged, being again in the ascendant.

Evolution in its lower form is the metaphysic of science. It is the rationalized product, transcending science proper, and yet commonly be accepted by specialists from all departments. No suggestion is at present offered as to the exact worth of this theory. It is only remarked as a preliminary, deserving notice, that the theory in any of its various forms is in reality a metaphysical speculation, an attempt, engaging the efforts of scientific men connected with very different departments, to construct a scheme of the universe, outstretching science, transcending the summary of scientific conclusions, seeing the invisible, including the unknown with the known, in a scheme of unification.

Passing to historical exposition and criticism, biological science must be credited with the new departure which has given fresh stimulus to thought, and has succeeded in gaining wide support to a theory of Evolution. To Mr. Darwin, as a naturalist, belongs the indisputable honour of having done service so great as to make its exact amount difficult of calculation, involving, as it does, vast increase of our knowledge of the relations and inter-dependence of various orders of animate existence. “Origin of species” may not be the phrase which exactly describes the sphere of elucidation, over the extent of which all students of Nature now acknowledge indebtedness to Mr. Darwin; but “develop-



ment of species" does express an undoubted scientific conclusion, which has found a permanent place in biological science. There is not space here to describe the wealth of materials which Mr. Darwin has added to the stores of knowledge previously accumulated. But these are now so familiar—at least as to general characteristics—that the object here contemplated may be gained without entering upon details.

A new departure in scientific thought leads to the formulating of a philosophy, taking its main features from accepted scientific conclusions. So it has happened in the present case. The scientific conclusion as to development of species has led forward to an all-embracing scheme of evolution. It cannot, indeed, be said that such a philosophy has been worked up into a form commanding the assent of all who favour the fundamental conception. The work of Mr. Herbert Spencer is the most important attempted in this direction, and it has not gained the uniform approval of evolutionists. Indeed, "Evolution" is now the name for quite a variety of theories, each one of which gains countenance from popular thought. There is a scheme which traces all to energy and matter, holding that the most complicated results reached in the highest organisms can be explained thus. Among the upholders of this theory, neither Mr. Darwin nor Mr. Herbert Spencer consents to take a place. The area here allowed to belief is too wide to satisfy the requirements of exact thinking. There is a theory which starts with a fundamental postulate of a great unknown and unknowable Power—an admission that there is self-existence somewhere—thus separating from the dualism of energy and matter, but still depending upon evolution for the philosophy of known existence. This includes Mr. Herbert Spencer and his disciples. There is another theory which finds a commencement for the present order of things in the creation of one or two primordial forms, from which as germs has sprung the complicated order of things in the midst of which we now exist. This gains the assent of Mr. Darwin, and of those who are willing to abide by the lines of thought traced by the great naturalist. It is not essential for the present purpose that there should be extended criticism of these several phases of an evolution theory.

My purpose is to direct attention for a little on the aspect of an evolution theory when passing through into ethical territory. Whatever be the special features of the separate streams in regions contiguous to their source, they flow together as a united current when moral life is reached, far down the course of evolution. The desire of happiness found in all animate existence is here widened and deepened under the guidance of intelligence. The greater and the less, the near and the remote, the individual and the social—all these are considered as bearing on experience, and therefore on the *interest* which each unit of the human race has in the order of things. The pressure of such considerations, continued from generation to generation in all lands, leading to a considerable uniformity of result all over the world



in accordance with the common sensibilities of men, and the universal conditions of reasoning, has resulted in certain general rules of conduct, quite obviously rules of expediency—which have gained common recognition. By impressions thus made upon human organism as a whole, and specially upon the brain, “organised and consolidated experiences” are transmitted to succeeding generations, and in due course man becomes a moralized organism. Individual, tribal, and national interests become recognized, and we have the result in a body of ethical laws in harmony with the moralized organism. This is the history of the manufacture of that article known in the universe as moral life; while subsequent attempts to summarize results, present us with a philosophy of morals.

This theory assumes the action of intelligence, and it is to be tested further up its course, where it passes through the territory of intellectual philosophy. How nerve sensibility produces intelligence is a perplexity which must be waived for the present, in order that attention may be directed on the single ethical problem. Physiology has not by any means succeeded in disposing of this question.

The first point here is comparatively simple and popular—Does the theory include the facts commonly recognised as belonging to moral life? Morality is an essential feature in human life, the characteristics of which are familiar, and quite aside from questions of science and philosophy. At the same time, according to the fundamental dictum of science, facts must be carefully verified before any attempt is made to construct a theory of their occurrence. The primary test, therefore, is the accuracy of our record of facts. And here nothing seems clearer than this, that *self-interest* is a thing entirely different from *duty*. No doubt, self-interest is essentially connected with personal effort, and so belongs to the realm of conduct within which duty is found; but we cannot identify them on this account, any more than we could identify truth and beauty because both belong to the intellectual sphere, and are so closely related that truth has a beauty, and beauty must be true. Indeed the distinction between self-interest and duty—between expediency and moral obligation, is so great, that the most illiterate man marks it as a commonplace, for to such men the contrast is apt to appear very broad indeed. There are a hundred aids to personal comfort, the procuring of which no man would dream of classifying among acts of duty. The distinguishing feature of right action is certainly missed when we treat of the wide range of human interests. A classification of these may be good for a life of self-interest, and also for a theory of social interest, but it is insufficient to guide towards a philosophy of moral life. As long as we treat of the shrinking of sensibility and the impulse of desire, we deal with facts applicable to all forms of life, and we may be on the line of evolution; but on this course we do not recognize ethical distinctions. Higher enjoyment is indeed possible to man than is possible to lower orders of being;



intelligence is the perquisite for appreciation of such enjoyment, and of the means by which it may be attained; but moral distinctions are incapable of approach along the path of self-interest.

If, now, we pass from the facts to the theory, we shall be able to test the sufficiency of evolution in the case before us. To speak of individual, tribal, and national interests, is only to make a classification in view of the persons concerned. This does not contribute in any important sense toward the construction of a philosophic scheme. We have, therefore, to concentrate on happiness—the desire of it—the guidance of the intellect towards its attainment—and the social element as that is necessarily involved. A professedly evolution theory must be utilitarian in its cast, and all phases of this theory are included when we make utility the test. But how do we discover progress here, such as evolution implies? Only by passing away from “the struggle for existence,” with the victory of the stronger over the weaker—the attainment of self-interest in one case by the wreck of self-interest in another case—to see how far social life may encompass and enrich individual life. We must leave in the rear a scheme which would make personal desire the rule of life, passing on to that which accounts common good the security for individual good. “The greatest happiness of the greatest number” thus becomes the fundamental law in this theory, individual happiness being included within the wider aim. But where shall we find the *bond*—the obligation which pertains to moral life? We make the transition from blind impulse to an intelligible rule of conduct; but in thus parting company with a force which was powerful enough, though lacking in discrimination, where do we find the authoritative element—“the Categorical Imperative,” as Kant has named it—without which we have no morality? It has been suggested that we should “express the phenomena of spirit in terms of matter,” for it is said this “connects thought with the other phenomena of the universe.” But what gain is there if we do? We can speak of muscular energy, and nerve energy, but what meaning do we get, if we speak of the energy of thought concerning the greatest happiness of the greatest number? Such thought does not produce so much work as is the case with energy. In some men such thought will hardly stir an emotion; in others, the formula will be regarded as a pleasantly sounding truism; to others it will be an inspiring rule of conduct. If such differences as these exist, we gain nothing by transposing the language of spiritual phenomena into that which expresses phenomena of matter. We only miss our mark, fail to understand the nature of things, and delude ourselves into acceptance of a theory which explains nothing. Energy which performs a given amount of work, and thought which sees a certain form of truth, are not to be compared. Whatever they accomplish, they effect their results in different ways. In the realm of ethics, the difficulty for an evolution theory is even greater than is thus



indicated. Duty, which all men know, but only some men do, whether we regard it as only a conception or as an active power in mind, needs some other explanation than can be found among the phenomena of matter. Take the bare notion of duty—how has it found a lodgment in the mind? It is said that “the experiences of utility, organized and consolidated through all past generations of the human race, have been producing corresponding nervous communications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition—certain emotions responding to right and wrong conduct which have no apparent basis in the individual experiences of utility.” But this carries no proper interpretation of the notion duty, and supplies no philosophy of its presence in mind. There is, indeed, ample reason for maintaining that experiences produce a definite impression on the nerve organization, and that such impressions are amplified from age to age, and that these, as a rule, are transmitted to succeeding generations. But this does not account for the notion duty. If the experiences of utility have produced nervous modifications which have become faculties of intuition, these faculties can supply only intuitions of utility. We are thus still without the notion duty; or something has been imported into the theory which the nervous modifications have not caused, and the result is the same, so far as the failure of the theory is concerned. The additional reference to “emotions responding to right and wrong conduct” makes this failure more conspicuous, by tracing “emotions” and “faculties of intuition” to a common cause in “the experiences of utility,” and introducing “right and wrong in conduct,” without philosophic warrant. Thus a theory of physical evolution, coming by way of biology, physiology, and anthropology, fails to reach the conception of duty, and to supply a philosophy of it. Even if we grant the existence of emotions stirred by contemplation of the higher utilities, these do not supply any explanation of the motives which actuate men in the fulfilment of duty, as these emotions do not include the sense of duty—the consciousness of personal obligation—which urges a man along the course of private duty, as well as onwards in his efforts to secure the highest good of others.

From this lower type of an evolution theory I pass to another greatly higher in philosophic structure and practical value—I mean Hegel’s theory of dialectic evolution, according to which the logical concatenation of our conceptions of things known, is the true theory of existence. In this theory we find another illustration of the powerful influence of the idea of evolution. The followers of Hegel are not, indeed, numerous—not at all so numerous as his admirers—but they are eminently distinguished and influential. And if the Hegelian philosophy has not attained a wide popularity, this is to be explained much more by the difficulty of appreciating his scheme, than by intelligent rejection of it.

As a scheme of existence, the theory of dialectic evolution is analogous to the lower and more popular evolution theory in these respects—that



observation must afford the materials required for construction of a theory, and that progress must be from less to greater, from the simplest or least complicated orders of being upwards to what is more complicated, or, as Hegelian formulæ would lead us to say, from nothing to absolute being, for dialectic evolution begins lower, as it naturally rises higher, than a scheme of physical evolution. On the other hand, dialectic evolution is, in some respects, diametrically opposed to the more popular evolution theory, denying altogether that the facts of existence can be understood by attempting to translate the phenomena of mind into language expressive of the phenomena of matter—affirming, on the contrary, that any attempt such as this must render existence utterly unmeaning, landing us in the admission of a succession of occurrences of which no rational explanation can be found. While, then, the physicist or biologist, as, for example, Mr. Huxley, might say "that spiritualistic terminology is utterly barren, and leads to nothing but obscurity and confusion of ideas;" the Hegelian would merely substitute "materialistic terminology," and read the sentence as before, maintaining that there is no rational terminology but the terminology of the understanding. In this difference, it seems to me that the Hegelian has unquestionably the advantage, and that thus far we are nearer a true theory of existence in the Hegelian dialectic than we are in any scheme of physical evolution, except that of Mr. Darwin, according to which the evolution of life is the expression of the creative power and intelligent purpose of the Absolute Being—a theory very closely related to all that is best in Hegel, while the two theories are entirely separated in the forms of investigation.

Let us now, then, take the higher level of dialectic evolution, looking from it to the lower level of physical phenomena for illustration, or perhaps we should more properly say, and more in accordance with the spirit of Hegelianism, looking *into* physical phenomena, that is, under the surface, seeing there what only the understanding can see, and which is the only truly permanent or universal.

All Nature can be rationalized. A beginning may be made at any point, or by restriction to any department of inquiry, and this statement will find illustration. This is the common testimony of all the sciences. Wherever the world has been pierced, the rational has been found, as has been placed beyond dispute by the epoch of scientific investigation in which we live. This being so, it seems to follow that the evolution of thought must afford the key to existence. This brings us to the Hegelian standpoint. As my present purpose admits of nothing more than a general survey of Hegel's theory, I do not dwell on his view of negation as providing for dialectic movement, according to which affirmation of any definite or restricted form of existence always implies its negation, and the recognition of these two implies that they are mutually included, and, by necessity of rational procedure, both are embraced in a higher order of existence. What-



ever may be thought of this as a help to the interpretation of the universe,—and that there is truth in it, both certain and suggestive, will be more readily granted the more carefully the statement is pondered,—it will at least be admitted that Hegel is here presenting a trustworthy analysis of the conditions of thought. At the same time it will be recognized that the Hegelian scheme, though so far apart from the Darwinian theory as to belong to an entirely different region, is nevertheless in close alliance with it. By constant use of the recognized relation between affirmation and negation, Hegel proceeds to develop a theory of existence, by means of the categories, or general forms of the understanding, such as quantity, quality, and relation, as these are capable of being applied to concrete existence. The theory of Hegel is thus a theory of the evolution of existence according to the logical order of the categories—that is, according to the conditions of human understanding.

The most general and sweeping objection to such a scheme is that it seems too much to make man the measure of the universe, and is on that very account inadequate as a method of interpretation. The Hegelian answer to this objection is that it is the Absolute, and not human nature, which affords the key to existence; and this answer is warranted by the theory, and is so far good theoretically, that, according to the Hegelian scheme, man, and all existence besides, passes over into the Absolute, thus making the final interpretation of the universe the unity of Absolute Being. But the question remains for critical inquiry whether this escapes the difficulty and affords a rational interpretation of things known.

It is needful, in the first instance, to notice how far this is a sufficient answer to the objection taken against Hegelianism that it makes human nature the measure of existence. And this is the more needful as a preliminary inquiry, since nothing is more obvious than this, that logical procedure is continually bearing witness to its own limitation, and is on this account inadequate as an exponent of the Absolute, or even as a process by evolution of which the Absolute can be reached. It is certain, working within the dialectic conditions to which our minds are subject, that the Absolute cannot limit itself. Not even for the purpose of manifestation is this possible, for in limitation the Absolute ceases to exist, destroys itself, than which nothing can be more obviously impossible. Under the very necessities of thought, in accordance with which we recognize the Absolute, we are thus precluded from acceptance of a scheme which affirms the unity of existence, by its evolution through Nature and Spirit to the Absolute. We do not escape the conception of creation, and of distinct forms of created existence, in the Darwinian theory; we still encounter the distinction between the Absolute and the conditioned, with all those logical perplexities which arise in consequence; and the categories which are essential to us for dialectic progress involve limitations fatal to the claims of the logical evolu-



tion of all existence. We certainly cannot transcend the conditions of our own thought; there is no knowledge possible, and consequently no philosophy, except on the assumption of their reliability but this does not make the Absolute the key to a philosophy of existence in any sense available for a theory of dialectic evolution. When it is alleged that thought cannot transcend its own conditions, this is the clearest evidence possible that thought is not the measure of existence, and that its evolution cannot afford the key to the universe as known, or to the Universal as presupposed in all. Accordingly, Hegel's constant reference to the concrete, and his testimony against accepting the abstract as the true—two outstanding excellencies in his philosophic procedure, when rigidly interpreted—imply the impossibility of a dialectic which shall be all-embracing. What Hegel has in common with all schemes which make the rational the key to existence, we can accept; what he has as a speciality, affirming that dialectic evolution is the evolution of the absolute, or Universal, we must reject.

Without attempting extended criticism on the ground here sketched, the test of this, as of the lower phase of evolution, may be found by reference to ethical data. In the Hegelian scheme, the whole law of moral life is made to be the realizing of our own personality. This finds the root of a moral life in the constitution of our nature, by the evolution of which morality will be realized. And there is in this, so far, a harmony with all forms of ethical theory which maintain the government of reason as the essential feature of human life. Down the long line of history, from the Greek philosophy to the present day, every ethical theory which can be classified as intellectual in its essential characteristics, carries the admission that morality is practically the realizing of our own personality. But this is rather a philosophic formula of moral being than an efficient law of personal life, far less a philosophy of such law. It only signalizes the highest characteristic of our complex nature, without giving a philosophy of the mysteries of that nature. For our moral life, while it is the dialectic evolution of our personality, is, in its actual history, much more.

To give directness and precision to our thought here, it is enough to refer to *moral evil*. Here we encounter what all philosophy has recognized, conflict between a lower and a higher nature within us, and all that is involved in securing the ascendancy of the one over the other. From this it follows that personality is not the whole nature, and yet our whole nature is somehow to be embraced within our personality, or encompassed by it. But this can be only by contending against much that is within us, and casting it out as that which can have no place in our personality, as it contributes nothing to its excellence. As biological evolution does not find within reach the materials for advance to rational life, dialectic evolution finds more than it can account for;—antagonism to personal evolution, which is a theoretic as well as a practical perplexity. Even if the logical evolution of personality gives us an ideal



of what is best in our nature, and should be dominant, it does not include a philosophy of practical life, and here is presented most conspicuous testimony to the insufficiency of dialectic evolution as a philosophy of being. In Hegelianism we have a formula of rational life, but no key to the practical necessities of such a life, in which an irrational disposition contends against what is not merely an intelligible rule, but an authoritative law.

On the grounds thus briefly sketched, it is maintained that, whether we take physical evolution on the one hand, or dialectic evolution on the other, we have a scheme which is not all-embracing; each in turn is found insufficient to afford a philosophy of existence. All that we know of physical existence shapes itself within the forms of thought; but the forms of dialectic are insufficient to encompass the mysteries of human life. There is high intellectual worth in the conception of evolution, both as finding its representation in the material universe, and as expressing itself in the adequate interpretation of the laws of thought in accordance with which alone philosophy is possible. But the predominance of this conception of evolution in our day involves a cramping influence by favouring the delusive notion that it affords an exhaustive and ultimate scheme of existence. It has served well its part in the early stage of its acceptance, by greatly stimulating thought both in lower and in higher regions of investigation. It has in all this made good for itself a permanent place in science and philosophy, for evolution is a reality in the history of the universe; but it is not the deepest thing in it.

More than evolution is required to account for existence. Physical evolution does not account for the existence within which evolution takes place; dialectic evolution fails to explain the existence within which its own forms are employed, while, at its furthest range of application, evolution of the Absolute is a dialectic impossibility. We still need an ampler theory of knowledge than is supplied by either. We need a theory which shall embrace both of these, and transcend them both. We must regard it not only as a possible, but a necessary inquiry, to ascertain the conditions of certainty, as these are inseparably connected with the laws of exercise essential for intellectual procedure. It is not a possible thing in the history of philosophic thought to treat Kant's critical distinction between *à posteriori* and *à priori* in human knowledge as illegitimate or as fruitless inquiry. Nor is it possible to rest in Kant's theory as if it were an adequate scheme of philosophy. But Hegelianism has not supplanted it, nor has it supplied what is still the pressing want. I am unable to regard the effort of Hegel otherwise than as a brilliant excursus which has added a singularly attractive chapter to the history of philosophic thought; a striking illustration of the extent to which evolution of the categories harmonizes with concrete existence; but the development of a philosophy which has done little towards meeting the full requirements of a theory of knowledge. It is of



admitted value, in one way, to insist that the theory of existence is given in the evolution of human thought; for that is to emphasize the fact that all existence open to observation can be interpreted in harmony with the conditions of our intelligence. Not only are our senses adapted for affording us knowledge of an outer world, but our rational processes are adequate to the task of giving a scientific account of the world with which, as observers and thinkers, we are brought into contact. But it is of comparatively little philosophic value in other respects to concentrate on the evolution of human thought as the key to all existence, for this only raises the further problem, how is human thought capable of this? Until we have pressed this question, and constructed a scheme embracing all that must be faced in such inquiry, we have not a philosophy. And if this question be a reasonable and necessary one, the insufficiency of mere dialectic is proved.

H. CALDERWOOD.



## NATIONAL WEALTH AND EXPENDITURE.

THE increase of wealth in the United Kingdom during the last twenty years is a subject that appears to many people so vast as to carry us into the regions of conjecture. Yet it may be as clearly defined as the distance from London to York. We know that two per cent. of the adult population die yearly; and if we multiply by fifty the amount of property on which probate or succession duty is paid in any year, we arrive at the accumulated wealth of the nation—that is, of the moneyed classes. It is true that estates under £100 are not included, and that legatees sometimes defraud the revenue by under-statement of assets; but if we add 10 per cent. for such omissions we may conclude that we have attained a mathematical accuracy on this point. The growth of wealth has been almost equal in the two decades under consideration, as the following table shows:—

	1860.		1870.		1878-80.*
Probate returns . .	£95,000,000	...	125,000,000	...	153,500,000
National wealth . .	5,200,000,000	...	6,880,000,000	...	8,420,000,000

The accumulations averaged £550,000 a day in the first decade and £500,000 in the second, Sundays being deducted; and if we take the medium population for the whole period at 30 millions, we find the average savings were fourpence a day per inhabitant. Whatever corresponding test we may take will confirm the above statement, but it will suffice to quote three important ones, viz. :—

	Millions sterling.			
	1860.		1870.	1880.
*House valuation rental . . . . .	58	...	81	110
me-tax „ . . . . .	335	...	445	578
„ . . . . .	1,100	...	1,600	2,100

There are few things that record more eloquently

the average for these years.



the progress in wealth and civilization than its advance in building, and in this respect we have made great strides since 1860 :—

	No. of houses.		Value, million £.		Per house.
1860 . . .	5,384,000	...	1,160	...	£213
1870 . . .	5,912,000	...	1,620	...	275
1880 . . .	6,871,000	...	2,210	...	320

We have not only built  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million new houses, but we have rebuilt or replaced 800,000 old ones, and our people are 50 per cent. better lodged than in 1860, as appears from the average value of each house. For it must not be supposed that this rise in value is artificial, since Mr. Howell shows, on the contrary, that the cost of building is much less than it was twenty years ago. An elaborate table before me shows that the average rental of each house is £43 per annum in London, £15 in the rest of England, almost £15 in Scotland, and a little under £4 in Ireland, the average for the United Kingdom being £16 a year. It is something more than a coincidence that the number of carriages subject to Inland Revenue duty has risen in the same identical ratio as the Government rental valuation of houses—that is, 88 per cent. since 1860—which shows the simultaneous improvement in the condition of our people :—

	No. of carriages.		Inhab. to each carriage.
1860 . . . . .	245,000	...	120
1870 . . . . .	325,000	...	97
1880 . . . . .	463,000	...	75

The Income Tax returns show a greater increase by 9 per cent. than we find in the Probate returns, which may arise from an improved method of collection. Formerly, the revenue was defrauded in the most outrageous manner, such was the hostility to income tax; and of this a remarkable instance was quoted by Mr. Gladstone, in the debate on the Budget of 1853 :—"There were twenty-eight persons who claimed compensation in Cannon Street, on sworn testimony to an aggregate income of £48,000, but who only paid tax on a total of £9,000 a year." Nevertheless, the income tax assessments are not far from reality, for we find that the consumption of luxuries (tea, sugar, coffee, wine, tobacco, and dried fruit) averages 9 per cent. of the value of assessed incomes in each year. The insurance returns are only an indirect proof of growth of wealth, but it is notorious that London alone grows 20 millions a year under this heading. Bank deposits, including the market value of share capital and the deposits in savings banks, have risen 65 per cent. since 1860, viz. :—

	Millions sterling.		Per in'
1860 . . . . .	520	...	£
1870 . . . . .	660	...	
1880 . . . . .	850	...	

So far, it will be said, we have seen o



no account has been taken of the loss of capital from the depreciation of farming land. This is a matter of such moment, that estimates would be a statistical immorality. I have, therefore, summed up all the land-sales reported in the London papers at three distinct periods of two years each (excluding Welsh farms as of insufficient value, and all sales over £100 per acre, as not being lands for farming), and the result, for England only, is as follows:—

	1860-61.		1870-71.		1879-81.
Estates sold . . .	285	...	107	...	166
Acres . . . . .	71,360	...	43,276	...	37,783
Price . . . . .	£3,254,000	...	1,792,000	...	1,458,000
Per acre . . . . .	£45 10 0	...	41 10 0	...	38 12 0

Here is a decline of £7 per acre, or 220 millions for the area of England, being 11 millions per annum.\* But this has been counter-balanced by the rise in suburban lands near London, Liverpool, and the other great cities, which explains the fact that the income tax assessment, for lands only, has risen from 64½ millions in 1870 to 69½ in 1880.

There is, therefore, nothing to be deducted on this score from the clearly proved accumulation of 166 millions per annum in the first, and 154 millions per annum in the second decade. I shall now proceed to show how the said accumulations were invested.

## II. DISPOSAL OF ACCUMULATIONS.

This is one of the most interesting points in connection with the economic progress of the nation, and may be set forth in a few words:—

	Million £ per annum.		
	1861-70.	...	1871-80.
House-building . . . .	46	...	58
New railways . . . . .	18	...	20
Ships (increase) . . . .	3	...	6
Banks and trade . . . .	14	...	18
Public works . . . . .	6	...	10
Art, furniture, &c. . . .	3	...	4
Foreign investments . . .	76	...	38
	166	...	154

As regards the first four items we have the most positive and conclusive testimony. The outlay on public works has been a little over 100 millions in the last decade, as shown by the loans for sanitary and like purposes, and although one class of the community owes another for the money so employed, the country is none the less enriched by the work, which is, moreover, a very useful employment of capital,

\* It is remarkable that the decline in our farm-lands is coeval with the rise of Australia where the sales of land during the last six years have been over five million acres per annum.

since it prevents or reduces sickness, and thus increases our capacity for labour. How close is the relationship between banking and commerce appears from the coincidence that both have grown at the rate of 16 millions a year since 1860, viz. :—

Million £.				Annual increase
	1860.	...	1880.	
Commerce . . . .	375	...	698	£16,150,000
Bank deposits . . .	520	...	850	16,500,000

There has been a still greater increase in the Clearing-house returns, which averaged 295 millions monthly in the years 1867–70, and rose to 530 millions per month for the years 1880–81. It is very significant that in the second decade our home investments increased, and of the money that we placed abroad at least three-fourths seem to have gone to the Colonies. Doubtless the revelations of Sir Henry James's committee about Peruvian and other loans induced British capitalists to be more careful about lending money to strangers. During the last ten years we lent our Colonies 268 millions, viz. :—

Millions sterling.				
	Loans.		Companies.	Total.
Australia . . . . .	54	...	44	98
Canada . . . . .	19	...	25	44
Cape Colony . . . . .	10	...	12	22
India . . . . .	45	...	59	104
	128	...	140	268

The aggregate of our investments abroad, according to the *Economist*, produces us at present a yearly income of 65½ millions; so that (after deducting bad debts) we must have at least 1,300 millions invested abroad, a sum almost equal to twice our national debt.

The following shows how the national wealth was distributed at the three dates under consideration :—

Millions sterling.				
	1860.		1870.	1880.
Houses . . . . .	1,160	...	1,620	2,200
Railways . . . . .	348	...	530	730
Shipping . . . . .	40	...	66	120
Bullion . . . . .	95	...	118	143
Furniture, books, &c. .	330	...	400	500
Stock-in-trade . . . .	420	...	500	600
Public works . . . . .	200	...	250	350
Lands . . . . .	1,740	...	1,930	1,950
Cattle, crops, &c. . . .	460	...	480	400
Sundries . . . . .	87	...	66	127
Invested abroad . . . .	320	...	920	1,300
	5,200	...	6,880	8,420

Comparing these totals with population, we find that each inhabitant was worth £180 in 1860, almost £220 in 1870, and about £250 in 1880.



With such an increase of wealth it is by no means surprising that the ratio of paupers to population has declined from 4 per cent. in 1870 to 3 per cent. last year, that the Savings Bank deposits have risen very notably, and that the consumption of tea, sugar, and tobacco is higher per inhabitant than in the past years.

### III. ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

Having ascertained the annual accumulations, the next point is the expenditure, as by adding both together we shall arrive at the precise income of the nation. Before going into details I may be permitted to state the principal items, and the average per inhabitant as well as for a family of five persons, viz. :—

	Millions sterling.		Average per inhab.		Per family.
Food . . . .	474	...	£13 12 0	...	£68 0 0
Clothing . . .	138	...	3 19 0	...	19 15 0
Rent . . . .	179	...	5 2 0	...	25 10 0
Taxes . . . .	125	...	3 12 0	...	18 0 0
Sundries . . .	177	...	5 1 0	...	25 5 0
	<u>1,093</u>	...	<u>31 6 0</u>	...	<u>156 10 0</u>

Although the expenditure approaches 1,100 millions, the consumption does not exceed 800 millions, since the rent is simply a payment from one Englishman to another, and even the taxes are pretty much the same. Most of the interest on the national debt will be found to go ultimately into food and clothing, and the same may be said of the principal sums paid to soldiers, police, and all public officials. But if we are to regard the country as a large house of business, it is impossible to classify the expenditure more simply than in the above table.

Food is, of course, the largest and most important item, and calls for special consideration in all its component parts, distinguishing how much is produced at home, and how much imported, viz. :—

	Tons.		Value, million £.		Percentage, British.		Do. imported.
Grain, &c. . . .	19,500,000	...	160	...	60	...	40
Meat. . . . .	1,850,000	...	111	...	78	...	22
Butter, cheese. .	410,000	...	31	...	45	...	55
Eggs. . . . .	100,000	...	9	...	75	...	25
Tea, coffee, &c. .	95,000	...	11	...	0	...	100
Sugar . . . . .	910,000	...	20	...	0	...	100
Wines, beer, &c.	—	...	128	...	94	...	6
Sundries . . . .	—	...	37	...	90	...	10
			<u>507</u>	...	<u>70</u>	...	<u>30</u>

It will be seen that three-fifths of our breadstuffs are home-grown, this item including not only grain but also potatoes, of which we produce about 4 million tons. As regards meat, we import nearly one-third, but this item in the above table comprises moreover poultry and game, which are not usually included: it is, however, irrespective of fish, of

which we consume over 530,000 tons a year. Eggs of home production average 40 millions weekly, besides which we import 14 millions a week. We use annually 4½ lbs. of tea and barely 1 lb. of coffee per head, and if the duties were taken off these articles we might expect to see our bill for liquor much lower. Still, it is gratifying to note that the consumption of wines, beer, &c., has fallen 20 millions in value since 1876. The item for sundries consists of 25 millions for milk, 3 millions for fish, and the rest for fruit. From the above total of 507 millions it is necessary to deduct 33 millions for grain, corresponding to the cattle annually slaughtered for our markets, and which comes back to us as meat, thus leaving the bill for food at 474 millions, as before stated. If we are dependent on foreign nations for one-third of our food supply, it is different with clothing, which (excepting two-thirds of our silks) is wholly of home production. Our expenditure under this head is shown as follows:—

	Million yards.		Value, million £.
Cotton goods . . . .	1,100	...	15
Woollen „ . . . .	330	...	30
Linen „ . . . .	400	...	13
Silk „ . . . .	55	...	19
Hats and boots . . . .	—	...	26
Tailors' wages . . . .	—	...	28
Sundries . . . .	—	...	7
			<hr/> 138

The home consumption of our textile manufactures is 35 per cent. of all the produce, and just equal in value (65 millions) to what we pay annually to foreign nations for raw material. The number of tailors, dressmakers, &c., employed in making clothes merely for our own population is almost half-a-million of persons.

Rent and taxes as stated in the summary before given are simply the Government returns on such matters. The rental valuation consists of 110 millions for houses and 69 millions for land. The taxes consist of 83 millions national, and 43 millions local. Furthermore, there are miscellaneous expenses that make up 177 millions as follows:—

	Million £.
Locomotion . . . . .	46
Fuel, gas, &c. . . . .	30
Hardware, &c. . . . .	63
Law, physic, press, &c. . . . .	23
Church and charities . . . . .	15
	<hr/> 177

Under locomotion I do not include freight, but only passenger traffic by rail and otherwise. Fuel does not comprise what is used in factories, &c., but merely in domestic use. Hardware comprehends all manufactures that are not textile. Finally, the last item includes 9 millions for the average amount of charitable donations.



IV. INCOME OF THE NATION.

We have seen that the expenditure amounts to 1,093, and the annual accumulation to 154 millions, so that the income *must* be 1,247 millions, but when we proceed to inquire how the income arises, we leave the region of ascertained fact and enter on the debateable ground of estimates, viz. :—

	Million £.
Agricultural products . . . . .	249
Railway earnings . . . . .	63
Shipping „ . . . . .	60
Minerals . . . . .	73
Dividends on capital . . . . .	115
Rents. . . . .	179
Trade . . . . .	140
Manufactures . . . . .	368
	<hr/>
	1,247

Some fifteen years ago the late Mr. Dudley Baxter estimated the national earnings (without house rent) at 814 millions. Since then the income tax and probate returns have risen 40 per cent., so that, if Mr. Baxter were right, the national income would now be 1,260 millions. This shows that he was within 1 per cent. of the fact, although he has left no evidence of how he came so near the reality.

In my next paper I shall call attention to the distinctive feature of this last quarter of the nineteenth century—a more general distribution of wealth and a proportionate decrease in the number of paupers, as well as a “levelling up” of the middle classes, especially in England, France, and Germany, the result of industrial development in these countries.

M. G. MULHALL.

ERRATA.

In the Article “Two Decades of Industry,” November Number, some figures got displaced in the Table of British Exports, p. 823. The last four sums in the column headed “year 1880,” ought to read thus :—

10  
0·20  
0·11  
0·55

## OLD AND NEW CANONS OF POETICAL CRITICISM.

### I.

WHEN men have been long engaged in a discussion that seems to hold out no promise of a definite conclusion, the suspicion is naturally engendered that the endlessness of the controversy is caused by the too vague apprehension of the matter in dispute. Thence arises a craving for some definition that shall not be vague, but as particular and precise as the nature of the subject and the inherent infirmities of language will permit.

I fancy some such craving has arisen in connection with the controversies that have for some time been current concerning the respective merits of the English poets of this century who are silent in their graves. Few will doubt that there are at least three of these to each of whom in turn precedence is given over the other two by critics who are one and all entitled to an opinion, and who may fairly demand a hearing on this interesting theme. Byron, Shelley, and Wordsworth are the illustrious trio whose rival claims have caused and still support the controversy. Mr. Matthew Arnold has just pronounced, in explicit terms, in favour of Wordsworth. I imagine Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Rossetti, and others, would confer the palm upon Shelley. Finally, there are some of us who would be disposed to place Byron before either.

I do not propose in this paper to offer any direct contribution to that controversy. My purpose rather is to inquire whether it be possible to define what poetry peculiarly is, what is its main and distinguishing function, and upon what, principally, the greatness and superiority of the poet depend. It is obvious that if nothing of the kind be possible, then one man's opinion about poets and poetry is as good and as authoritative as another's, and all our attempted estimates resolve themselves into the mere rival assertions, "*I like this,*" "*I prefer that.*"



That I am not alone in thinking some more exact definition of the main function of the poet is required than we at present seem to possess, may be gathered from the fact that Mr. Matthew Arnold has been endeavouring to provide us with one. Had he been successful in the attempt, there would have been no room for further observation. Unfortunately the new canon Mr. Arnold advances concerning poetry, should it gain acceptance, will, it seems to me, only make confusion worse confounded. This may appear a bold thing to say of an attempt to assist our perplexity made by one who is both a poet of distinction and a critic of eminence. But I can only state my reasons for that conclusion, and leave it to others to decide whether the fresh difficulties Mr. Arnold has created, for me at least, are fanciful or not.

Mr. Arnold is a singularly circumspect writer ; and evidently it is with repugnance that he commits himself to a definite statement. He has written some of the most agreeable prose volumes of our time ; in which he has let his consciousness play freely about the ideas of other people, whilst more or less concealing his own behind a fascinating veil. An instance of what I mean may be found at page 67 of "*Culture and Anarchy*," a work I should think no one ever opens without enjoying the luxury of an intellectual smile. It is a delightful volume, and makes much notable folly look more foolish than ever. But, probably, its own drift is anarchic, for, whilst rendering many nonsensical opinions untenable, it scarcely offers anything sensible in their place. After arguing that we want a principle of authority, to counteract the tendency to anarchy that seems to be threatening us, Mr. Arnold observes :

"But how to organize this authority, or to what hands to trust the wielding of it ? How to get your State, summing up the right reason of the community, and giving effect to it, as circumstances may require, with vigour ? And here I think I see my enemies waiting for me with a hungry joy in their eyes. But I shall elude them."

In effect, he does elude them. But how does he elude them ? By alluding to the difficulty, which is the kernel of the question, no more ; and by being so entertaining for two hundred pages further, that most readers doubtless forget the question ever arose.

The new canon upon poetry which Mr. Arnold invites us to accept is, that poetry is a criticism of life, and that those poets are the greatest whose criticism of life is the most healthy and the most true. I dare say the canon, put thus explicitly, will not altogether recommend itself to its own author. But I think I shall be able to show that this is the theory he really propounds ; and that if it is to be modified it must disappear altogether, and so cease to be of any avail as a weapon of criticism, for which purpose it was avowedly forged.

The schoolmen of the Middle Ages, for whom many persons in the nineteenth century entertain a contempt which I am sure Mr. Arnold does not share, laid down that a definition, to be of much use, should



be both "inclusive" and "exclusive," therein repeating an observation made many centuries earlier by logicians equally cautious. In other words, a definition should include all the peculiar and essential qualities of the thing defined, and these should be qualities excluded from the definition of any other thing. To say, for example, of a horse, that it is an animal with four legs, is not to help to define it, because cows, sheep, and many other animals, have likewise four legs. In the same way, to say of poetry that it is a criticism of life, is to offer no help towards the definition of poetry, seeing, as Mr. Arnold confesses, that in so far as it is true at all, it is equally true of prose. "The end and aim of all literature," he says, "is, if one considers it attentively, nothing but that—a criticism of life;" and then he is forced to add, "We are not brought much on our way, I admit, towards an adequate definition of poetry, as distinguished from prose, by that truth."

It will perhaps seem to many readers that this candid confession ends the controversy, and that we ought to be satisfied with this graceful withdrawal by Mr. Arnold of his own canon. As a fact, however, he does not withdraw it, but goes on battling gallantly to save it, by presenting it in other ways, and with less defined features. He begs us to observe that "the noble and profound application of ideas to life is the most essential part of poetic greatness, and that a great poet receives his distinctive character of superiority from his application, under the conditions immutably fixed by the laws of poetic beauty and poetic truth, from his application, I say, to his subject, whatever it may be, of the ideas on man, on nature, and on human life, which he has acquired for himself." It is not easy for a careful reader either to assent or to object to these assertions; they are so inconveniently vague. But Mr. Arnold intends them, not as a recantation of the canon that poetry is a criticism of life, but as that canon writ large; written so large in fact, as to make it difficult to decide where the essential point really lies. It is possible that, just as in the passage from "Culture and Anarchy," he again said to himself, "Here I think I see my enemies waiting for me with a hungry joy in their eyes. But I shall elude them."

On this occasion, however, he does not elude his enemies, or, as it would be more proper to put it, his humble admirers, who are waiting with a hungry joy for instruction at the hand of so consummate a master. For here the sportive workings of his own mind bring his consciousness to bay, and after a good long pursuit the canon about poetry being a criticism of life is at last run to earth in the following significant passage:—

"Where, then, is Wordsworth's superiority? for the worth of what he has given us in poetry I hold to be greater, on the whole, than the worth of what Leopardi has given us. . . . As compared with Leopardi, Wordsworth, though at many points less lucid, though far less a master of style, far less of an artist, gains so much by his criticism of life being, in certain matters of profound importance, healthful and true, whereas Leopardi's pessimism is not, that the value of Wordsworth's poetry, on the whole, stands higher for us than that of Leopardi."



Here we have the canon arrived at maturity, and raised to the dignity and efficacy of a dogma. In fact, Mr. Arnold has, I submit, advanced two propositions :—

1st. *That poetry is a criticism of life.*

2nd. *That the relative greatness of a poet mainly depends on the healthfulness and truth of his criticism of life.*

Against these two propositions I will ask leave to contend :

1st. *That poetry is not a criticism of life, in any natural and previously accepted sense of the word criticism and the word life.*

2nd. *That to make the relative greatness of a poet depend upon the healthfulness and truth of his criticism of life, is to place the estimate of his poetry at the mercy of the opinion of anybody and everybody as to what is a true and healthy criticism of life, about which no consensus exists.*

3rd. *That in proportion as a poet occupies himself in his poetry mainly with a criticism of life, to that extent he injures his chance of being a great poet.*

Since every controversy must turn in some measure upon the signification of the words employed, I think it is not captious to ask that familiar words should carry a familiar meaning. Previously, therefore, to inquiring whether poetry be a criticism of life, it is necessary to ascertain what is the meaning of the word life, and what the meaning of the word criticism. The meaning I have always found attached to these words is as follows :—

*Life is the sum total of the sensations and actions of mankind ; in other words, whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do. Criticism is forming and pronouncing a judgment upon something or other ; and criticism of life, therefore, is passing a judgment upon life.*

Now, is poetry, or, in other words, is the main and special function of the poet, passing a judgment upon life? If it is, let us see what follows.

No one will pretend that a consistent, homogeneous judgment or estimate of life can be extracted from a perusal of all the poets with whom readers of poetry are most familiar. Indeed, I doubt if any class of writers leave so contradictory and confusing an impression of life upon the mind as the poets. Historians differ, metaphysicians dispute, and doctors notoriously disagree. But I should say that all of these are remarkable for agreement, as compared with poets. Take five such poems, for example, as the "*De Naturâ Rerum*" of Lucretius, the "*Divina Commedia*" of Dante, Pope's "*Essay on Man*," Wordsworth's "*Excursion*," and Byron's "*Don Juan*." If these five poets, in these five poems, be passing a judgment upon life, all one can say is the impression left by their judgments, if they were intended for such, is to preclude the reader from forming a consistent judgment upon life at all.

That this fact constitutes no cause of reproach against these poets,



I trust we shall perceive in due course. But, for the present, what is the inference to be drawn from it? Obviously it is this. If poetry be a criticism, in other words, a judgment upon, or estimate of, life, and poets form different estimates and pass different judgments, what next becomes necessary? Either we must agree to let them disagree, or we must ourselves create a Court of Appeal, to decide which estimate is the most correct and whose judgment is nearest to the truth.

Now let us mark what follows from this unavoidable alternative. If we agree to let them disagree, then the proposition that poetry is the passing of a judgment upon life, intended as a canon of criticism and an instrument or measure for testing the relative greatness of poets, falls to the ground, and is of no avail. If, in consequence of their disagreement, we appeal to a higher court, where shall we find it? Shall the judges be selected from among our philosophers? Philosophy has not yet found its first cause, or its final end. The languages spoken amid the wreck of the Tower of Babel had more resemblance than the verdicts of philosophy, for at least they had a common root. Shall we pick our judges from practical moralists? Even if these entirely agreed, which they do not, and if they could be brought to determine whether morality be intuitive and self-dependent, or inductive and utilitarian, I should still have to observe that life—that is to say, all that men perceive, feel, think, and do—is considerably more extensive, and covers far more ground, than practical morality. I confess I am unable to suggest or indicate any other body of men who would provide the consentaneous authority of which we are in search. Like “your State summing up the right reason of the community,” as declared to be the object of quest in “Culture and Anarchy,” but unhappily not discovered, it “eludes” us, and our “hungry joy” is changed into hungry disappointment.

Many illustrations might be borrowed from the poets themselves to fortify this conclusion; but a few will suffice. What are we to say of the “*De Rerum Naturâ*”? Is it healthful and true? To many people, probably to most, it is at best only a fine piece of paganism, not true, and therefore not healthy. In the eyes of some orthodox Protestants, the “*Divina Commedia*” is necessarily a mass of beautiful, and not always beautiful, superstition. If any one will turn to the edition of Pope’s Works, begun by Mr. Elwin, and now being so ably continued by Mr. Courthope, he will be puzzled to find that divines, not open to any charge of heterodoxy, have pronounced the “*Essay on Man*” to be what Pope declared he meant it for, a vindication of the ways of God, while others, equally sound on the theological side, protest that “an infidel who hated divines and divinity with all his heart dictated its doctrines.” This is Mr. Elwin’s opinion, and he evidently inclines to think the poetry of the poem not much better than its philosophy. Dugald Stewart, on the contrary, a man not prone to rash enthusiasm, affirmed that the “*Essay on Man*” is the noblest specimen of philosophical



Poetry which our language affords, and, with the exception of a very few passages, contains a valuable summary of all that human reason has been able hitherto to advance in justification of the moral government of God." Bowles, more circumspectly, affirmed that the poem "will continue to charm from the music of its verse, the splendour of its diction, and the beauty of its illustrations, when the philosophy that gave rise to it, like the coarse manure that fed the flowers, is perceived and remembered no more." It may be suspected, however, from what we have seen, that a great many people who dislike the philosophy of the "Essay on Man," its view of the relations of God to ourselves, in other words, those who dislike its criticism or estimate of one of the chief things appertaining to life, will look somewhat coldly on its verse, its diction, and its illustrations. In "Don Juan" there are numerous observations upon life, and if we are to regard them, in their entirety, so far as entirety can be predicated of them, as criticisms of life, most persons would find themselves in this dilemma, *vis-à-vis* of Mr. Arnold's canon, that the views expressed in "Don Juan" are perhaps true, but are certainly not healthy. "The Excursion," like the "Essay on Man," generally passes for orthodox with the unwary; partly because a poet not flagrantly heretical is too uncommon a phenomenon for his opinions to incur searching examination by the orthodox, and "in the kingdom of the blind one-eyed people are kings," partly because Wordsworth led a blameless life, and is assumed to be right since he meant well. Yet Mr. Arnold himself dismisses Wordsworth's philosophy with curt ceremony, and, what is stranger still, said long ago of the poet whom he now ranks so highly, precisely "on account of his criticism of life," that

"Wordsworth's eyes avert their ken  
From half of human fate."

Many of my readers will remember the passage, and to recall it is likewise to remind ourselves that in the poem from which it is taken Mr. Arnold spoke of Sophocles as one

"Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole."

What would the Christian critic of life say to this, seeing that, when Sophocles wrote, Christianity had not yet been heard of?

It would appear, therefore, that in their criticism of life poets have differed materially, and that, upon the question whether any particular poet's criticism of life be healthful and true or the reverse, or healthful and not true, or true and not healthful, there is a like divergence and an equal variety of opinion. What is the unavoidable conclusion? Surely that the canon which would represent poetry as a criticism of life, and would make the relative greatness and superiority of a poet turn upon his criticism of life, far from lending us any fresh light, gravely darkens counsel; and, worse than this, that it tends to confirm the pernicious habit only too common amongst us already, of estimating writers rather by what they say than by the consideration of how they say it; in other



words, rather by what we want them, than by what they intend, to offer us.

For if Mr. Arnold will think of it, is it not the fact that he has unintentionally embodied, and stamped with his high authority, the unconscious standard by which most people judge not of poets and poetry alone, but of pictures, statues, music, in a word, of any production of Art? They estimate works of art, for the most part, according as these seem to agree with and promote, or to conflict with and oppose, what for the moment I will call their prejudices. I think Mr. Arnold will scarcely doubt that there are many men of the world who think Pope a far greater poet than discriminating criticism could allow him to be, simply because he writes about the themes that interest them most, and takes just about as imaginative a view of men and things as accomplished men of the world, who are nothing else, are able to take. Again, I fancy he would not deny that many cultivated tender-hearted women have admired the poetry of Mrs. Hemans, and, let us say, some of the poorer and more commonplace portions of the poetry of Byron, more than those compositions deserve to be admired, because these precisely represent what they, at the moment of reading, themselves happened to be feeling. It is this that makes Pollok's "Course of Time" such agreeable reading to some persons, and that has obtained for the works of Mr. Tupper so wide a circulation and so much popularity. Nay, as Mr. Arnold himself points out, "the fervent Wordsworthian will add, as Mr. Leslie Stephen does, that Wordsworth's poetry is precious, because his philosophy is sound;" and if so lettered a reader, so clear a thinker, and so shrewd a critic as Mr. Leslie Stephen, can judge in this manner, is it wonderful that the world at large, the admirers of Pollok, the worshippers of Mr. Tupper, should judge in this manner? It may be thought that to adduce the instance of Mr. Tupper is to trifle with the question, or at least to import into the discussion of it that peculiar form of prejudice which is usually engendered by the ridiculous. But I would submit that the persons who think Mr. Tupper's "poetry precious because his philosophy is sound," and the persons who think Wordsworth's poetry precious because *his* philosophy is sound, are, as the phrase is, tarred with the same brush. They are both measuring poetry by a wrong and irrelevant standard, both weighing the finest and most delicate of all things in the clumsiest and most inaccurate of all balances. But I should have thought that "philosophy" and "criticism of life" are as near to being interchangeable terms as one can well get; and it is precisely because I think with Mr. Arnold that the dictum which declared Wordsworth's poetry to be precious because his philosophy is sound an unfortunate dictum, that I cannot help thinking Mr. Arnold's own dictum that Wordsworth is a greater poet than Leopardi because his criticism of life is more healthy and true than Leopardi's, also an unfortunate dictum. Indeed, Mr. Arnold seems to me, in effect, to propound, and in the passage relating to



Wordsworth and Leopardi to propound in explicit terms, the very canon he deprecates when advanced by others.

It will perhaps be remembered that I proposed to establish three propositions; and I would submit that the second of these, *That to make the relative greatness of a poet depend upon the healthfulness and truth of his criticism of life is to place the estimate of his poetry at the mercy of the opinion of anybody and everybody as to what is a true and healthful criticism of life, about which no consensus exists*, has, in the course of the foregoing observations been established. If we look at poetry, taken in its entirety, as a criticism of life, we shall find in its music, which we have been accustomed to think so harmonious, but "sweet bells jangled." If we look at the poets separately, and attempt to allot them their places in the poetic hierarchy according to the truth and healthfulness with which they individually seem to have criticized life, then we must make ourselves judges of what is true and healthful criticism of life, which is to leave us the victims of our own social prejudices and theological prepossessions, or to compel us to seek for other and better agreed judges elsewhere, and these are not to be found. The amazing conclusions to which men of large capacity and lofty judgment have been led in their literary criticisms by their own particular criticism of life should serve as a warning to less gifted and less impartial persons. It led Frederick Schlegel to place Calderon above Shakespeare. Had he confined himself to stating his conclusion we might have felt perplexed. Fortunately for us, if unfortunately for himself, he has given the reasons that convinced him. Here they are:—

"The second place in the scale of dramatic art is due to effective representations of human passion where the deeper shades and springs of action are portrayed; a delineation of characteristics, not individual, but general, of the world and of life, in manifold variety, their inconsistencies and perplexing intricacies; in a word, a picture of man and his existence, recognized as an enigma and treated as such. Did the aim of dramatic art purely consist of these important significant characteristics, not only would Shakespeare be entitled to rank as the first dramatist in the world, but there could scarcely be found a single poet, ancient or modern, worthy for a moment to be compared with him. But I conceive that the stage has another and a loftier aim. Instead of merely describing the enigma of existence, it should also *solve* it; extricate life from the tangled impression of the present, and conduct it through the crisis of development to its final issue. Its penetrating glance thus extends to the realms of futurity, where every hidden thing becomes exposed to view, and the most complicated web unravelled; raising the mortal veil, it permits us to scan the secrets of an invisible world, reflected from the mirror of a seer's fancy; it shows the soul how the inner life is formed by outward conflict, which results in the decisive victory of the immortal over the mortal."—*Lectures on the History of Literature Ancient and Modern*, by Frederick Schlegel. Lecture XII.

The conclusion is, that Calderon, of all dramatic poets, is the most Christian, the most romantic, and the most eminent. Does the reader feel astonished? If so, I can lessen his surprise in an instant. Just before delivering these lectures, Schlegel asked to be admitted to the



bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. He was perfectly entitled, indeed he was bound in that respect, to act up to his own criticism of life, and he did so. Unfortunately, he applied his criticism of life, which is a guide no man can discard in his choice of a creed, to his criticism of dramatic poets, with the singular result I have quoted.

Nay, surprising as it may seem, does not Mr. Arnold himself furnish us with another instance, almost as remarkable as that of Frederick Schlegel, of the danger of approaching poetry with the bias inevitably engendered of a tenacious attachment to one's own criticism of life? "I doubt," is Mr. Arnold's most recent dictum upon the subject, "whether Shelley's delightful *Essays and Letters*, which deserve to be far more read than they are now, will not resist the wear and tear of time better, and finally come to stand higher, than his poetry."

Is there not here a marked confusion of thought? And how did it find its way into the mind of so clear a thinker? How can it possibly be said that a man's prose *Essays and Letters* are "higher than" his poetry, if his poetry be really poetry, and not designated such for mere courtesy's sake, everybody knowing that it is mere verse, and of no account. Such a view of Shelley's poetry, I need hardly say, Mr. Arnold would shrink from stating. He may rank Wordsworth above Shelley, which he does and I do not; and he may rank Byron above Shelley, which he does, and which I do also, though with becoming deference to those who think differently. But it is impossible that he should not think Shelley a poet of dazzling distinction. Indeed, he says of him, most truly, "he is a beautiful and enchanting spirit, whose vision, when we call it up, has far more loveliness, more charm for our soul, than the vision of Byron." This being so, I again ask how is it possible to compare Shelley's *Essays* with Shelley's poetry, and pronounce the former as "higher"? We cannot even meet the assertion with a negative; for a comparison is instituted between two things that cannot be compared. One might as well say that a canal is higher than a stream, that a locomotive is higher than a horse, or that an elegant cabinet or a useful chest of drawers is higher than a plane-tree. The main object of an essay is to instruct or to convince, the main object of a poem is to move and to please; and the consequence is that, though an essay which seemed to instruct yesterday teaches nothing to-day, and one that is found convincing to-day will be found rank foolishness to-morrow, the best poetry, which moved and pleased the human heart two thousand years ago, is moving and delighting the human heart still, and will delight and move it so long as the human heart continues to beat. What will be the ultimate fate of Shelley's *Essays and Letters*, I will not venture to predict. But this may be safely said, that if they resist the wear and tear of time for any very long period, they will enjoy a longevity never before accorded to essays or letters, or to any human composition embodying criticisms of life; whereas the sun will never rise



upon the day when "My soul is an enchanted boat," "I arise from dreams of thee," and "Lines written in dejection at Naples," will fail to chasten the joy of the fortunate or sweeten the bitterness of the afflicted. Why is this? Surely the answer is patent. Human opinions shift, human creeds change, human dogmas are dethroned; but human feelings vary little if at all, and never abdicate or are finally expelled. This is why it may be said of poetry, as of the human heart, whose voice it is, "They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end."

How came Mr. Arnold to make so incongruous, indeed so impracticable, a comparison, and to pronounce so singular a judgment? I can account for it only on the assumption that, like Schlegel when judging Shakespeare and Calderon, he brought his criticism of life to bear upon the comparison and allowed it to mislead him. Thus guided, he found in Shelley's poetry "an incurable want of sound subject-matter," just as Schlegel finds in Shakespeare an incurable want of a solution of the enigma of the universe. That being so, Schlegel places Calderon above Shakespeare, and Mr. Arnold ranks Shelley's Essays higher than Shelley's poetry. With all humility, I think each conclusion is a striking and valuable *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that poetry is a criticism of life, and that a poet should be estimated by us according to the soundness and healthiness with which we happen to think life has been criticized by him.

Thus far, then, I think we have got: that if poetry be mainly a criticism of life, and if the relative greatness of a poet depends principally upon the truth and healthiness with which he criticizes life, we are left without scales in which to weigh his greatness, and the canon or standard thus offered us turns out to be a pure mirage.

But can it not be shown, directly and explicitly, and not merely indirectly and by a *reductio ad absurdum* of an opposite assumption, that poetry is not, and the function of the poet is not, mainly a criticism of life? I think it can.

As a matter of course, a poet may criticize life, if he chooses; and, as a fact, poets have frequently done so. But does it therefore follow that criticism of life is, or should be, the main function of poetry? Let us consider a moment. Poets have written about love, and written about it very extensively; indeed, though there are poets who have not attempted to pass any serious judgment upon life, I doubt if the poet ever lived who has not at some time or another sung of the passion to which, alone, Anacreon declared he could tune the strings of his lyre; thereby, be it said in passing, allowing it to be seen what a second-rate lyre his was. But though love has been one of the most, perhaps the most, frequent of the themes of the poet, would it be correct to say that the main function of poetry is to sing of love, and that he is the greatest



poet who has sung of love the most truthfully and the most healthily? The same question might be asked concerning War, Adventure, Nature, the Soul, Country, all of them themes strikingly congenial to the emotions of the poet, but none of them, any more than Love, constituting the *raison d'être* of poetry, or conferring upon the poet who sings of them most felicitously pre-eminence over his fellows.

At most, then, to criticize or pass judgment upon life, is only part of the business of poetry, an incidental function of the art, by no means its main occupation or its principal end. And why is it even part of the function of poetry to criticize life? In the answer to that question, we come upon the traces of the real truth of the matter. It is a part of the business of poetry to criticize life, because Poetry is, not a criticism, but a representation of life; and criticism of life is part, though only part, of life itself.

If then, it be true, and I confess I can entertain no doubt upon the subject, that Poetry is a representation of life,—what sort of representation, I will attempt to define in due course,—does it not materially help us to discover how it came about that a critic of such eminence and penetration as Mr. Matthew Arnold should have inadvertently been betrayed into the dictum concerning poetry which it is impossible for us to accept? Every age has its *fetich*, its favourite idea, its pet pursuit, its ruling intellectual passion, its criticism or estimate of life. The mania—I do not use the word slightly, but only in order to express what I mean—of the present age is a mania for criticizing life. In other words, its criticism or estimate of life has led it to the conclusion that the chief intellectual business of life is to criticize or estimate life itself, to theorize about it, to speculate about it, to pry into its origin, to probe its purport, and to determine its end. Again I say I mean no gird at this tendency, at this estimate of the intellectual function of life. I am merely noting it, for I think it will help us on our way.

"An age," says a thoughtful writer, "is like climate. The hardier may escape its influence in much, but the hardiest will not escape its influence entirely." Doubtless Mr. Arnold is among the hardier spirits of this age; but, in respect of the particular influence we are considering, it is too congenial to his own constitution for him to have resisted it with marked success. To remember that Mr. Arnold is a poet, and we all remember it, is to save us from forgetting that he is perforce capable of confronting life with sensations purely emotional. But even in the days when verse, not prose, was the vehicle of his mind, it was pretty evident that he was curious more than contemplative; questioning rather than impressionable; not so much scanning life receptively, in order afterwards to reproduce it, as viewing it in the light of a problem, the key to which had to be found. In fact, he was very much and very markedly the child of the age in which he was born, and it gave him that elastic india-rubber ring—the modern substitute for the more



solid coral of our ancestors—criticism of life, to cut his intellectual teeth upon. Mr. Arnold still cherishes that relic of his infancy, and chewing the criticism of life is the occupation he still prescribes for us babes and sucklings over whose welfare he so usefully and unremittingly watches.

Now against cutting the teeth of the intellect or the emotions upon criticisms of life, poetry, the most catholic and unprejudiced of all things, can have no possible objection. *Quidquid agunt homines* (using the word *agere* as meaning to think and feel as well as to act)—behold the subject-matter of poetry; and so long as men criticize life, so long will criticism of life interest the poet. But he cannot allow criticisms of life to interest him exclusively, or even mainly. Whatever wisdom or folly, whatever pang or calm, whatever quest or questioning, whatever hope or disillusion, whatever straining, stumbling, or recovery, falls to the experience of man, the poet contemplates with eyes of instant sympathy, ready to render yearning into music, joy into chorus, doubt into harmony, sorrow into song. But though he thrills with the emotions, apprehends the thoughts, scans the actions, and penetrates the motives of his fellow-men, he does not share their prejudices, and, above all, he cannot be shackled by their limitations. What to each one of them in turn is all, is to him only part. All the seasons are before him at once. No snows of winter can take the sound of spring out of his ears; no autumn leaves can cover up the smile of summer in his heart. The centuries are his, and the sepulchres. The dogmas that are dead he remembers; the creeds that are to come he foresees; for the gods to whom altars are being raised, for whom incense is being burnt, he has already written an enduring epitaph. The constellations move round and round, and he moves with them, singing the song of the winds, the thunders, and the never-ending tides. In his spacious dwelling-place, Opinion, like any other shivering wanderer, is free to enter, but only as a compassionate guest, and its place is below the salt. The theologians would fain capture him, and he laughs. The moralists would ensnare him, and he smiles. Society with one hand brings him provender, and with the other a halter, half-concealed, and he, because he is not without some sense of humour, sniffs and perhaps even snatches the specious bait; but, before the noose is over him, with quick limbs of Pegasus he breaks away, and exults in the fulness of his freedom and his joy. He is for no man to drive, for no woman to ride, though to her call he will always come, and she may say gentle words to him, if she will, and lay her fair cheek against his unyokeable neck. He has a foot in every camp, but a resting-place in none. His life is a perpetual transmigration of soul; and when he sees the shield of Patroclus hanging upon the wall, he remembers that he was at Troy. He saw Jove born, he saw Pan die, he was standing on the shore when Venus flowered naked out of the foam. He was with Mary at the foot of the Cross; he beheld



Stephen stoned ; and among his most precious treasures is the box from which Magdalen lavished her repentant spikenard. He is too happy to be utterly sad, too sad to be entirely happy. He is all things to all men. Like space, he is inside all things, and outside them too. As Pascal said of infinity, his centre is everywhere, his circumference nowhere. Like the wind, he will strike you any note, any crevice in your being craves for ; but, like the wind, imprison him you cannot. He was not born for servitude, and he moves past creeds, systems, and criticisms of life, as a river rolls past hamlet and village, town and meadow, church and forest, solitude, uproar, and the slow feet of roaming lovers, singing to them all, taking from them all, but staying with none, and by none drained dry. For him the strongest fetters of logic are withes of the Philistines to break asunder, for there is nothing so illogical as the human heart. Is this your criticism of life ? Then it shall be his. Is this *yours* ? It shall be his also. But they do not agree ; nay, they contradict each other. Do they indeed ? Well, he will harmonize them ; not by any other criticism of life, but by his "so potent art." He has moments of divine intoxication, and then he sees all things double. When Edgar leads Gloucester to the edge of the supposed cliff at Dover, Gloucester kneels and exclaims—

"O you mighty gods !  
This world I do renounce, and, in your sights,  
Shake patiently my great affliction off.  
If I could bear it longer, and not fall  
To quarrel with your great opposeless wills,  
My snuff and loathed part of nature should  
Burn itself out."

But when, by Edgar's device, saved from self-destruction, he returns to his purpose with the observation—

"No farther, sir ! a man may rot even here ;"

and Edgar responds—

"What ! In ill thoughts again ? Men must endure  
Their going hence, even as their coming hither,  
Ripeness is all ! Come on !"

what is Gloucester's reply ?

"*And that's true too.*"

Not merely that it is true, but that it is true likewise, the other exactly opposite truth remaining equally true. Criticism of life ! I think of the words of Lorenzo de Medici, in a speech from which I hardly like to quote, save that it seems so ready to my hand and so apt to our purpose—

"Life's a chameleon,  
Whose colour is fit argument for fools."

The poet, too, is a chameleon, and takes his hue from surrounding objects. To him everything is true that anybody believes. He is as chromatic as light ; and, like the rainbow, he has shades of colour the ordinary vision does not perceive. All the problems of life are present to him, and he consorts perpetually with the enigmas of the soul. But



he solves them not; rather, he holds them in solution. He is an oracle, it is true, but he is profoundly Delphic; and those who take his utterances for full and final guidance risk being wofully misled. From the sacred cave from which he speaks smoke also emerges in abundance; and if you question him too closely, there is a chance, if he does not respond with a divine smile, that he will answer you with demoniac thunder. He will be your friend, your consoler, even your enlightener, if you will have it so, but never your lackey, your hireling, nor your ally. It was rigidly forbidden to the Amphietyonic States to appeal against each other to Delphi, and the children of Apollo remember and observe the injunction of their sire.

Does all this seem irrelevant to the demonstration to which I am committed? If it does, I fancy I can show at once that it is strictly pertinent, and that we are now a good deal farther on our journey than we were. For though it may be true that there are poets to whom the foregoing description can be applied but partially, is there no poet of whose qualities and characteristics it is a strictly accurate and unexaggerated account? Who is not ready with the answer? It is true of Shakespeare. It is true of the greatest poet that ever lived.

Then mark what follows. We have already seen that it is not only useless but misleading to call poetry a criticism of life, and to declare that one poet is greater than another, because his criticism of life is more true and more healthy: useless, since there exists no consensus, either among poets or among their readers, as to what *is* true and healthy criticism of life; misleading, because it confirms and encourages the pernicious habit, already too prevalent, of estimating the poetic merits of poets according to the reader's individual estimate of what is true and what is healthy. And, now, what more do we see? That the greatest poet who ever lived is the poet of whom the foregoing passage may justly be written; the poet who thrilled with the emotions, apprehended the thoughts, scanned the actions, and penetrated the motives of his fellow men, but did not share their prejudices and was not shackled by their limitations; the poet of whom it may be truly said that what to individual men is all was to him only part; the poet who made Opinion sit below the salt, the poet whom the theologians did not capture and whom moralists did not stall; the poet who had a foot in every camp and a resting-place in none; the poet who was indeed a chameleon, and took his hue from surrounding objects; the poet who never said "this is true," but only "that's true too;" the poet of whom Frederick Schlegel, with perfect accuracy, affirmed that he propounds problems and does not solve them, presenting only "a delineation of the characteristics of the world and life in manifold variety, with their inconsistencies and perplexing intricacies;" in a word, the poet who offers no criticism of life, but, with dispassionate intensity, projects from his steadily glowing mind a representation of it as motley as itself.

But if it be true of him who is confessedly the greatest of poets, that his poetry is not a criticism of life, but a representation of it, does it not raise a very strong presumption, to say the least of it, that poetry is not mainly a criticism of life; that the relative greatness of poets cannot properly be made to depend upon the truth and healthiness with which they have criticized life, even if we could agree what is a true and healthy criticism of life; and, finally, that in proportion as a poet occupies himself in his poetry with a definite and consistent criticism of life, to that extent he fetters his chance of being a great poet?

Here, perhaps, we had better pause. In another and concluding paper I will endeavour to show what sort of representation of life poetry is. In pursuing that investigation we shall perhaps provide ourselves with certain critical canons, raised above the bias of individual taste or the prevailing spirit of any current age, by referring to which we may ascertain with sufficient fairness and tolerable accuracy the rank of any particular writer in the poetic hierarchy.

ALFRED AUSTIN.



## COMMONPLACE FALLACIES CONCERNING MONEY.

### II.

THE question I will now proceed to examine is this: What determines the value of money? As Mr. Dana Horton, United States delegate at the Paris Monetary Conferences of 1878 and 1881, has clearly shown, two extreme opinions exist on this subject—that of *free trade*, which is not applicable here; and that of the *fiat money* theory, which maintains that it is the will of the legislator which creates and regulates the value of money. These two theories are evidently erroneous. Let the law once establish—as it has done from all time—a coin as legal tender, and there can be no longer *free trade* in this matter. There exists an enormous difference between gold as a simple commodity, and gold as a legal measure of value, and, at the same time, legal means of payment for any debt or purchase. Mr. Thomas Baring has mentioned the fact that, in the crisis of 1847, one sovereign was not to be procured in London for £60,000 in silver; and that in Calcutta, during the crisis of 1864, a merchant possessing £20,000 in gold became bankrupt, because he could not exchange it for silver rupees, the only legal tender. Mr. Dana Horton has clearly set forth the absurdity of attempting to introduce free trade where it is really not a question of it:—

“Free trade in legal tender may have existed in the primitive days of unsophisticated barter, and certainly must flourish in Utopia: but when we ask how it can be materialized to-day, we find ourselves in confusion. Can payees demand, or can payors give in payment, whatever merchandise they prefer? In what merchandise do men express their taxes and appropriations, salaries and fees, fines, official appraisals, and sales? Is it a matter of indifference, or a matter of choice, with payor or payee, whether all these obligations are fulfilled with saw-logs, whale’s blubber, raw hides, or loads of gravel? Do men take up a bill of exchange with freestone, or pay for postage stamps with dynamite? Now, all these questions occur naturally, and must be answered affirmatively if we admit that free trade in legal tender is present in the flesh. Evidently, the

thinker who materializes ideal free trade in money in the nineteenth century, in the interests of science, must likewise be prepared to be done by as he does, and when he asks for bread to receive a serpent, and when he asks for fish to receive a stone."—*Gold and Silver*, p. 172.

I think we may conclude, from what we have just quoted, that those who speak of *free trade* in money do not know what they are talking about. The word "legal" tender in itself ought, however, to warn them of their error.

The theory of the *fiat money*—which is, at the bottom, the theory of the inflationist and of the partizans of paper money—is not less absurd when pushed to the extreme. Mr. Dana Horton gives us a curious example borrowed from Iwan Possoschkof, a Russian reformer of the time of Peter the Great:—"The foreigners estimate their money according to the quantity of metal it contains, and not according to the power of the monarch who issues it. But we honour our monarch as God, and most zealously obey his will. We do not look at the weight of the money, but upon the inscription. It is not the copper that is valuable to us; it is the name of our Czar." In truth, in former times, when sovereigns and statesmen were for ever changing the current value of money, or the proportion of precious metal in each coin, their ideas must have been very similar to Possoschkof's. To cite only one example, the following are the terms in which Philip of Valois, king of France, proclaims his absolute power with regard to the coinage of his realm, in an ordinance dated January 16, 1347:—"Aucun ne peut faire doute qu'à nous appartienne seulement et pour le tout en notre Royaume, le fait, la provision et toute l'ordonnance de la monnaie et de faire monnayer telles monnaies et donner tel cours comme il nous plait." Lord Liverpool, whose ideas as to the nature of money were so clear and just, does not overlook the predominating influence of law in this matter. He says, in his famous treatise on the "Coins of the Realm":—"Coins ought always to pass in tale, according to the rate or value which the Sovereign puts upon them in his Mint Indentures" (Bank of England edit., p. 177).

It is as little correct to pretend that the law can do everything with regard to money, as to say that it can do nothing. The following are the arguments of those who maintain the latter opinion:—Doubtless the law can decree that a pound sterling shall be equal to forty shillings, as it can also diminish by one half the amount of pure gold contained in a sovereign; but in such a case the value of the new sovereign would be only half that of the old—that is to say, it would pay for only half the quantity of goods, prices having doubled themselves. Thus the step taken by the legislator would prove of no avail; it must, indeed, always come to nought, when we consider existing economic conditions which enforce themselves. The value of everything depends on the law of demand and supply, and not on the will of either Sovereigns or Parliaments. This argument is irrefutable, but does not at all



prove that the law can have no influence whatever on the value of monetary metals, and consequently on that of money. In reality the influence of the State is not contrary to economic laws, but in accordance with them; for it is the State which, by opening the Mints, occasions the chief demand for the precious metals. The value of gold and silver arises from their being used, firstly, for making either useful objects or objects of luxury, jewellery, &c.; and, secondly, for making coin. The monetary exceeds in influence the industrial demand—in the first instance, because it is of greater importance; in the second, because it fixes the price of the precious metals. If Mints were completely closed, the value of the proscribed metal would fall to at least one-half. Gold would be worth no more than platinum—that is to say, £24 to £30 a kilo, and its price would be as variable as the price of this rare metal. Silver has lost one fifth of its former value; and this fact is entirely due to the legislators of civilized countries having forbidden its being freely coined in the Mints. If the United States were to suspend the Allison Bill, which imposes a monthly coinage of at least two million dollars, and if India were also to close her Mint, to what price would silver then fall? To one half—or, perhaps, even one third—of what it was recently worth. If, on the other hand, free coinage were to be re-established in those countries where it formerly existed, silver would certainly regain its former value. Thus we see that the power of law with regard to money consists in fixing its value by creating, suspending, or annulling the demand for the precious metals of which money is composed.\* The law in itself does not entirely create this value, though very nearly so. Were the demand from the Mints to cease completely, industry alone would, it is true, suffice to retain for the precious metals a portion of their present value, but the influence of law is certainly very great, for were the monetary employment of either metal entirely to discontinue, that metal would be offered to industry in double and triple quantities, and the price of it would, consequently, be enormously depreciated.

In the correspondence between Mr. Gibbs and Mr. T. H. Farrer,† the latter sums up current opinion in the following passage:—

“What is a pound? Not surely a thing to which law has attached any

\* In favour of the opinion that the value of money comes not from the law, but from the intrinsic value of its metal, Michel Chevalier, Bonamy Price, and other economists quote these words of Aristotle:—“It was agreed to give and receive in exchange a substance which, useful in itself, was easy of handling for the uses of men, such as iron, for example, or silver, or some other substance, of which the size and weight was first determined; and, finally, in order to avoid the trouble of continual measuring, it was marked with a stamp in sign of its value.” They omit the conclusion of the passage, which runs thus:—“But of itself money is an empty thing; it has value only by law, and not by nature, for a change of agreement among those using it can depreciate it entirely, and render it entirely unfit to satisfy our needs.” The consequence of what Germany had done in 1873, in accepting no more silver as legal tender, is an example of the truth of Aristotle’s remark. Mr. Dana Horton, in his remarkable book, “Gold and Silver,” p. 118, quotes another passage of Aristotle even more explicit:—“Money (*νόμισμα*) is, as it were, a substitute for demand (*χρεία*), or the thing needed; and hence it has the name ‘nomisma,’ because it is not so by nature, but by law (*νόμος*), and because it is in our power to change it and render it useless.”—*Nicomachean Ethics*, book 5, chap. 5.

† “The Double Standard,” by H. Gibbs, Appendix, p. 18.



particular value, but a bit of gold stamped to show its weight and fineness. The value of gold depends in no way on the stamp. It depends, on the one hand, on the supply—*i.e.*, cost, or rather difficulty, of production; on the other hand, on the demand—*i.e.*, on the extent to which men desire to use it. Over the supply law has no power whatever; over the demand law has some power, just as it has over the demand for other commodities."

All these affirmations, which have a seeming foundation, are, in reality, contrary to facts. Law has an influence over the demand for gold quite different from that which it exercises over the demand for any other commodity, for the State buys gold in unlimited quantities and at a fixed price. This it certainly does for no other merchandise. Will the State accept iron, corn, or tea, upon these conditions? It exercises also an indirect but decided influence on the supply, that is to say, on the production, for it determines the price which can be paid at the mines. If the State cease to fix the price, or if it lower it, the production will, of necessity, diminish.

"A gold sovereign," says Mr. T. H. Farrer, "is, within a trifling fraction, worth as much in exchange when melted down as when it has the Queen's head on it." This is true, but why? Because the law allows you to change your melted sovereign back again into a sovereign "legal" standard, and this at the expense of the Mint. It is, therefore, the law which maintains the bullion value of the melted sovereign. Let the law only close the Mint, and your gold as bullion would lose a large proportion of its value. Here is a proof of this. In France, at the present time, five francs in silver have the same power in buying and paying as five francs in gold. Melt a silver five-franc piece, and it will then be worth only four. Why? Because silver, as bullion, may not be changed back into coin. If the French Mint were once more opened to silver coinage, five francs in bullion would be worth as much as five francs in money, just as with a sovereign.

Mr. Bonamy Price, and those who, like him, affirm that money is as much merchandise as any other article, or a piece of machinery, a tool, a waggon, or a cart, do not observe that the free coinage at the Mint in itself establishes a radical difference between the monetary metals and any other commodity.

If you make too much cast-iron, or too much cloth, you cannot sell it all, your stock accumulates too largely, and you are a loser, for it eats up the interest of the value it represents. This is not at all the case with monetary metal; you can never have too much of that; thanks to free coinage, it can always be converted into money, and then you immediately draw a revenue from it. Monetary metal is never a dead capital; with money you can purchase, and pay for, any and everything. You are lord of the market. With goods you must wait to sell before purchasing or paying. This is the difference between money and tools or ploughs. If you possess the latter in excess, it is dead capital, while this can never be the case with



monetary tools, for you can always send them into circulation, and employ them in procuring you productive capital, consols for instance.

Mr. Bonamy Price thinks that surplus monetary conveyances will lie idle in the banks, like surplus ploughs in a shed. This is a mistake. Every piece of money will be sent into circulation, let them be ever so numerous; for, if they accumulate in banks, the rate of interest will fall. The lowered rate of interest will urge men to fresh enterprises, from which will spring an increased demand for goods of all kinds, and, as a natural result, a rise of prices will ensue. Higher prices will necessitate the use of more money, and thus the surplus coinage will find employment.

Coin is, therefore, to its owner a living capital, current everywhere, and capable of being employed immediately, or of being put out to profit according as its possessor desires. This is an exclusive privilege of money, and when business men, whom economists scoff at, give it pre-eminence over all other merchandise, they are wholly in the right.

According to Mr. Bonamy Price, and all the economists of the deductive school, the value of gold and silver depends on what it has cost to produce these metals. "The gold," they say, "buys by means of its cost of production." This maxim is daily contradicted by facts, as we will endeavour to prove, but this discussion needs great attention, because it is not easy to explain the changes in the value of money, which would appear unchangeable as long as the coins contained a fixed quantity of precious metal. For instance, an ounce of gold, standard fineness, which can always be exchanged at the Bank of England for £3 17s. 10½d, would appear to retain always the same value. This is, however, not the case. Without taking into consideration the abstract theory of value, we can say, with economists, that the value of an object is represented by the quantity of other objects to be obtained in exchange for it. Thus it is admitted that the value of the precious metals has fallen to a quarter of what it was in the thirteenth century, because the same weight of gold or silver will now only purchase a quarter or a fifth of corn or other commodities. If bank notes and silver were simultaneously and universally suppressed in favour of gold, it is certain that the value of gold would enormously increase, although the amount of labour necessary to the production of an ounce of gold would in no ways have changed or diminished. Silver, after 1873, and notably in 1875 and 1876, lost suddenly a large proportion of its value. The price of this metal fell from 60 or 61 pence the ounce, to 50, and even for a time as low as 46, and now the average price is about 52 pence. Has the cost of producing silver suddenly fallen a fifth or a fourth? No one will attempt to maintain such a statement. Mr. Otto Arendt has proved with the most accurate figures ("Die vertragsmässige Doppelwährung") that the fall in the price of silver was



occasioned by Germany, selling it, combined with the prohibitions against its free coinage in all civilized countries.

The price of articles depends principally—and this will not be denied—on the demand; and as the demand for silver from the Mints ceased all at once, how could this metal not fall considerably in the market? If the free coinage of this metal were re-established in France, the United States, and Germany, on the basis of a fixed ratio of 1 to 15½ between gold and silver, is it not evident that silver would immediately regain its former value? When Belgium and, later on, Germany adopted nickel in place of copper coin, the value of that metal tripled. Had the cost of its production increased? Not at all; but the demand increased, and as nickel cannot be produced at will, the tripled price maintains itself. Suppose that men again attempted to make money out of platinum, as was once done in Russia, that metal, instead of being worth from £12 to £14 a pound, would rise to four or five times that value. If, on the other hand, the coinage of gold were everywhere to be suppressed, it would certainly fall to half its present value.

The value of gold depends so little on the cost of production that we learn from those of competent authority, who have given the question their time and attention, that the *average* cost of each ounce obtained is the price of two. It will be asked: Why, then, is such a losing business carried on? It cannot be possible! The explanation is very simple. Certain mines make very large profits, and those who work at a loss hope, some day, to strike a rich vein, a "bonanza," and they work on, cheered by that hope, until they have expended all their resources. Sometimes they succeed, and their good fortune stimulates others to similar labours. At Monaco, an analogous state of things may be observed. It is quite certain that for the totality of players the gaming there is a losing operation, for the yearly profits made by the bank amount to a considerable sum. Therefore, each franc gained by the mass of players costs them more than a franc. But the gambling goes on, each individual believing he will one day be the favourite of fortune—and there are, indeed, some who prove to be so.

It is most essential with the precious metals to distinguish very carefully between *price* and *value*. The price of the precious metals is determined by the Mints. The "market price of gold" is an expression in constant use, especially in England. The market price of gold is no other than the Mint price. This price enforces itself, and for a self-evident reason, which is this. Mints are not only the principal consumers, but are, at the same time, insatiable, for they buy up all monetary metal at a price fixed by themselves. Why, in any part of the world, should gold be sold under £3 17s. 10½d., due deduction being made for transport expenses, as this price can always be obtained at the Bank of England? Gold will never be sold cheaper while the Mint in London maintains its price. It cannot either fetch a higher price as long as a sovereign remains in circulation, for industry



has but to melt sovereigns for £3 17s. 10½*d.* and it will secure an ounce standard, and will therefore pay no higher price in the market. Certain writers imagine that if silver were universally received as standard money, with a ratio as to gold of 1 to 15½, the dearer metal, that is to say, gold, would be gradually withdrawn, and would no longer remain in circulation. But then, what would become of this metal? Could it be treasured up indefinitely? Impossible; for it would consume its own interest. Could it be sold to industry at a higher price than that fixed by the legal ratio? More impossible still; for, goldsmiths and jewellers, being able to draw, at will, from the monetary stock, at the price fixed by the Mint, would refuse to pay higher. The producers and holders of gold would therefore be forced to resign themselves to accept the price imposed by the Mint, for they would be unable to dispose more advantageously of their metal elsewhere. Gold could only disappear if the production were to be reduced one-half or two-thirds. But then, of course, gold could be no longer the monetary metal of the world.

Let us suppose that the cost of production of gold diminishes suddenly very much, as it probably did when the *placers* of California and Australia were first worked after the year 1850. The price of gold would not fall on that account, for the bank would still continue to pay £3 17s. 10½*d.*

The value of the monetary metals, that is to say their power of purchase of other objects, is a more complicated subject. It depends on the connection existing between the exchanges to be effected, on the one hand, and the total quantity of metallic money, or other mediums of exchange substituted for this metal, on the other. For instance, bank notes, fulfilling precisely the same mission as gold or silver coin, compete with these metals and, at all events, render them less essential, and, consequently, diminish their utility and their value. This diminution of value, or of power of purchase, occasions a rise in prices. Suppress bank notes everywhere, and the value of metallic money will considerably increase, for each monetary unit will be more sought after, and its power of purchase will augment in proportion as prices fall, although the cost for the production of the precious metals will have remained identically the same. On the other hand, if more bank notes be issued, gold and silver will be depreciated in value. For instance, when the United States and Italy adopted paper money and allowed their monetary stock to pass into other lands, a marked depreciation in the value of coinage was observable all over the world. On the contrary, since these countries, wishing to re-establish a metallic currency, are drawing to themselves a portion of the world's monetary stock, they have occasioned a considerable increase in the value of money, by a fall in prices. These changes in the value of gold and silver are entirely independent of the cost of production.

The cost of production of the precious metals can only influence their



value in the long run, and that insomuch as it has the power to limit or increase the amount produced. Let us suppose that the excavation of an ounce of gold from a mine costs double what it now does; the majority of mines, commencing, of course, with the poorest, would be abandoned. The monetary stock would diminish and prices would fall. The value of gold would increase. But this fall in the price of everything, including also labour, would probably diminish the cost of excavation and allow of the abandoned mines being reopened. If, on the other hand, precious metals could be obtained at a less cost, it would probably happen that a larger quantity would be extracted from the mines and a diminution in their value *might* ensue, which would manifest itself by a rise in prices.

At all events, this influence, never other than feeble, which the increase or diminution of the cost of production can exercise over the value of gold and silver, has been often counteracted or annulled by circumstances other than those we have previously mentioned. Firstly, money, gold and silver, cannot be regarded as corn, coal, or such like commodities. One cannot, at will, secure any amount of gold. Mines must be found to be worked, and these mines are very rapidly exhausted. During the first fifty years of this century, the value of gold rose considerably without occasioning any corresponding growth in the amount produced. The discovery of the *placers* of California and Australia increased extraordinarily the annual produce of the yellow metal. This abundance of gold, and the great diminution of the cost of production at the gold-fields, occasioned but a transitory fall in its value; indeed, the price of gold very quickly regained its previous level, as I have already endeavoured to prove; and this was due to the fact of there being fresh demands for it,—a necessary consequence of the extraordinary activity of commerce and industry all over the world.

Another consideration which must not be overlooked is, that while ordinary commodities are more or less rapidly consumed, the precious metals are preserved and accumulate. Therefore, a difference in the annual production, unless it were to continue during a prolonged period, would have a scarcely perceptible influence on their value, for this influence would become deadened on losing itself in the immense monetary stock, the result of the labour of centuries.

History proves that the value of gold is not at all regulated by the abundance of production, as economists, following Lord Liverpool, generally affirm. The latter writes in his famous book, "*The Coins of the Realm*," chap. iii.:—"This variation (in the value of gold and silver) is occasioned by the greater or less quantity that may happen to be at different times in the market or in circulation." We will now show that this affirmation is contradicted by facts, and, if this be the case, as a reduction in the cost of production can only affect value by increasing the production, we think the error of the thesis of Mr. Bonamy Price, "*The gold buys by means of its cost of production*," will then be clearly proved.



The value of gold in past centuries can be estimated by comparing it with that of silver; for, until the year 1816, silver was everywhere the principal standard, and the common measure of value. It will be seen, by the figures given below and borrowed from Mr. Soetbeer, that the value of the precious metals is in no way determined by the cost of production, but solely by the prices fixed at the Mints of the preponderating countries.

*Average annual production in millions of German marks (a mark is worth about a shilling).*

	1561-80.	1581-1600.	1601-20.	1621-40.	1641-60.	1661-80.	1681-1700
Gold . . .	19 ...	20 ...	23 ...	23 ...	24 ...	25 ...	30
Silver . . .	53 ...	75 ...	76 ...	70 ...	65 ...	60 ...	61
Relative value of gold to silver . . }	11·50 ...	11·80 ...	12·25 ...	14·00 ...	14·50 ...	15·00 ...	14·96

We see that from 1561 to 1600, the annual production of silver rose from 53 to 75 millions of marks; while that of gold remains almost stationary. The value of silver ought to have fallen. It did not, however, do so, for the relative value of gold only rose from 11·50 to 11·80.

From 1600 to 1700 the production of silver diminished: it fell from 76 to 61 million marks: while that of gold rose from 20 to 30 million marks. The value of silver should therefore have increased, and that of gold comparatively have diminished. We see, however, instead of this, that the value of gold rises from 11·80 to 14·96. The cost for the production of gold must have fallen, as the produce was more abundant. Why, then, has its value so increased? Because the Mint indentures of different States fixed a higher and higher value on it. Are economic laws at fault here? Not at all; but they have been badly expounded by economists. It is the demand of those insatiable consumers, Mints, which has brought about the rise in the value of gold.

During the 18th century, the production of silver enormously increased, thanks to the facility with which the rich mines of Mexico were able to be worked. According to the theory of the cost of production of Mr. Bonamy Price, the value of silver ought to have lessened. The contrary took place. Here, again, I borrow the figures of Mr. Soetbeer, which are generally admitted to be the most accurate we have—

*Average annual production in millions of German marks.*

	1701-20.	1720-40.	1741-60.	1761-81.	1781-1800.
Gold . . . .	35 ...	53 ...	68 ...	57 ...	49
Silver . . . .	46 ...	77 ...	95 ...	117 ...	158
Ratio between gold & silver }	15·27 ...	15·09 ...	14·93 ...	14·81 ...	14·76
	and	and	and	and	and
	15·15 ...	15·07 ...	14·50 ...	14·64 ...	15·42

Thus, from 1700 to 1800, the production of gold increased very little—from 35 to 49 millions of marks; while that of silver grew enormously—from 64 to 158 millions; and, at the same time, until the year 1780,



the relative value of gold fell, and that of silver rose. A kilo of gold (about 2 lbs.), which was worth, in 1700, 15·27 kilos of silver, would only fetch 14·76 in 1780. If gold in 1880 attained the ratio of 1 to 15·42, it was on account of the French Minister, De Calonne, having established a ratio of 1 to 15½, which was higher than the value known as the commercial value, and determined, before this date, by the price at the English Mint.

Facts which occurred subsequently to the year 1850, give a still more formal contradiction to the theory which asserts that the value of the precious metals depends on the cost and amount of production. The average annual production of gold which was, from 1840 to 1850, about £2,800,000, rises suddenly after 1850 to £32,000,000, or to an average of about £28,000,000 for the period 1850-60. In the twenty-five years following 1850, more gold is produced than in the 358 years between 1493 and 1850. What a prodigious change in all the elements of production of this metal! If the theory of Mr. Bonamy Price be correct, its value ought to decrease enormously. But no. The ratio of gold to silver scarcely changes. From 1851 to 1875 it is quoted at 15·53. Thus we see that the diminution in the cost of production and the more than extraordinary growth of production produced no effect on the relative value of gold.

These facts give a decisive negative to the theories of economists; but they are in strict accordance with true economic laws. Let us suppose an unlimited demand for any commodity at a fixed price. This price will of necessity be forced upon the market. The free coinage of a monetary metal, at a price fixed by the Mint, constitutes an unlimited demand for that metal: the price of the Mint will become consequently the established price, if the State be sufficiently powerful to absorb all that is produced. In the event of the production increasing very considerably, all that *could* ensue would be a depreciation of the monetary units, and consequently a rise in prices. Stuart Mill stated and proved the following principle: "Alterations in the costs of production of the precious metals do not act upon the value of money except just in proportion as they increase or diminish its quantity, which cannot be said of any other commodity."\*

It is now time to examine if a rise or fall in prices is always in proportion to the growth or diminution in the quantity of money. This is what German economists call the "*Quantitäts Theorie*."

I borrow also from Stuart Mill the statement of this theory: "The value of money, the other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity, every increase of quantity lowering the value, and every diminution raising it in a ratio exactly equivalent." The great Roman jurist, Paulus, already understood this law, when he said, speaking of money,† "*Usus dominiumque, non tam ex substantia præbet, quam ex quan-*

\* "*Principles of Political Economy*," People's Edition, p. 306.

† The passage from Paulus, whence these words are quoted, so admirably sums up the whole monetary theory, that we think we cannot do better than reproduce it in its entirety:—



*titate.*" Mr. Cernuschi has given expression to the same idea, with his usual precision, in the Proposals which he submitted to the Monetary Congress of 1881:—"Money is a legal and mathematical value: legal, for the material from which it is made is fixed upon by legislators, and its enforced currency is also imposed by them; mathematical, for the value of money varies inversely as its mass; that is to say as the quantity existing." This theory is correct if we add to it, as Stuart Mill did, *cæteris paribus*, or "the other things remaining the same." If, referring to Hume's hypothesis, we imagine that, one morning, everyone wakes up finding in his pocket twice as much cash as the day before, it is certain that every commodity would be worth twice as much, for each one could offer twice as much cash in order to obtain what he wanted. But the "quantity" monetary theory is contradicted by facts, *if other things do not remain the same.* Now, many circumstances may alter. For instance: Firstly, the circulation of money may become more rapid, and, consequently, each coin, operating more exchanges, the quantity of money may be reduced, without any proportionate fall in prices occurring. Secondly, a similar effect is produced if money is replaced by means of credit. Here, again, the quantity of money may diminish, or the number of exchanges increase, without being followed by a fall in prices. So it is well known that in England and America, nine-tenths of all the great transactions are settled by credit and banking. Thirdly and finally, an increase, even very great, in the quantity of money does not produce a rise in prices, if its effects be, as is generally the case, to stimulate the creation of fresh enterprises, and thus to increase the amount of merchandise to be exchanged and transactions to be settled.

We see now in what way facts contradict the maxim generally accepted in England, and thus stated by Mr. Bonamy Price: "The market value of the sovereign is what it cost to produce." As Mill has proved, the cost of production of the precious metals does not act upon the value of money except in proportion as it increases or diminishes its quantity. In its turn, the quantity of money does not influence the value, save in a manner by no means mathematical, rather irregular, and frequently in total opposition to anything the "quantity theory" would have led one to contemplate.

I now approach the question which is occasioning such lively discussion at the present time. Should money, legal tender, be made of only one metal, or can it be made of either gold or silver, a ratio of value between these two metals being fixed by law? Until quite

"Origo emendi vendendique a permutationibus cœpit. Olim enim non erat nummus; neque aliud Merx, aliud Pretium vocabatur; sed unusquisque, secundum necessitatem temporum ac rerum, utilibus inutilia permutabat; quando plerumque evenit ut quod alteri superest, alteri desit. Sed quia non semper nec facile concurrebat, ut, quum tu haberes quod ego desiderarem, invicem haberem quod tu accipere velles, electa materia est, cujus publica ac perpetua estimatio difficultatibus permutationum, æqualitate quantitatis subveniret: eaque materia formâ publicâ percussa, usum dominiumque, non tam ex substantia præbet, quam ex quantitate. Nec ultra Merx utrumque; sed alterum, Pretium vocatur."—*Dig.* xviii. l.



recently the question had been very little studied in England, and opinions there were almost unanimously in favour of a single metal—i.e., gold monometallism. Lord Liverpool's book, "The Coins of the Realm," was considered decisive authority, and, in all respects, it well deserved to be so. Both theoretical arguments and historical facts are there clearly and perfectly stated. I will endeavour to prove from the premises of Lord Liverpool, and of other authors whom he quotes in his work, that a bimetallic coinage is better calculated to fulfil the conditions necessary to a good legal tender than a monometallic.

When Lord Liverpool, contrary to universal custom, reduced England to the exclusive adoption of gold as money, he was guided by two chief considerations. The first, borrowed from Petty, Locke, and Harris, was this: It is impossible to establish a fixed ratio between two sorts of merchandise, gold and silver; therefore, in accepting these two metals at a time as legal tender, we run a double risk of variations in its value. The second, which Lord Liverpool gathered chiefly from the monetary history of England, is as follows: It is impossible to maintain two metals in circulation. The most sought after is exported abroad or melted by industry. This law is what is called the Gresham law,\* which might also be named "the law of alternation."

The following are Lord Liverpool's authorities:—

Sir William Petty ("Political Anatomy of Ireland," chap. xi.) observes, "that money is understood to be the uniform measure of the value of all commodities," and then adds, "that the proportion of value between pure gold and fine silver alters, as the earth and industry of men produce more of one than the other, so there can be but one of the two metals of gold and silver to be a fit matter for money."

Locke says "that two metals, that is, gold and silver, cannot be the measure both together in any country, because the measure of commerce must be perpetually the same, invariable, and keeping the same proportion of value in all its parts."

\* "Gresham law" had already been observed in Greece. Aristophanes speaks of it very wittily in his comedy, "The Frogs." During the extreme distress caused by the Peloponnesian war, Athens had, for the first time, issued a debased gold coinage; the consequence was that the good money immediately disappeared from circulation. Aristophanes ("Frogs," 665) says: "The State has very often appeared to us to be placed in the same position towards the good and noble citizens as it is in regard to the old currency and the new gold. For we make no use at all, either at home or abroad, of those which are not adulterated but the most beautiful of all money as it would seem, which are alone well coined and rung properly, but of this base copper, struck only yesterday, and recently, of a most villainous stamp. And such of the citizens as we know to be well born and prudent, and honourable gentlemen and educated in the palaestra and chorus and liberal knowledge, we insult; but the impudent and foreigners, and the base born, and the rascals, and the sons of rascals, and those most recently come, we employ." Sir Thomas Gresham was a rich merchant of the City of London, a mercer who negotiated Flemish loans for Henry VIII. and for Elizabeth. He interested himself greatly in monetary matters, and gave very sound advice to the Queen on this subject. He remarked that good and bad coin cannot circulate together, and that the good coin is always withdrawn from the circulation, where speculators in the precious metals leave only the bad. *Vide* "The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham," by John William Burgon; and "Dictionary of Political Economy," p. 46, by Macleod. *Vide* "Aristophanes." Montesquieu states the facts observed by Gresham, but without knowing their cause: "L'or disparaît quand l'argent est commun parceque chacun en a pour le cacher; il reparaît quand l'argent est rare parcequ'on est obligé de le retirer de ses retraites. C'est donc une règle: l'or est commun quand l'argent est rare, et l'or est rare quand l'argent est commun."—*Esprit des Loix*, liv. xxii. chap. 70.



Mr. Harris says, "that one only of these metals, gold or silver, can be the money, or standard measure of commerce, in any country; for the standard measure must be invariable, and keep the same proportion of value in all its parts."—"The Coins of the Realm," Bank of England edit., p. 129.)

Lord Liverpool allows that gold, as well as silver, varies in value, and that "coins, on that account, are an imperfect measure, though they are made of one metal only." "But," says he, "if coins are made of two of these metals, a second imperfection is then introduced; for any two of these metals, in successive periods, vary in value with respect to each other."

Thus, what causes Lord Liverpool, and the authorities he quotes—Petty, Locke, and Harris—to prefer a monometallic coinage, is the opinion that a legal tender of only one metal is more stable in value. Stability in the value of money is its most essential quality. Both Aristotle and Locke recognized this: "*The measure of commerce must be perpetually the same, and invariable.*"

This ideal of permanent value being unattainable, as Lord Liverpool himself admits, the next point to examine is which legal tender approaches nearest to it, bimetallic or monometallic? We may say, at the present time, that it is a scientific truth, demonstrated by both arguments and facts, that a legal tender formed of two precious metals, gold and silver, is more stable in value than one formed exclusively of either gold or silver. This truth was clearly set forth in 1809 by Adam Müller in his book, "*Elemente der Staats Kunst.*" It was still more plainly demonstrated by Sismondi, in 1827, in his "*Nouveaux Principes d'Economie Politique*," t. ii., p. 60. These two authors make use of a comparison often reproduced since, that of the "compensated pendulum."

"The way," says Sismondi, "to diminish the chances of fluctuation in the value of money is to employ gold and silver simultaneously, as common measure, and to establish a legal proportion between them. In the same way, in order to have a pendulum unvarying in length, the rods are made of different metals, so that the expansion of one, produced by heat, may be counteracted by that of another, and thus the equilibrium is maintained." The essential truth which governs the whole monetary question has been demonstrated by Mr. Jevons, aided by diagrams and comparisons, with a clearness which defies all dispute:—

"In the first place," remarks Mr. Jevons, "I have no doubt whatever that M. Wolowski is theoretically quite correct in what he says about the compensatory action of the double standard system. English writers seem completely to have misunderstood the question, asserting that the system exposes us to the extreme fluctuations of both metals." [Here Mr. Jevons inserts his diagram, showing that the fluctuations in value of both metals, taken together, do not proceed to so great an extent as those of either gold or silver. And then he goes on saying] "Nor is this the whole error of English writers; a little reflection must show that MM. Wolowski and Courcelle-Seneuil are quite correct in urging that a *compensatory* or, I should prefer to call it, *equilibratory action*, goes on under the French currency law, and tends to maintain both gold and silver more steady in



value, than they would otherwise be. Imagine two reservoirs of water, each subject to independent variations of supply and demand. In the absence of any connecting pipe, the level of the water in each reservoir will be subject to its own fluctuations only. But if we open a connection, the water in both will assume a certain mean level, and the effect of any excessive supply or demand will be distributed over the whole area of both reservoirs. The mass of the metals, gold and silver, circulating in Western Europe, in late years, is exactly represented by the water in these reservoirs, and the connecting pipe is the French law of the 7th Germinal, An XI., which enables one metal to take the place of the other as an unlimited legal tender."—*Money*, pp. 137–140.

Another example may serve to demonstrate the general principle that the price of two sorts of merchandise, which can replace each other, will be steadier than that of a merchandise without a substitute. For instance, in a country where the nourishment is both rye and wheat, the price of food, and even the price of each of these cereals, will be less subject to variation than in a country where the consumption is entirely of one or the other.

The figures concerning the production of gold and silver prove that the comparison made by Mr. Jevons is perfectly exact. The table of figures reproduced at the foot of this page shows that the production of either gold or silver, taken separately, is subject to very great and frequent fluctuations, while that of the two metals, taken together, gives a remarkably stable total.\* If there exist in the

\* *Annual production of Gold and Silver from 1849 to 1879, according to English and American Statistics.*

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
	£	£	£
1849	5,420,000	7,800,000	13,220,000
1850	8,890,000	7,800,000	16,690,000
1851	13,520,000	8,000,000	21,520,000
1852	26,550,000	8,120,000	34,670,000
1853	31,090,000	8,120,000	39,210,000
1854	25,490,000	8,120,000	33,610,000
1855	27,015,000	8,120,000	35,135,000
1856	29,520,000	8,130,000	37,650,000
1857	26,655,000	8,130,000	34,785,000
1858	24,930,000	8,130,000	33,060,000
1859	24,970,000	8,150,000	33,120,000
1860	23,850,000	8,160,000	32,010,000
1861	22,760,000	8,540,000	31,300,000
1862	21,550,000	9,040,000	30,590,000
1863	21,390,000	9,840,000	31,230,000
1864	22,600,000	10,340,000	32,940,000
1865	24,040,000	10,390,000	34,430,000
1866	24,220,000	10,145,000	34,365,000
1867	22,805,000	10,845,000	33,650,000
1868	21,945,000	10,045,000	31,990,000
1869	21,245,000	9,500,000	30,745,000
1870	21,370,000	10,315,000	31,685,000
1871	21,400,000	12,210,000	33,610,000
1872	19,920,000	13,050,000	32,970,000
1873	19,240,000	17,850,000	37,090,000
1874	18,150,000	14,300,000	32,450,000
1875	19,500,000	16,100,000	35,600,000
1876	19,000,000	14,800,000	33,800,000
1877	19,400,000	16,200,000	35,600,000
1878	19,000,000	17,000,000	36,000,000
1879	18,000,000	16,000,000	34,000,000



world, as is generally supposed, a stock of precious metal amounting to 2,000 millions sterling, half gold, half silver, it is evident that the variations in the annual productions would have less influence on the value of money, and consequently on prices, if the monetary stock were formed of 2,000 millions, gold and silver together, instead of 1,000 millions either gold or silver. For instance, in comparing the year 1849 with 1853, we find that the production of gold increased sixfold, while that of the two metals combined only tripled. All economists agree in admitting that if, in 1850, the gold standard had been in force in all civilized countries, the increase in the production of gold, from £5,420,000 in 1849, to £31,090,000 in 1853, would have occasioned considerable disturbance everywhere, while, thanks to French bi-metallism, the effect of this sudden increase was very much neutralized. As M. Michel Chevalier proved, by a very just comparison, the unlimited coinage of gold and silver in France acted as "a parachute."

In conclusion, Lord Liverpool was right in seeking, above all else, stability in the legal tender; only at the present time it has been scientifically proved that this is more easily attainable with a double than with a single standard.

The second motive which induced Lord Liverpool to advise the adoption of a single standard had better foundation. It was, as we have previously stated, the Gresham law, or "law of alternation, which means that when gold and silver are simultaneously in use as money, the depreciated metal only remains in circulation. At the period from which Lord Liverpool deduces his historic examples, the different countries were constantly modifying and changing the ratio of value between gold and silver,\* and the result of this was that a country where the two metals were allowed to be freely coined was liable to lose all she possessed of either which had, for the time being, the higher value at foreign Mints. Lord Liverpool proves, by referring

\* Here are some examples of variations in the ratio of value between gold and silver produced, not by trade, as is generally imagined, but by the indentures of the Mint. Spain, who, in the sixteenth century, adopted a ratio of 1 to 13½, raised it in 1730 to 16. The result was that silver, being estimated at a lower value than elsewhere, was exported, and was always at a premium of even 6 per cent. To remedy this, the ratio was lowered to 14½, and then raised again to 16 in 1779. In the Netherlands, the ratio was 11½ in 1589, 12½ towards the year 1640, 14½ in 1663, and 14¾ towards the close of the eighteenth century. In France the ratio, which was 1 to 11·88 in 1602, was raised in 1631 to 13·62, in 1679 to 14·91, and finally in 1785 Calonne fixed it at 15·50. Calonne himself explains that the ratio existing in France was more unfavourable to gold than that of 15½, which was the market value, and so gold being exported, in order to call it back he proposes fixing it at 15½. What he calls the commercial price is the price fixed by the English Mint.

Formerly the Gresham law could act but slowly, because, save in England, coinage was not free. Depreciated metal could not therefore be brought into any country to be made into money, the more valuable metal being taken out in exchange. In 1679 Colbert decreed the free coinage of the two metals in France, the Mint giving, weight for weight, cash for gold or silver ingots. But this measure, which, according to Leblanc, attracted unexampled quantities of gold and silver to the country, was retracted in 1689. Mr. Cernuschi has clearly demonstrated that two bimetallic systems, with a different ratio between gold and silver, cannot coexist. Silver would accumulate in the country where it is estimated the highest, and gold in the other. For instance the United States, having adopted a different ratio from that in force in France, first, in 1786, that of 1 to 15, then, in 1834, 1 to 16, had, in the first place, nothing but silver, and afterwards nothing but gold. *Vide* "Bi-metallism in England and Abroad: Letter to Henry Hucks Gibbs," by H. Cernuschi, 1879, p. 8.



to the monetary history of England, that the Gresham law has in fact been a reality. At the beginning of the reign of James I. gold was valued too low, and was consequently exported. This monarch then, by successive proclamations, raised the value of gold in his coins, so that the silver coins were, in their turn, exported. In 1663, under Charles II., when a new estimate was made of the relative value of gold and silver at the English mint, that of gold was underrated; but gold was received at a higher rate, so it remained in circulation. After the great recoinage in the reign of William III., gold was estimated at a higher value than on the Continent, so the new silver coins were immediately exported. In conformity with the advice of Newton, the value of the guinea was lowered sixpence. But it was not enough to recall silver. Gold remained in England as the cheaper metal, and silver was smuggled to the Continent by the Dutch as the dearer metal, as was shown in a speech in the House of Lords, on the 23rd of January, 1718, by Lord Stanhope, who proposed to lower again the value of gold. After 1785, when Calonne raised in France the ratio between gold and silver to 15½, gold was exported to Paris and silver returned to London. To stop this, under the influence of Lord Liverpool, the free coinage of silver was prohibited in England, in 1798, till the Privy Council should have time to consider all the questions relating to the monetary circulation in the United Kingdom. This summary of English monetary events clearly shows the power of the Gresham law, and it also proves that, at this period, when it was impossible to think of determining, by international treaty, a fixed ratio of value between the two metals, the only means of avoiding the alternative withdrawals of gold and silver was, as Lord Liverpool maintained, to permit the free coinage of only one metal. This advantage being in all probability of greater practical importance than the maintaining a steady value in coinage, by making use of two metals, it follows that, at the time he wrote, Lord Liverpool was not wrong in recommending monometallism.

Nevertheless, he might have known that Newton had already indicated the means of maintaining the "equilibratory" action of the double standard, remedying at the same time the difficulty of alternation entailed by the Gresham law. These means are, that the Mints of all the preponderating nations fix the same ratio of value between gold and silver.

"If," says Newton, "gold in England, or silver in East India, could be brought down so low as to bear the same proportion to one another in both places, there would be here no greater demand for silver than for gold to be exported to India; and if gold were lowered only so as to have the same proportion to the silver money in England which it has to silver in the rest of Europe, there would be no temptation to export silver rather than gold to any part of Europe."—(*Reports made by Sir Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, concerning the state of the gold and silver coins*, 1717. *Vide* "Monetary Documents, published by order of the Congress of the United States," by Dana Horton, p. 317.

As long as gold was worth 15·25 in England and only 15 on the Con-



continent, as during the eighteenth century, the flow of gold must evidently be to England and that of silver to the Continent. This result was as inevitable as that of the electric battery, which attracts one metal towards the positive, and the other towards the negative pole. When, in 1785, France adopted the ratio of 1 to 15·50, England began losing her gold and winning back silver. But if England and France had both adopted the ratio of 15·50, these two countries would have formed but one, from a monetary point of view, and all reason for exporting or importing the one metal in preference to the other would have disappeared.

The laws of universal bimetallism, as expounded by Newton, are no less mathematically evident than the law of gravitation and of universal attraction. If all the principal states were to adopt the same ratio, the Newton law would completely put an end to the Gresham law. These are truths which have been so clearly demonstrated in the luminous writings, amongst others, of Mr. Cernuschi, that they may be considered as acquired by economic science, and he alone will attempt to deny their veracity who has never taken the pains really to study them.

From what precedes, I think, we may draw the following conclusion.

Considering that the quality Lord Liverpool especially wished to secure to money was steadiness in value; that this steadiness is much more easily attainable by the simultaneous employment of gold and silver; and that, at the present day, the inconveniences arising from the alternations of the Gresham law could be easily remedied by an international treaty, it follows that Lord Liverpool and his authorities, Petty, Locke, and Harris, would now declare themselves in favour of a bimetallic coinage, for precisely the same reason that they rejected it in their time.

To elucidate this question as completely as possible, we will now examine the objections which have been raised against the solution we consider the best.

The question of a bimetallic coinage must have been very little discussed in England, or such eminent economists as Mr. Bonamy Price and Mr. Robert Giffen would not put forth objections on this subject so strange that they quite amaze one. According to Mr. B. Price, if England were to join a monetary union with the principal civilized nations, for the purpose of establishing a legal and simultaneous circulation of both gold and silver with a ratio of 1 to 15½, the following deplorable results would ensue:—"First, in any conceivable case, many silver-producing nations would be left out, and they would ruin the projected scheme. They would make silver coins for all the Monetary Union States, forged, but all of full silver weight, introduce them easily into these countries, and deluge them with these coins, with immense profit to themselves."\* We give here Mr. Bonamy Price's own words, otherwise it would be hard to believe that such an objection could have been brought forward. Bimetallism being estab-

\* "Buying and Selling," *Journal of the Society of Arts*, May 6, 1881, p. 531.



lished, what reason could there be in silver-producing countries making money of full weight, and fraudulently introducing it into the circulation of the Monetary Union? Everywhere, in the United States and in Europe, the Mints would accept silver in unlimited quantities and at its full value of 60½ pence. A false coinage would entail great expense, and its issue would not be unattended with danger, while all the States of the Monetary Union would be ready to receive silver at a price as high as fraud could obtain for it, and would even give the money in return almost gratuitously. It would be a very strange undertaking. It is now, when Mints are closed to silver, and when, at the same time, silver pieces are standard money, as is the case in France, that the danger Mr. Price warns us of really exists, for by forging these pieces 15 or 16 per cent. could be made; as silver can be bought at 52 pence, and sold as coin at 60½ pence. In England, the benefit made by forging shillings and half-crowns might be still greater. If the Americans do not make shillings, half-crowns, and crowns, now that silver costs 52 pence, what inducement would there be for them to commence if its price were 60 or 61 pence, and when their own Mint would be ready to pay for it at that rate? The truth is then quite the reverse of what Mr. Bonamy Price states. The danger of false coinage which exists at the present time, on account of the depreciation of silver through its proscription, would entirely disappear if a free coinage were reintroduced.

According to Mr. Bonamy Price, the second unfortunate consequence of the free and simultaneous coinage of the two metals would be that "all goods would have two prices, one in gold, the other in silver, and this last would vary with all the fluctuations of the worth of the metal." The learned Oxford professor has certainly travelled in France or Belgium, in Switzerland, Spain, or Holland. In all these countries bimetallism is in force. All debtors and buyers can pay in either gold or silver. Are there, then, two prices? Not at all. Let Mr. Price go to Paris and buy ten thousand francs' worth of goods, or invest a million in the public funds, or pay his bill at the hotel, no one will say to him, "It is so much; but, if you pay in silver, the price is different; it is 15 per cent. more." Mr. Price would pay in bank notes, if for a large sum, and his small bills in gold or silver, as he prefers. No one has observed fluctuations in the white metal in France. India and England alone lose by the exchange of silver. In France, as in England, large payments are made in bank notes; these notes are guaranteed, for the greater part, by the stock of silver at the Banque de France. No one objects to receive it, in spite of silver being very much depreciated, which would not have happened if men were not so mad as to proscribe it, although it is endowed in the highest degree with monetary qualities.

The third grievance which Mr. Bonamy Price has discovered is quite as extraordinary as the two preceding ones. If England, says he, were to adopt



bimetallism, debts would be paid in silver shillings instead of sovereigns, twenty shillings to a pound sterling; and the shillings would be worth much less, for one would be able to procure nearly twenty-four shillings for a gold sovereign.

The eminent professor here supposes a state of things which, were it really to occur, would be a direct contradiction to all economic laws—viz., that silver, being worth 52 pence, at the present time, should remain at the same price, when the Mints of all the great countries would be ready and willing to purchase it at 60½ pence, the equivalent of the ratio of 1 to 15½ which is supposed to be adopted. Is it not inconsistent to pretend that silver would not rise in value if, instead of being proscribed everywhere, it were to be received at all the Mints? Mr. Henry Gibbs, whom Mr. Bonamy Price esteems so highly, and justly so, states, in his remarkable work, “The Double Standard,” that the very day France readmits the free coinage of silver on its ancient footing of 200 francs the kilogramme, that metal will again rise to its former price in the London market—i.e., to 60½ pence, the equivalent of the French price. Why should silver be sold at 52 pence, when in Paris nearly 61 could be obtained for it? As free coinage in France has sufficed during seventy years to maintain silver at a price of 60 or 61 pence, the little variations being occasioned solely by the fluctuations in the exchange, as demonstrated by Mr. Ernest Seyd, is it not absolutely certain that this price would be maintained far more easily if all the greater nations were to agree to it and adopt the ratio of 1 to 15½?

But, says Mr. Bonamy Price, by adopting the ratio of 1 to 15½, instead of 1 to 18, which is the one now in existence, you give “an excessive, unnatural, unreal, and purely artificial value to silver.” On the contrary, it is the present value of silver which is “unnatural and artificial,” for it is the result of the legislative measures taken recently by Germany and France and all civilized nations. To re-establish a free coinage for silver, as before 1873, would be but to restore to this metal its normal value, which it had preserved from the end of the last century.

“The bimetallists,” says Mr. Price, “do not deny that by the adoption of the 15½ ratio the creditor would be wronged, but they think they have found the remedy in limiting the coinage of silver, so as to make it pass for what they please.” Two errors in a single sentence are a great deal. Bimetallists have never admitted that creditors would be wronged. Far from that, they believe that silver would regain its former value, and that creditors would be indifferent whether the debts owed them were paid in gold or silver, or, rather, they would receive payments in bank notes, representing indifferently the one metal or the other, as now in France. Still less do bimetallists, desire, in any way, to limit the coinage of silver, for, as Mr. Price himself writes, some lines before the passage just quoted, “bimetallism consists in authorizing any quantity of silver to be coined into shillings.” Mr. Price imagines



that, contrary to all economic laws, bimetallists, wishing to raise the value of silver, would limit the coinage, or, in other words, restrict the demand; while, far from that, they desire to raise the demand to the level of the supply, by decreeing a free coinage—that is to say, creating an unlimited demand. It is certain that if the learned Oxford professor had deigned seriously to study the pith of the question, and the consequence of the doctrine he combats, he would have refrained from raising objections which are groundless, or even contradictory. He speaks of bimetallism as a thing unheard of, unknown, unimaginable, which would bring incalculable evils upon England. Is he not aware that it has existed in France since the beginning of the century, and that that country has been in possession of an abundant and easy circulation, much less disturbed by crises than that of England? None of the difficulties predicted by Mr. Price have arisen there.

Mr. Robert Giffen published in the *Fortnightly Review* (August 1, 1879) the best article which has yet appeared in opposition to bimetallism. But, in our opinion, the concessions he makes there are very important, while his objections are contrary either to his own premises or to facts.

To mention one or two examples. Mr. Giffen admits that, in periods of transition, bimetallism increases the steadiness of value of gold and silver, by means of the equilibratory action, so well described by Mr. Jevons. But, he says, this influence soon ceases. Thus, "after 1850, French bimetallism was powerless to stop the fall in the value of gold, because there was no silver in exchange for it. In the same way, from 1820 to 1850, it could not stop the fall in silver, because France was then practically a silver-using country." Mr. Giffen's observation is, in the first place, contradicted by facts, for there are many gold pieces still in circulation bearing a date between the years 1803 and 1850, and after 1850 France was very far from losing all her stock of silver; for, of the 824,987 five-franc pieces found in the offices of account (19,511 in number), on the 14th of August, 1878, 572,916 had been coined before 1851."\* So if the same percentage of 62 per cent. hold good for the entire French stock of five-franc pieces, it would appear that France holds to-day something like 300,000,000 of these pieces coined before the drain of silver commenced. But, as Mr. H. Gibbs proves, even supposing France to be completely deprived of gold, the compensatory action of her bimetallism would not be annulled:—

"If, for example, France were to restore to-morrow the full operation of her bimetallic law, there can be no doubt that, on the same day, the exchange being about par, the price of silver here would be at its old value. It would be wholly a question of exchange. So, let us suppose France, under the operation of a bimetallic law operative in France alone, to be absolutely denuded of gold; still for 15½ ounces of pure silver remitted to my correspondent at Paris, and delivered by him to the Mint, I should be able to draw on him for the equivalent,

\* "Exhibit A. 7th Session of the Monetary Conference of 1878."



*i.e.*, for 107·1342 francs coined for and delivered to him by the Mint. My draft would sell on Change for £4 4s. 11½*d.* in gold, if the exchange between the two countries were at par; and the exchange, I need not say, depends on the balance of trade between the two countries—on there being, or not, a demand for bills for remittance; or England being, or not, for the moment, a debtor to France.\*

The truth of what Mr. H. Gibbs states is clearly borne out by facts. France prevented a fall in gold, not by giving up her silver, but by importing gold in exchange for merchandise she sold to other countries. France coined, between the years 1851 and 1875, 6,745,565,000 francs' worth of gold. She, therefore, absorbed more than half the total amount produced by California and Australia, and she only lost, through excess of importations, 1,800,000,000 francs of silver. The compensatory action of bimetallism displays itself by throwing open a free field of employment to the metal, the production of which is increasing; and this effect would be the greater as more States adopted bimetallic law. "But," Mr. Giffen says, "this is not the truth. If all bimetallic countries had the same ratio, and the cheaper metal tended to become still cheaper, they would simply be as one country." Yes, but as a country of 300 or 400 millions of inhabitants, instead of one of 36 millions, like France. If the superabundant metal, whether gold or silver, were to increase tenfold, would its value not be better sustained by bimetallism being adopted in the leading States? Bimetallism, in force in France only, was able, during seventy years, to maintain a ratio of 1 to 15½: is it not certain, therefore, that a Monetary Union, comprising the principal States, would render this ratio infinitely steadier still?

Mr. Giffen does not deny that the suspension of bimetallic law profoundly disturbs the rate of exchanges with silver countries; which latter, we must recollect, represent three-quarters of the British trade. But, he says, on this subject: "Even serious evils may have to be endured, because, relatively, they are unimportant, compared with the great objects proposed in a sound currency." But, then, what is "a sound currency"? Is it not the one which gives the most steadiness to the value of money and to the rate of exchange, and is it not a bimetallic standard which answers best those two desiderata? Mr. Giffen supposes that, in 1696, England freely chose gold in place of silver, against the law. Nothing could be less exact. England was deprived of the silver she wished to preserve by the Gresham law, and gold took its place as the overvalued money, against the wishes of the country in general. To assure oneself of this fact it suffices to read the Royal Proclamation, dated December 22, 1771.†

\* "The Double Standard," p. 32.

† "G. R.—Whereas . . . the overvaluation of gold in the current coins of this realm hath been a great cause of carrying out and lessening the species of the silver coins thereof, which is highly prejudicial to the trade of the kingdom."

"The 22nd of January, 1718, the Lords, in a grand committee, took into consideration the state of the nation, in relation to the gold and silver coins. The Lord Bingley, having represented the great prejudice that trade received from the scarcity of silver, said it was a matter of wonder a remedy had not seasonably been applied to so great an evil. Lord Stanhope answered that the scarcity of the silver species was owing to several causes:

Mr. Giffen appears to imagine that if one State of the Monetary Union were to adopt paper-money, the whole bimetallic edifice would fall to the ground, as was the case, he says, with the Latin Union when Italy was obliged to reintroduce paper after 1866. All this is inexact. The other countries of the Union were not in the least inconvenienced by this Italian forced currency, and they only put a stop to the coinage of silver when Germany demonetized that metal. Let us suppose that one of the States of the great Bimetallic Union has recourse to an inconvertible paper currency, the result would be that its metallic coin would return to the other countries. This is, in fact, exactly what took place when the United States issued their greenbacks. Was England, at that time, embarrassed by American gold? "The only chance for bimetallists," says, again, Mr. Giffen, "is universal bimetalism. But what a wild dream! Who is to draw the treaty? What power of persuasion will bring all Governments to accept this Gospel?" I answer, the power of reason and the pressure of necessity, or, rather, I will let the most competent authority on this matter speak for me. "If our Government," writes Mr. Henry Gibbs, "could say, 'England is willing,' no one would doubt that France, with the Latin Union, Austria, Holland, Spain, and the United States would at once agree, and it is asserted that Germany would also. If so, the impossibility is at once overcome, that instalment of universality being quite sufficient for the purpose."—*The Double Standard*, Appendix, p. 23.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

1st. The increasing luxury in relation to silver plate. 2nd. To the vast exports of bullion to the East Indies. 3rdly. To the clandestine trade that had lately been carried on of exporting silver and importing gold to and from Holland, Germany, and other parts."—*Monetary Documents of the Conference of Paris*, 1878, by Dana Horton, pp. 316-321.



## THE AUSTRO-ITALIAN ALLIANCE.

THE voyage of the King and Queen of Italy to Vienna may well be considered as a great political event. During the last six months the newspapers of Austria, Hungary, and Italy have been constantly repeating that an interview between the two sovereigns was about to take place. Though no meeting had been agreed upon, the announcement of such an event produced in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in Italy the most favourable impression.

During the late great military manœuvres in Northern Italy, public opinion was so strongly in favour of a close understanding between the two countries, that a few farewell words pronounced by King Humbert to the Austro-Hungarian generals who had assisted the manœuvres sufficed to determine the great event. In bidding good-bye to the Austrian General, King Humbert said he hoped soon to have the pleasure of meeting him again. These words, which in all likelihood had been pronounced without any particular importance being attached to them, were reported to the Emperor Francis Joseph.

Then, for the first time, the question of an interview between the two Sovereigns was discussed. King Humbert's words were interpreted as a message to the Emperor, and General Robillant, the Italian Ambassador at Vienna, was at once informed that the Emperor Francis Joseph would be delighted to welcome the King and Queen of Italy in his capital. It has been stated that an interview between the two Sovereigns in some small village on the frontier had first been arranged, and that the journey to Vienna had been resolved on, on account of a desire expressed by Queen Margaret to accompany the King. This is not the case. At the very first moment, the Emperor Francis Joseph, fully understanding the importance of this event, sent a formal invitation to the King and Queen of Italy and to the Italian Prime

Minister, Signor Depretis, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Signor Mancini, to visit Vienna. This visit implied, sooner or later, a visit of the Emperor Francis Joseph and the Empress to Rome. The very possibility of such an event caused the greatest anxiety and excitement at the Vatican. The reactionary party of the *Zelanti* (whom Father Curci has so graphically described in his last book, and who now appear to have taken the upper hand) set to work to prevent this interview. The Ultramontanes, who rejoiced at beholding Italy completely isolated, and were bitterly hurt by the policy pursued by France in Northern Africa, did not like the idea of a reconciliation with Austria, which virtually implied an alliance with the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires. It had been the dream and constant work of Monsignor Czaki, the Papal Nuncio at Paris, to alienate the sympathies of France and Austria from Italy, and his efforts aimed at bringing about a war from which something beneficial to the Pope might be derived. Monsignor Czaki's efforts to create ill-feeling and enmity between Italy and France were crowned by a certain success. They nearly succeeded with regard to the relations between Austria and Italy. The Italian and Austro-Hungarian Ministers who met at Vienna had before them the clearest proofs that the *Irredenta* movement, ingenuously taken up by old patriots, such as General Avezzana, was fomented and kept up by the combined forces of French revolutionists and French clericals. The success of the *Irredenta* question implied war with Austria, from which the revolutionists expected the downfall of the Italian monarchy. It necessitated the departure of the Pope from Rome, and the possibility of a Papal restoration. The announcement that King Humbert and his fair Queen were about to proceed to Vienna upset many a calculation, and a last effort was made to avert so great a blow. The *Zelanti* are never at a loss to find resources. The Emperor Francis Joseph was informed that if the visit of the King and Queen of Italy to Vienna implied the return of a visit of their Imperial Majesties to Rome, Leo XIII. would abandon the Eternal City. The Pope considered King Humbert an usurper, and a visit of a Catholic Emperor to the usurper in the city of the Popes could never be tolerated. But it may be believed, and is to be hoped, that the *coup de scène* imagined by the advisers of Leo XIII. produced very little impression at Vienna. The journey of the King and Queen of Italy, accompanied by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, took place, and the political results which such an event are likely to produce may become manifest sooner than is expected.

Berchet, one of the most popular poets in 1848, may be said to have prophesied the rise of public opinion in Italy after the annexation of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces. The poet who inflamed the hearts of thousands who marched from all parts of Italy to fight the Austrians at Goito and Pastreugo, at Curstatone and Montanara, had said—

“Ripassin l'Alpi e tornerem fratelli.”



(Let but the Austrian foe pass the Alps, and we shall be as friendly as brothers.) And when the last white uniform had abandoned Italian soil, when, amid the cheers of thousands, the yellow and black flag which had waved for years on the masts of San Marco, was lowered, and the bright sun of Italy was made to shine on the colours of the rainbow, the colours of Italian unity, the Italians forgot Julay and Radetzki; the Italians forgot the fierce cruelties of the Croats, and the merciless Honveds who had shot Ugo Bassi and many a patriot. The Austrians had passed the Alps, and no Austrian battalions, as in the days of Giusti, marched into the church of Sant Ambrogio of Milan, or drilled in front of the Ducal Palace or the Salute of Venice. The Austrian and the Italian had no cause to be foes. The soldier-king who had faced the Austrian armies in 1849, in 1859, and in 1866, visited Vienna in 1873, and was saluted by the Austrian troops with the honour due to a friendly ally and to a brave warrior. The Venetians who thronged the square of St. Mark on the memorable day on which the Emperor Francis Joseph appeared side by side with King Victor Emanuel on the balcony of the Palazzo Ducale, must have persuaded the Austrian monarch that they had forgotten the days of Austrian rule and oppression. The journey from Monza to Vienna was a continual festival. The Austrian and Italian colours, intermingled, waved on the snowy hills past the Pontebba, all along the route to the Sudbahn station, and to the new splendid boulevards of Vienna. The Italian national march, with its characteristic fanfare, the oldest national anthem, was played and sung at every station. Civil and military authorities welcomed the young sovereigns on Austrian soil, and while the fair girls of Tyrol were presenting bouquets to the Queen, the *Hoch!* of the Austrian population greeted the royal train as it passed under the triumphal arches erected on the line. In Vienna, the King and Queen of Italy were received by their Imperial Majesties with public manifestations of sympathy and affection. They were received by the people as the sovereigns of a nation whose alliance was considered precious to the interests and to the safety of the Empire. But the demonstration made by the representatives of the Austro-Hungarian army surprised the Viennese themselves, and must have greatly satisfied the young descendant of Umberto Bianca Mano, and of Emanuel Philibert. The two leading military organs of Vienna, who had often excited public opinion against the Italians, addressed the Italian king and army in the most enthusiastic terms. The *Militär Zeitung* declared that if complications were to arise, the armies of Italy and Austria would be allied. "While the Austrian flag was lowered as the two allied sovereigns passed the troops in review, the King of Italy must have been convinced that from the lips of thousands of soldiers there could have come but one cry, a cry expressing the feelings of the Austro-Hungarian army, the cry being, 'Long live the chivalrous King of Italy.'



The *Wehr Zeitung* declared that, as a military organ, besides saluting the King and his ministers, it salutes "with the warmest enthusiasm the representatives of the Italian army, the brave and loyal Italian army with which we desire to be ever allied, crying together, 'Long live the King!'"

The public has been hourly and fully informed regarding the minutest particulars of this Royal visit, and the graphic accounts of the enthusiastic reception given to the Italian sovereigns at Vienna must have suggested to many a reader a very natural question—Why should the Austro-Hungarian Empire be so anxious to conclude an alliance with Italy? One may understand the Italians, who found themselves isolated, greeting an event which raises their dignity and importance. But to outside observers it is Austria more than Italy which appears satisfied at the results of the king's journey.

In order fully to appreciate the importance of this event a retrospective sketch of the relations between Italy and Austria after the cession of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, may not prove uninteresting. The voyage of King Victor Emanuel to Vienna, and the visits of the Emperor Francis Joseph to Venice and the Emperor William to Milan, demonstrated that Italy and the two Empires were on the most cordial terms. The visit, at a later period, of the then Prince Humbert and Princess Marguerite to Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg fully demonstrated that no change had occurred or was likely to occur in the foreign policy of Italy. Though the Right, which had governed the State for sixteen years, had fallen, and the Government was in the hands of the more Advanced Liberal Party, no change was likely to be effected in the foreign relations of the Peninsula with other countries. While being scrupulously constitutional, King Victor Emanuel exercised considerable influence on his Ministers, and in entrusting the Government of his country to Signoris Depretis and Nicotera and Crispi, the *Re Galantuomo* must have put very clear conditions with regard to foreign affairs. In assuming power, the Ministers, who represented in Italy the Liberal or Progressive Party, publicly declared that the foreign policy of the Government would continue to be that which, from Count Cavour to Signor Visconti Venosta, had been pursued by the Right; and the sincerity of their declarations was made manifest by the fact that, with the exception of the transfer of the Chevalier Nigra from Paris to St. Petersburg, and the appointment of General Cialdini to the Embassy of Paris, all the other representatives of Italy to foreign countries were left in their posts. Even the removal of the Chevalier Nigra from Paris to St. Petersburg was not suggested by political considerations. The Embassy of Paris had long before been promised to General Cialdini, and the Left kept its word. The Liberals had not been in office long when, by the sudden and lamented death of King Victor Emanuel, Prince Humbert was called to rule the Italian nation. Though very young, Prince Humbert had fought bravely at the battle of Custoza, and in the exercise of his military duties, as General of Division,



the heir apparent had acquired the fame of a good and intelligent soldier. But his experience of political life was very limited, and many found that his inexperience would be taken advantage of by the Ministerial party to effect a complete change in the foreign relations of Italy. The stern soldier who had spent thirty years presiding over Ministerial cabinets, and who had a keen perception of the political situation of Europe, had disappeared from the world. The *Re Galantuomo* who so often had resolved important questions with his Ministers while shooting on the Alps or inspecting his favourite horses at the Pitti or the Quirinal Stables, now lay in the vaults of the Pantheon of Rome; and the young Sovereign might be found more manageable than the first *Re d'Italia*. But while thousands thronged the streets and squares of the Eternal City to bow reverentially before the funereal car which was conveying the remains of Victor Emanuel from the Royal Palace of the Quirinal to the Pantheon, the presence in the imposing procession of the Crown Princes of Germany and Austria was interpreted as a political manifestation, and the importance of this demonstration acquired greater significance, when, on the proclamation of King Humbert I., the young Sovereign and his fair Queen appeared to the multitude in the Piazza del Quirinale, accompanied by the Crown Prince of Germany and the young Prince of Naples. While the air rang with the cheers of thousands, the Crown Prince of Germany lifting the young Prince of Naples in his arms, embraced and kissed him heartily. The effect of this dramatic *coup de scene* on a southern population may be better imagined than described. The enthusiasm which it produced on the thousands was only equal to that aroused thirty years before, when from that very balcony Pius IX. imparted his blessing on the armies which were about to encounter the Austrian foe! The country felt then that no Ministry could detach Italy from her natural ally Germany. But the Russo-Turkish war and the Congress of Berlin were destined to prepare the isolation of Italy. The Republicans of Italy, who had accepted the monarchy as a means of securing Italian unity, and had fought under the royal standard at Varese and Marsala to expel the Austrians and to overthrow the Bourbons and the Pope, considered themselves justified in refusing to the new Sovereign that allegiance which they had, though feebly, shown to the founder of Italian nationality. Old republican patriots, such as Melegari, Crispi, Cairoli, Nicotera, and many others, were in office, and their loyalty to King Humbert could not be questioned. But the men who had remained faithful to republican principles all their life, such as Mario, Saffi, and Castellani, thought the time had arrived for overthrowing the monarchy. Their dreams were encouraged by the radicals of France, who fostered and fomented a revolutionary movement in Italy. The old republicans soon discovered, however, that the few disciples who followed them represented all but a moral force. The public, ever ready to applaud the classical dramas of Cavallotti, and to read the beautiful poems of



Carducci, refused to listen to their political tirades, and the great Republican meeting held at the Argentina Theatre in Rome, proved that the Italians had no wish whatever to overthrow the Monarchy. The Republican Propaganda had turned out a *fiasco*. But it was indispensable to keep up some sort of agitation. The Berlin Congress lent itself admirably to this purpose. The Revolutionary Committees, which had at different epochs assumed different denominations, were suddenly converted into *Circoli Italia Irredenta*. General Avezzana, an old patriot and an enthusiastic follower of Garibaldi, assumed the direction of the movement. The formation of *Italia Irredenta* Committees was very easy work. The men who formed the Committees were the usual hundreds who had represented the *Barsanti* clubs, the associations for universal suffrage, the committees for the abolition of the grist tax, &c. Several among the promoters earnestly believed that the *Italia Irredenta* cry would prove more popular than the ones previously raised, and that thousands would join the movement. Some among the Ministers of King Humbert had served under General Garibaldi, and from the Opposition benches in Parliament had often advocated the liberation of Trent. How could they dare to dissolve associations which had so patriotic a scope? How could men like Signor Cairoli, who had seen his five brothers fall, one after the other, on the battlefield, wage war against the associations which aimed at the liberation of an Italian province? These were the arguments put forth by the promoters of the *Italia Irredenta*, when Count Corti, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, proceeded to Berlin to represent Italy at the European Congress. The Italian representatives must have very speedily perceived that they were isolated. Prince Bismark firmly believed that a secret understanding existed between the Italian Government and the French Republic. Austria had the conviction that the Italian Cabinet encouraged the *Italia Irredenta* movement. The declaration made shortly before by England with regard to the Bay of Assab had caused a certain strain in the relations between Italy and England. No pains were taken by the Ambassadors of Italy to dissipate existing doubts and to conciliate the sympathy of at least some of the Powers. The opposition raised by Count Corti to the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, made things worse. Rumours had long been spreading that Italy had been intriguing in Albania, and that the Italian consuls on the Adriatic Coast had been conspiring against Austrian intervention. These rumours appeared but too well founded when Count Corti rose to oppose the advance of Austria. And, while the Italian ambassadors were thus unwisely placing themselves in open war with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the promoters of the *Italia Irredenta* movement in Italy were holding meetings, organizing demonstrations, and proclaiming, in every Radical newspaper in the Peninsula, that it was the duty of the Government to claim, at Berlin, the cession of Trent. When the results of the Berlin Conference were made



manifest, the *Irredenta* party managed to acquire a certain importance. The Radicals and the Republicans found valuable allies among the partisans of the Right, who energetically attacked the Ministry for the part played by Italy at Berlin. The pamphlet, *Italica Res*, published in Vienna by Colonel Haymerle, the brother of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had not contributed to facilitate a *rapprochement* between Italy and Austria. Colonel Haymerle, who had been some time in Rome in the quality of Austrian Military Attaché, greatly exaggerated the importance which the *Italia Irredenta* movement had acquired previous to the Berlin Conference, and several among the facts stated by him to prove the complicity of the Italian Government were simply absurd. Italian children, said Colonel Haymerle, were brought up on *Irredenta* principles, and the proof lay in the fact that the maps used in the public schools contained, under the heading "Italia," the districts of Trent and Trieste. It appears incredible that such an observation should have been dreamed by a colonel of the Austrian staff! The French Government might with the same reason protest against English pretensions to Dunkirk, on the ground that maps of England contain the northern coast of France. The Berlin Congress gave the Italians an opportunity for proving that the policy which the Government was resolved to pursue was still that solemnly proclaimed by Victor Emanuel in Rome, when, addressing the representatives of 27,000,000 of people, he declared that United Italy would prove beneficial to the peace of Europe. Count Corti and Count de Launay had their hands free. The Minister for Foreign Affairs in Rome, who knew nothing or little of diplomacy, had left them *carte blanche*. This was so much the case that Count Corti hardly ever took the pains to write a despatch to his Government. Count Corti had no task imposed upon him. He might have used his liberty of action to the great benefit of his country. Why he should not have done so, would be impossible to explain. If from the very first moment the Italian representatives had solemnly declared that Italy had no idea of claiming territorial aggrandizement, and had energetically declared that Austria was at liberty to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, pledging herself solemnly never to occupy Albania or Salonica, Italy would soon have found other powers ready to back her. Instead of using frank and explicit language, Count Corti assumed a mysterious reserve which several of the ambassadors turned to account. Italy could not have expected, and did not expect, any territorial aggrandizement. But the Berlin Congress might have strengthened her position, and the usual prestige acquired by Italy would have been far more precious to her than a Cyprus or a Bosnia. Appearances did more harm to Italy than if her representatives had openly claimed the cession of Trent or the surrender of a part of the North African coast. The debates which took place in the Italian Parliament, and the violent language used by newspapers of all parties, showed that the indignation aroused in the whole country was genuine



and deep-rooted. Italy was completely isolated, and the continued agitation of the *Irredenta* did not help to conciliate public opinion in Austria. The unexpected defeat of the Conservative party in England, and the consequent triumph of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party, opened the hearts of the Italians. The relations between Italy and England had become particularly strained, and it was even reported that Sir Augustus Paget, while visiting the king at Monza, had used expressions with regard to the Bay of Assab which had greatly irritated his Majesty. The statesman whom the Italians looked upon as a decided adversary to Italian unity had been overpowered by that Liberal party in England which had ever sympathized with Italian unity and independence. This unexpected event was really another miracle worked by the *Stella d'Italia*, which popular superstition in the Peninsula declares never abandons the country, and oftentimes remedies the blunders of Ministers. Signor Cairoli, who had assumed the portfolio for foreign affairs, resolved at once to attempt a *rapprochement* with Great Britain. He found no difficulty. M. Gambetta may be said to have served as intermediary. Signor Cairoli and his friends were on good terms with M. Gambetta, and the member for Belleville was notoriously a great friend and admirer of several among the leading Ministers of the new English Cabinet. Signor Cairoli, whose loyalty and ingenuousness are proverbial, made no mystery whatever of his intentions. Italy was unquestionably isolated. A *rapprochement* with the French Republic was sure to increase irritation and suspicion in Germany. Austria was unapproachable. The only Power with which it was possible to come to some understanding was England. While the Cabinets of Rome and London were discussing the basis of a mutual understanding with regard to several of the questions which the Berlin Treaty had left unsettled, Signor Cairoli, whom the Austrian Government suspected to be allied to the *Irredenta* party, lost no opportunity of demonstrating his firm resolution to avoid any reason of conflict between Austria and Italy. Flags, bearing the names of Trent and Trieste, exhibited at patriotic demonstrations, were captured by the police, and all demonstrations likely to cause ill-feeling in Austria were prohibited. When the Dulcigno question originated the naval demonstration, the relations between Italy and Austria had become unquestionably more amicable; but the *rapprochement* with England had assumed greater importance.

The initiative of the naval demonstration had been taken by this country. Italy alone among the European powers had declared herself ready to act in perfect concert with England. This explains why, when the squadrons of the different Powers anchored in the waters of Prevesa, England and Italy occupied the first line. If this apparent good understanding between the two Powers gave great satisfaction to the Italians, it by no means satisfied either Austria or Germany. While the commanders of the different squadrons were meeting under the



presidency of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin were endeavouring to break up the naval demonstration, and to leave England isolated to settle with Turkey the immediate surrender of Dulcigno. But in order to make the thing complete, it was indispensable to persuade Italy that the naval demonstration would be sure to prove a fiasco; that if the fleets remained in the waters of Prevesa, serious complications might arise; and that if Mr. Gladstone was determined to inaugurate so rash a policy, there was no reason why the other Powers should follow him. All the motives adduced by Austria and by Germany to persuade Italy to abandon England proved useless. The cabinets of Vienna and Berlin then assumed a different tone. France and Russia were willing to follow the advice of Austria and Germany. What did Italy mean by refusing to join the majority of the Powers? What right had she, the last among the great nations of Europe, to be foremost in compelling the Porte to carry out the provisions of the Berlin treaty? Persuasion was of no use. Threats followed, and Mr. Gladstone ran the risk of finding himself completely abandoned. But not even the threats of Austria induced the Cairoli Cabinet to abandon England. The Italian Ministry assumed at that moment a great responsibility, and unquestionably contributed most efficaciously to hasten the peaceful solution of the Dulcigno question.

All attempts to induce Italy to abandon England having proved useless, the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin changed tactics, and spoke loudly and energetically at Constantinople. The European concert became a reality, and Dulcigno was surrendered. But this incident had by no means contributed to bring about a better understanding between Italy and Austria. Nor was it likely that the negotiations for the settlement of the Greek frontier would smooth the way to a conciliation. England, only too happy to have got out of the Dulcigno affair successfully, left to France the initiative in the Greek question; but the suggestion made by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire soon convinced the Powers that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs entertained, with regard to the Greek question, views which few were likely to share. Perceiving that no understanding was possible, the English Government made up its mind to enter into a closer understanding with Germany. In a confidential despatch addressed by Earl Granville to the British ambassador at Berlin, the Government declared that if Germany would take the initiative for a solution of the Greek frontier question, England would give it all support;—the support of England implying, it was understood, that of Italy. Prince Bismarck commenced by declaring that he saw no reason why Germany should assume the initiative in a question which interested her so little, and it was only with an appearance of unwillingness that he consented to make a proposal. The proposal was the following: A conference was to be held at Constantinople between the ambassadors of the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin. The ambassadors were to discuss the new frontier line, and



induce the Porte to accept it. Having obtained the consent of the Porte, the Powers would jointly compel Greece to accept the new frontier line and raise no further claim. The English and Italian Governments declared themselves ready to support this scheme. The other Cabinets, with the exception of France, who kept a certain reserve, made no opposition. Relying on the support of England, Austria, and Italy, Prince Bismarck felt perfectly confident of the successful issue of his proposal. On the ambassadors meeting at Constantinople, M. Tissot, the French representative, rose to declare that he could not approve the course which it was proposed to follow. He strongly objected to the idea of the ambassadors discussing and resolving on so important a question without conferring with the Porte. To the utter astonishment of all present, Count Corti rose to support the views put forward by the French ambassador. The whole combination threatened to break down. Telegrams were sent to Berlin, to London, and to Rome, to demand explanations; but the only explanation was that Count Corti had acted from caprice, and in absolute contradiction to the instructions received from his Government. Count Corti was compelled to follow the advice and instructions he received from Rome. But even this new incident did not help to bring about a better understanding between Italy and the two empires.

Whilst England and Italy were continuing to act in perfect harmony, the French Government resolved to embark in the Tunisian expedition. It was well known, both at the Consulta in Rome and in Downing Street in London, that the Kroumirs were only a pretence for commencing operations. During several months before the public was made acquainted with the intentions of the French Government, the British and Italian consuls in Tunis had kept their respective Governments informed of the intrigues carried on by French agents, and of the threats used by M. Roustan to compel the Bey to accept the protectorate of France. The Italian and English consuls in Tunis had encouraged the Bey to resist those threats, assuring him, in the name of their respective Governments, that the Cabinets of London and Rome were determined to maintain the *statu quo*, and that no Power, and least of all France, would be allowed to become the mistress of the Mediterranean. Threats and intrigues were continuing to torment the Bey, when King Humbert resolved to visit Sicily. The Bey lost no time in profiting by this occasion to prove to France that he despised the threats by which he was menaced, and that his natural allies were the Italians and the English. The Bey dispatched his eldest son with a mission to Palermo. An autograph letter of the Bey was presented to King Humbert, who expressed his firm hope that the relations between his country and the independent sovereign of the Regency would remain as friendly as they had been for years. Even the voyage of the King of Italy to Sicily had served to demonstrate that Italy and England were working together. The English squadron, which had



been ordered to assist at the launching of the ironclad *Italia*, and to join in the festivities of the Italian people, had now been instructed to escort King Humbert and Queen Margherita in their first visit to Sicily. The Bey knew well enough the importance of these demonstrations, and felt perfectly confident that, so long as the flags of Great Britain and Italy were to be seen together on the waters of the Mediterranean, his authority and prestige as an independent prince ran no risk. The resolution taken by the Bey to send a special mission to Palermo, and to compliment King Humbert, exasperated the French Consul in Tunis, M. Roustan. The Rubattino railway concession had been interpreted as an humiliation to him. This new circumstance he considered as an humiliation inflicted on France. The Kroumirs were made to appear on the scene, and the French expedition resolved upon. All the debates in the French, British, and Italian Parliaments, and the diplomatic revelations made at public meetings in France, and in the Parisian newspapers, have not revealed many facts which I do not feel myself justified in narrating, and which certainly would fill up not a few gaps in this mysterious drama.

M. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire will occupy in the annals of diplomacy a prominent part for having given quite a new and not a laudable interpretation to Machiavelism! When the real intentions of the French Government appeared manifest, any further interposition would have been useless. M. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire had deceived both Mr. Gladstone and Signor Cairoli, and unless the two nations governed by them felt disposed to go to war, nothing more could be done.

Soon, however, the Governments of Austria and Germany commenced to be alarmed at the audacity displayed by France, and the recent *émeute* of the Egyptian regiments at Cairo furnished the occasion for a change in the distribution of the European forces. The Cairoli Cabinet having resigned, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, Signor Mancini, resolved to inaugurate a policy of reserve and reorganization. England was not disposed to compromise the French alliance for the Tunisian question, and Italy found herself isolated. There was nothing to be done. External abandonment encouraged internal oppositions, and the clerical Ultramontanes on the one side, and the Republicans on the other, prepared to avail themselves of this state of affairs. The Government was resolved to swallow peacefully the Tunisian pill, to keep on the best terms possible with every nation in Europe, to adopt a non-intervention policy, and to hasten the financial and administrative reforms of the country. It was hoped and believed that by following a similar course the country would have found it easier to increase her military and naval forces, and sooner or later some Power or other would have made the discovery that the alliance of Italy was worth something. This was the policy which, towards the beginning of October last, the Italian Government had made up its mind to pursue, when Austria and Germany resolved to stretch their hands to Italy.



The isolation of Italy had lasted but a few hours. The resolution taken by the Ministry to avoid any manifestation which might have led other nations to believe that the Italians entertained ambitious ideas, was soon frustrated by the *demarches* made at Rome by the representatives of Austria and Germany. One thing the Italian Cabinet could not do, the Austrian agent observed the—Italian Government could not change Italy's geographical position in the Mediterranean; so long as Italy was a united nation, with a brave army and a powerful navy at her disposal, she was bound to act in concert with the other Powers who had great interests in the Mediterranean. If England had resolved to interfere no further to prevent French preponderance, this was no reason why Italy should, by adopting a non-intervention policy, compromise her own as well as the interests of other Powers in the Mediterranean.

It was not, therefore, Italy but Austria which took the initiative of the Vienna interview. But this question would never have arisen if certain words pronounced by M. de Kallay, in a meeting of the Hungarian delegation, had not given rise to unpleasant misunderstandings. The Austro-Italian alliance was not the work of sovereigns or of statesmen; it sprung from public opinion. One can very well understand the favourable impression which this event must have produced on the minds of the Italians. But even this unanimity of opinion has its dangerous side. The leading members of the Right, who constantly proclaimed themselves the interpreters of Count Cavour, seem to have forgotten that the policy of the great statesman was based on the alliance of the Western Powers. Italy truly enough had been betrayed in Egypt and in Northern Africa by the two nations by whose side the soldiers of Piedmont had fought in the Crimea. But the errors committed by Powers who failed in estimating the importance of Italy's co-operation is no justification of the errors of the Italian opposition. The members of the Right declare that the policy now pursued by the Italian Ministry is the policy which they had been following and preaching ever since the occupation of Rome. Public opinion is favourable to the Austro-Italian alliance, and, as usual, the leading members of the Right have not the courage to oppose it. They do more; they claim the merit of this event, and by so doing they contribute more than ever in causing the Italian Parliament to be divided into Monarchicals and Republicans! If the pretended disciples of Count Cavour had sustained, in spite of offences which may still be repaired, the principles which suggested the Western Alliance, the Italian Radicals would not have been left alone to represent the Parliamentary Opposition on the Foreign Policy of the Government. The Austro-Italian Alliance may prove beneficial, for the moment, to both countries. But there is no reason why it should be everlasting. Austria might have won Sadowa if she had not had to protect her flank against an Italian army. It must be a comfort for Austria to feel now, that if she be assailed from



some other quarter, the Italians will not take advantage of the situation. And, on the other hand, Italy can spare, in the event of a French aggression, all her forces in the Valley of Aosta, being fully reassured with regard to the intentions of Austria. But a nation situated as Italy is, has no reason to fear isolation. Nay, under certain circumstances, momentary isolation may prove more advantageous than alliances which compromise a nation's liberty of action. The Austro-Italian Alliance was a political necessity, and it is only too natural that its solemn confirmation at Vienna should have been welcomed by the peoples of the two countries with demonstrations of joy. But, while Italy will stand still, the advance of Austria eastward may be followed by the advance of German influence and preponderance on the way to Vienna. Italy will not wait to see the Germans at Trieste, to perceive that the policy traced by Count Cavour has been disgracefully obliterated by the statesmen who, in Italy, pretended to be his disciples and followers.

ROBERTO STUART.



## A MISSING SCIENCE.

IN the October number of this Review, I sought to direct attention to what I said was a missing science. I pointed out what this science would deal with, and the kind of results that would arise from a proper study of it: but I did so in a general way only. I now return to the subject, and I propose to be more explicit.

The science in question, as I said in the place referred to, is a science of human action. This, however, is a very ambiguous phrase: we require far stricter language. A science of human action, in some sense or other, has been often declared possible; but never, to my knowledge, in the sense I am about to attach to it. It has been declared possible in kindred senses, but never in the same sense: and though the likeness here implied is important, it is important mainly because it will help us to see the difference. I shall be best able, perhaps, to explain my own sense, by referring to the writer who has, I think, come most near to it. That writer is Buckle. Let us briefly reconsider his position, his aim, and methods.

The science Buckle sought to establish, he called the Science of History; and that such a science was at least conceivably possible, must, he argued, be plain to every one who assented to the following propositions:—"That when we perform an action, we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives; that those motives are the result of some antecedents; and that therefore if we are acquainted with the whole of the antecedents and with all the laws of their movements, we could, with unerring certainty, predict the whole of their immediate results." If we believe thus much, he urged, we must see that the science is possible conceivably: if we turn to the materials to our hand, we shall see that it is possible actually; and that we shall be able in the end—the following are his own words—"to discover the principles which govern the character and the destiny of nations."



The materials in question he discusses at great length; and they are many in kind and character: but there is one class on which he dwells especially; and which alone gives meaning to the others. This is the class of material supplied to us by statistics. Statistics, he points out, afford a new kind of evidence; and they put us in possession of a new order of facts. They have completely revolutionized our conception of human conduct. They have shown us what we might else have dreamt about, but could never have hoped to prove—the sameness of human conduct, when under the same circumstances. This holds good apparently of even the smallest matters. Thus there is a startling regularity, every year, in the number of letters posted without any direction. Marriages and murders recur in the same way; so does the proportion between male and female births. There is another example more striking still. “Among public and registered crimes,” writes Buckle, “there is none which seems so completely dependent on the individual as suicide. . . . It may therefore very naturally be thought impracticable to refer suicide to general principles, or to detect anything like regularity in an offence which is so eccentric, so solitary, so impossible to control by legislation, and which the most vigilant police can do nothing to diminish. . . . These being the peculiarities of this singular crime, it is surely an astonishing fact that all the evidence we possess respecting it, points to one great conclusion . . . that suicide is merely the product of the general condition of society. . . . In a given state of society, a certain number of persons must put an end to their own life. This is the general law; and the special question as to who shall commit the crime, depends, of course, upon special laws; which however, in their total action, must obey the larger social law to which they are all subordinate.”

Such was the method of observation, and such was the first great inference, on which Buckle sought to base the study of the science of history. Statistics of human actions were, of course, not to be our only materials. We were to study them in connection with numerous other conditions, such as climate, culture, and politics. That, however, we may take for granted: it is not to the point here. What is to the point is his treatment of the actions themselves, and his celebrated contention as to the scientific way of observing them. This, as we have seen, amounts to the following doctrine; that nothing is to be done by observing individual cases, whether of events or of a mental process. Such a method he calls the “Metaphysical,” and hardly any conclusion, he says, has ever been arrived at by it, that is not either trivial, or else uncertain. Nor is the reason of this, he thinks, far to seek. “Everything,” he writes, “we at present know, has been ascertained by studying phenomena, from which all casual disturbances having been removed, the law remains as a conspicuous residue. And this can only be done by observations so numerous as to eliminate the disturbances, or else by experiments so delicate as to isolate the



phenomena. One of these conditions is essential to all inductive science; but neither of them does the metaphysician obey: . . . so that while he, on the one hand, is unable to isolate his observations from disturbances, he, on the other hand, refuses to adopt the only remaining precaution—he refuses so to enlarge his survey as to eliminate the disturbances by which his observations are troubled.”

Buckle applies these words, in the place from which I quote them, to metaphysical studies commonly so called; but he uses such studies as a passing illustration only: he is really aiming at the study of action and of history. What he urges comes to this: just as the philosopher makes no solid discoveries by merely studying a single mind, so the student of history makes no solid discoveries by merely studying single lives, single events, or even single periods.

Such is the outline of the argument in Buckle’s opening chapters; and I venture here to remind the reader of it, not that I may criticize the method which it advocates, but that I may point out a want in the materials, and, above all, in the subject matter, to which that method is to be applied. The science of history, Buckle says, is based upon many other sciences; they alone make it possible. What I shall try to make clear is, that of those other sciences, there is one that has been completely missed by him. He has grazed it, he has touched it, but he has never laid his hands upon it. It is still to the world as much a missing science, as was Political Economy at the beginning of the last century. The best name I can give to this science is, I think, *the science of human character*.

I will explain my meaning further. Let us return to the passage just quoted, in which Buckle speaks of suicide. There is no act, he says, “which seems so completely dependent on the individual.” That, however, is only *seeming*: what it is really dependent on, is “the general condition of society;” and, consequently, what the man of science must study, is not the private history of any individual suicide, but the number of such men in recurring periods, and the relation of this number to general social conditions. Now here, it seems to me, we have a piece of slovenly thinking, which underlies and vitiates the whole of Buckle’s system. It may be quite true, or at least we may suppose it to be, that between the particular act, and the general social conditions, there does exist the strict relation that he says there does. But if this be so, why is it? The relation exists in virtue of a chain of events or facts, the last link in which is the private character of the individual; and were this character different, the act would be different also. Given a bold man instead of a timid one, a sanguine man instead of a phlegmatic one, we might see resulting from the very same external causes, not suicide, but a fresh start in life. Indeed, Buckle himself has pointed out at length what a complex internal process, on the part of the agent, is involved in the commission of the act—what a nice balancing of motion, what a conflict of thoughts and



passions: and the same is the case with any act whatever. Surely then one would think that this internal process—this process in the consciousness of the individual, was a thing requiring study. It may be wholly dependent on external causes, certainly: but still, in producing their result, the external causes depend equally upon it. Buckle, however, has failed to note this. He has overlooked a truth, whilst busy in exposing a fallacy. We shall never, he says, understand an act by the most careful study possible of the character of the man committing it. And in this he is quite right; but he leaps from this truth to a most strangely illogical conclusion. Because we shall never understand an act by studying *only* its immediate antecedents or conditions, therefore, he says, these antecedents or conditions are not to be studied at all. His contention, as we have seen, is, that when dealing with biographical details, such as a man's own conscious emotions on any given occasion, we cannot, as he says, "isolate the phenomena," or rise from our observations to any scientific generalization. And of course this is true; there can be no science of any single character, just as there can be no science of any single mind. But it is surely strange that Buckle, with all his materials before him, did not rise from this truth to another, which is next door to it:—that though there can be no science of any character in particular there can be a science of human character in general.

Let us take, for instance, the case of a vast mob of enthusiasts, inspired like one man, with a single purpose, such as the destruction of the Bastille, we will say, or the condemning the arrest of Mr. Parnell. Now it is plain that no member of either of the mobs in question, could completely explain his presence in it, by any personal confessions of his own. The Bastille fell from causes which its direct destroyers were unconscious of. Mr. Gladstone is cheered or hissed under exactly the same conditions. Events and circumstances are involved in each case, which may perhaps be traced out by the scientific historian, but which are utterly invisible and unknown to the actors. Indeed, these last, in their joint action, may be exemplifying a recondite law, whose very existence is yet undreamed of. But though in looking at such events in a broad scientific light, the confession of a single mobsman would be of very little use to us, there are two points to remember.

A mob collects and acts, we say, owing to certain remote causes, and in obedience to a certain law. Let us admit that. But in the first place, be the law never so general, and the causes never so minute, the law exists, and the effect follows the causes, only in virtue of each mobsman being a man of certain character. In a mob of twenty thousand men, there are twenty thousand characters, twenty thousand sets of motives working; and the conduct of the mob is the exact resultant of these. We are accustomed, it is true, to ignore this fact in language. We speak of a mob as though it were really a single animal. We say that it got excited, that it was appeased, or that it did this or that.



But we speak thus for the sake of convenience only. What we mean is, that twenty thousand men got excited at the same moment, that they were appeased at the same moment, or that they did this or that in concert; and they acted in such a way because they were severally of such and such characters, and because each man, owing to certain causes, was glad or angry, or hopeful or despairing.

Now, here comes the grand point to remember: no two men have the same history; no two men have the same moral character, and the character is therefore different of each of our twenty thousand mobsmen. In spite, however, of such differences in character, we have a complete unanimity of action. Now, to what can this be due? It must be due to the fact that our supposed twenty thousand characters have, in spite of their differences, certain points on which they all agree; indeed, it is only in virtue of such agreement that their joint action is possible. Let us consider the point farther. Of all these thousands of men each man has his own separate temperament, his own separate interests. The passions that direct him as a mobsmen may be quite dormant in private life: and any two out of the number, under ordinary circumstances, might seem contrasted rather than similar characters; they might indeed be so. But when they all act together for one common purpose, all other countless differences disappear for the time being; they cancel out, as it were, leaving nothing but points of agreement; and the mob becomes virtually a single organism, whose strength or weakness is as some multiple of its parts.

Now, here are the exact conditions required for scientific observation. What is before us is the action, not of any special characters, but of average human character, when formed and excited by certain antecedents and circumstances. As Buckle says, "all casual disturbances have been eliminated," and "the law remained a conspicuous residue," or at least the facts remain out of which a law may be formulated.

I have mentioned the case of a mob merely because it is a familiar example, and may help to introduce the conception that I wish to make familiar, the conception of a science of character; but I have got to state explicitly the first broad fact which such a conception presupposes, namely, that just as in a mob, men for the time being are influenced by the same motives, and have virtually the same character, so in all human society a similar thing holds good. In other words, despite the infinite idiosyncrasies of men, there is a character common to all of them. Under every difference there is a residue of entire sameness; there is such a thing, in short, as *the common human character*, which is as proper a subject for scientific study as are the mental processes which are the subject-matter of logic. Just as logic is the science of the laws of thought, so is the science I speak of the science of the laws of action. Of course this *common character* is an abstraction, in a way in which the *common mind* is not. We all think alike; we do not all act alike. We



shall all add up with the same result the figures in a tailor's bill ; we shall not all add up with the same result the inducements to incur or pay it. And for this there is an obvious reason. The action of the mind is entirely independent of circumstances, while the action of character is, within limits, entirely at their mercy. This fact, however, does not in the least make against what I am urging ; for all the numberless varieties in question come from quantitative varieties of the same collection of elements.

Let us pause here for a moment ; and for the sake of complete clearness, let us consider what we mean by *character*. We may express this in either of two ways : we may say that we mean by it *susceptibility to motive*, or we may say that we mean by it the *development and the organization of impulse*. We mean by a man's character, the proportion of force exerted on him by indolence or activity, by ambition or pride or envy, by selfishness or by sympathy, and so on ; and what I am now insisting on is, that though this proportion is different in each man, yet it varies according to certain laws and only within certain limits ; that is so far as the events of history are like each other, the same forces of character have gone to causing them ; and that the connection between the two can be established on a scientific basis. For instance, whenever a nation has emerged from barbarism into civilization, when wealth has been accumulated or distributed, when aristocracies have gained power, or when the masses have tried to deprive them of it, all these events are the product of the action of human character ; in so far as they repeat themselves, they are the product of the same action, and the laws of this action are ascertainable. Let us take the following proposition, for instance : *All progress is due to the ambition or the covetousness of a minority*. Now this proposition, or something very like it, has been often proposed and often quarrelled over already. But the way in which it has been thus dealt with has been essentially an unscientific way. It has been dealt with as a matter of opinion—as a subject for sagacity, or shrewdness, or general wisdom ; not as a question for strict scientific inquiry, which conceivably, at least, is capable of being decided absolutely. I am not here discussing whether the above proposition be true. I am merely insisting that, supposing it to be true, it can be established as a truth of science, and that all the larger phenomena of human progress can be connected with character in an equally rigid way.

If any inference is to be drawn from the facts brought before us by statisticians—by such facts as those that Buckle dwells upon—surely the above inference is inevitable ; or rather we may say that it is not an inference from such facts at all, but only the reverse side of them. Character repeats itself in the same way, and in the same degree, that acts repeat themselves. The former is implied by the latter.

That the truth of this has not been realized hitherto is due partly to its being such a very obvious truth. That some sort of sameness exists in human character, is one of the first assumptions on which all



conduct is based. We assume it whenever we offer a cabman some extra payment in order that he may drive us quicker; and we could at any moment multiply such instances indefinitely. The instance of the cabman, however, is enough here; let us glance for a moment at that. Out of the mass of London cabmen, we might, of course, find individuals who would not drive us quicker for any extra payment. Ill-temper, or drunkenness, might stand in the way; or the horse might be so lame that it could do no more than hobble; or so fresh that it would naturally go its quickest. But, taking the cabmen as a body, and eliminating all casual disturbances, the following law "remains as a conspicuous residue," that their speed, beyond a certain limit, is proportionate to their expectation of payment. Now common sense, and common experience, tell us this; and we reach the conclusion so readily, that we overlook the fact that it is a genuine scientific generalization. Such, however, it undoubtedly is, though to understand it fully, it must be taken with many others; and in the same way, in our more trivial thoughts and actions, we are arguing from generalizations of an equally scientific nature. In other words, the science of human character is, to some extent, unconsciously mastered by all of us; we unconsciously ascribe to its truths a general and scientific validity. If this be so, it may be asked, "Why go through the ceremony of studying it? Has not common sense instructed us in it already?" And to this comes the old answer, that science is common sense organized, and our common sense on these matters has to be organized still. We know much about human conduct; but there is much about which we are still ignorant; and our ignorance is daily betraying itself in the most momentous questions that are before us. Take, for example, the question of moral conduct. What a number of theories rival schools are maintaining! The theologian takes one view of the matter, the positivist takes another; and each of these views implies, in its last analysis, certain conflicting generalizations as to the action of human character. In the domain of politics, this is still more apparent. The socialist and the defender of property, the advocate of equality and the advocate of inequality, all rest their views on certain implied, propositions as to the action of human impulses, and the degree to which they are capable of being modified. But these propositions, so far from having been verified, have never even been formulated, and placed together. They remain hidden in the fog of semi-conscious implication. Buckle himself remarks this in a note, though he never follows up the train of thought suggested by it. "A man," he says, "after reading everything that has been written on moral conduct and philosophy, will find himself nearly as much in the dark as when his studies first began. The most accurate investigators of the human mind have hitherto been the poets, particularly Homer and Shakespeare; but these extraordinary observers mainly occupied themselves with the concrete phenomena of life; and if they analyzed, as they probably did, they have concealed the steps of the process, so that now we can only verify their conclusions empirically."



And it will be found, I think, that the ignorance here mentioned, is one of the chief causes of the present social ferment. To a very great extent all parties are fighting in the dark—Radical and Conservative equally. Neither can account scientifically for whatever faith is in them. The Radical attacks the Conservative, *assuming* that equality is desirable. The Conservative attacks the socialist, *assuming* that property is sacred. But each side assumes the very thing that it ought to prove. It assumes certain propositions with regard to human character and human capability; and it never seeks to verify these propositions by any method that has ever been known to science. Such an initial study is of equal importance to every side. On this common ground, not of opinion, but of fact and evidence, every side might meet, and go together for at least a part of their journey. Numberless differences, by which politicians and social reformers are now divided, would then be impossible. They would be laid to rest by the compelling power of demonstration; and a change would be produced in the world of practical politics, analogous to that produced by the study of political economy. It would be the same in kind, and far greater in degree.

One of the causes why the science of character has been overlooked, has been the fact, as I have said already, that many of its truths are so obvious. But there is another cause also, which I shall now proceed to mention. Law, it is said, arises because of transgression. A crime is not prohibited until it has been committed by some one. The same thing is true in theology. The Church does not define its truths till some heretic definitely denies them. In the same way, too, the science of character has been hitherto neglected, because, in so far as its general truths are concerned, nearly all the civilized world has, till lately, been in agreement. It has been needless to formulate what was never doubted. But during the present century all this has been changing. The conception of human progress has been growing more vivid, if not distincter; and countless schemes for improving the structure of society have been exciting and dividing men throughout the whole of Europe. Social phenomena, which are as old as the oldest civilization, which have always reproduced themselves wherever men rose from savagery, and which were once, though not hailed as blessings, at all events accepted as necessities, are now in some quarters declared to be quite removable, and the blind passions of the ignorant are being industriously excited against them. This statement does not apply only to the extreme section of Nihilists, or German Socialists. The same unsettled views as to the possibilities of human nature, are to be found in a less degree amongst our English Radicals; nor when we recollect that the chief of the phenomena in question is inequality, will the remark be unintelligible. The question, therefore, now is being daily brought before us, how far are certain things removable, which a certain set of men are clamouring to have removed? How far, for instance, can we remove social inequality? and, if we remove it, what else must we remove with it?



Now, to a man like Buckle, these were not practical questions at all; and the way he touches on them is very significant. Thus the following passage is a case in point. "In every country," he says, "as soon as the accumulation of wealth has reached a certain point, the produce of each man's labour becomes more than sufficient for his own support: it is therefore no longer necessary that all should work, and there is formed a separate class, the members of which pass their lives for the most part in the pursuit of pleasure; a very few, however, in the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge." Now this passage—and there are several, though not more than several like it—is introduced by him as though it were almost a parenthesis. It is introduced as a connecting link between his discussions of two subjects, and he aims in it, not at informing the reader of doubtful matter, but merely as reminding him of something that was not only well known, but completely understood already. Why a "separate class is formed, the members of which pass their lives for the most part in the pursuit of pleasure," or why such a class, though always a small minority, has always existed in every civilized community, this Buckle never inquires—it never even seems to have occurred to him that it was a possible subject for inquiry; and thus it is that he has overlooked the necessity for a science of character. Had he lived in the present day he would have seen things differently. He would have seen that a mass of propositions, which to him seemed so undoubted that there was no need even to analyze them, were being unconsciously ignored in many places, and being openly denied in others; and the promise or the danger implied in these views would have forced him to apply himself to a scientific study of them. Instead of accepting the patent historical fact that all civilizations hitherto have been based on social inequality, he would have inquired carefully into the exact causes of it, and have tried to ascertain how far these causes could be modified.

Had it occurred to him to do this, the materials he has already collected would have brought him, not to the science of character, but at all events to the threshold of it; they would have brought him, that is, to the first general proposition which the believer in the science is required to assent to, and which at once explains its scope, and shows its possibility. That proposition is this: the structure of society is the outcome of the structure of human character. Let a society be what it will, let wealth and power be distributed in it as they may, its structure at any given period is dependent on, or is rather the expression of, the character of the men comprising it. Let this fact once be fully realized, and a significant rebuke is conveyed to a number of modern theorists. Let us take the celebrated saying, for instance, "that inequality is the source of all social misery, and that our aim must be, therefore, to do away with inequality." Now this doctrine may be true, or it may not be true; but the men who begin with maintaining it, begin at the wrong place. The scientific way of beginning is as follows:—whatever exists in society, or whatever has existed, has been the outcome, has been the expression,



of human character. Whatever features in society have been most permanent, or have most constantly reproduced themselves, have expressed the most permanent features in human character. Of such social features one of the most permanent has been inequality; therefore inequality is the effect, or the expression of something that has been most permanent in human character itself; and thus the complete statement of the great radical thesis would be, not that the source of all social misery is inequality, but that the source of all social misery is the human character, or at least certain elements in it. And the full statement of this radical programme of progress is, not that inequality must be done away with, but that human character must be altered.

The value or the fatuity of any great scheme of progress will never be understood until it is clearly recognized that this, in the long run, is what is involved in all of them. They all depend on our powers of altering the human character—of eliminating or reducing some motives, and of strengthening others; of creating a new balance of impulse within the average man.

Now in supposing such a change possible, there is no *primâ-facie* absurdity. Although the first thing that we assume in action is the uniformity of human character, the first thing that strikes us in observation is its diversity. We see it not only diverse in different people, but in different nations, and at different epochs. We see changes in the average character, in which whole nations and epochs share. One of the best-marked examples of this is the change that has been either caused or expressed by Christianity, and which has been co-extensive with the entire civilized world. This of itself will be quite enough to remind us how greatly human nature is capable of being modified, and how naturally the hope may suggest itself that it may be modified yet further. The scientific thinker, however, should not be content with natural hopes. He must know that many things are impossible that at first sight seem almost inevitable, and that some plausible expectations are often the most misleading. This is especially the case in a question like the present, where the point at issue is, not whether a certain thing can be done or not done, but whether it can be done or not done to a certain or given extent. Human nature can be modified; we all know that. What we want to know is how far can the process be carried; and this is a point which none of the philosophers of progress has ever yet investigated in any scientific way. The whole inquiry, let me once again repeat it, is still a missing science, and the more clearly we realize the questions that the science will deal with, the more clearly shall we realize that they have never been dealt with hitherto.

The first of these questions is the one that is now before us. We have here two broad facts to deal with, admitted on all sides. The human character, from the earliest age, has been in some points like what it is at present; in some points it has been continually changing.



Here there is traced clearly out for us the scope of our first inquiry. What are the elements that have changed, and what have remained permanent? Men, for instance, have changed in their views of various pursuits, such as those of peace and war. Sometimes glory has most excited them, sometimes gain. What we have to ask is, what is the nature of the inner difference that is represented by this outward difference? Does it represent a character really changed by circumstances, or only re-directed? In it many do either one thing or the other, or both in a certain proportion. Thus a nation might refrain from war and devote itself to commerce, because its temper had grown milder and less bloodthirsty: or it might else do so because, having always fought out of cupidity, it now saw in commerce more hope of acquisition than in war. Thus in the one case we should have a quality—that of fierceness—really modified; in the other case we should have a quality—cupidity—displayed, indeed, in a different way, but not really modified at all. And thus under all the changes that history presents to us, we shall see in human character these two facts or processes: on the one hand, certain qualities being developed, diminished, or even practically done away with; on the other hand, other qualities remaining through every change, and so far as we can tell incapable of any modification. In other words the character of the human animal varies indefinitely within certain limits, but within limits only; and here is our first problem distinctly marked out for us—the *limits of the variations of human character*.

Wide and important as this inquiry is, it will not, I think, form a difficult one, unless we are fastastic in our hopes and wishes for exactitude, and this will appear plainly when we consider how numerous are the materials for it. These materials, of course, embrace history, and the other sources of information that Buckle has so forcibly dwelt upon; but the important point is that they embrace two others that Buckle has altogether omitted—I mean, psychology and biography.

The first psychological facts that it is needful to bear in mind are few in number, but they are of the most vital importance. We shall not have to argue about them, or attempt any new discoveries; they are admitted so universally that they seem to be almost truisms. They relate solely to the laws of desire, of will, and action, and require our adhesion to no disputed doctrine.\* But the strange thing is, that with all this knowledge at their feet, political and social theorists have made no use whatever of it, but have formulated their most popular doctrines in direct defiance of it. I have given an instance of this fact elsewhere already.† I cited the celebrated dictum of Karl Marx,

\* It does not seem to me that our belief in a Science of Character would be affected one way or the other by our belief as to free-will. It is admitted, I conceive, on all hands, that our only thinkable freedom is not a power of acting without motive, but of intensifying some one motive, out of a given number offered to us: and, therefore, the limits of its variations would be calculable; or, if on any points they were not so, we should be able to define these points, and thus know the outlines of our own uncertainty.

† "Civilization and Equality:" CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, October, 1881, p. 657.



that the source of all wealth is labour ; and pointed out how completely is here ignored the very first truth of psychology, that the source of all labour is motive. I say this truth is ignored : but more than this, it is implicitly contradicted. It is not contradicted as a rough general statement, but, as stated with any precision, Marx's doctrine does contradict it. If he knows anything about human action at all, the psychologist knows this, not only that motive is the cause of all action, but that between the two there is the most exact relationship, and that a man's active life is simply the expression of his motives. The psychologist knows, further, that there is no motive of any kind possible that is not the exact result of certain antecedent facts ; and thus wherever wealth has been produced, it has been really the product of a certain set of motives, which have themselves been the product of a certain condition of society. And hence, if anything thinkable is meant by the doctrine, that the source of all wealth is labour, what is meant is an unscientific falsehood. The doctrine can only mean that to produce wealth nothing more is needed than strength and manual dexterity, whereas the truth is that of themselves, these two causes are powerless. They both of them depend for their effects, and one for its very existence, on an entire system of motives ; and this system, if we would understand the production of wealth, is the first thing that it is really requisite to study. The necessity of labour is of course a truth, and a truth that lies upon the surface ; but what the scientific inquirer should aim at, is to make such superficial facts transparent. We presume that he sees them, what we require is that he should see through them ; and no true understanding of those matters will be possible till we cease to fix our attention upon labour, and turn it, instead, to motive. Had Marx substituted for *labour* the expression *the organization of labour*, his doctrine would have been nearer the truth than it is at present, but it would have been only a step nearer. To make it of any use, in any scientific inquiry, we must regard the source of wealth, not as the organization of labour, but the *organization of motive*. Nor is this to be said of wealth only ; it applies equally to the whole range of civilization. Civilization, in its last analysis, is the organization of motive.

That this is an absolute fact, incapable of being denied or doubted, must be plain to everybody, the very moment he considers it. Civilization, in a secondary way, depends on many other things besides this, but it is this primarily ; and it is in this light that, for scientific purposes, we must first exclusively consider it. Man without motive is a mere lifeless mass of matter. Motive is the sole source of everything we call human life. It is the omnipotent, the omnipresent creator : "It weaves for man the garment we know him by." And yet, plain as this fact may seem, it has been persistently passed over ; it has been implicitly contradicted by nearly every modern thinker who has speculated on the evolution of society. In some cases, no doubt, it has been



glanced at. Buckle often glanced at it, but he never did more than this; he never saw or gave it its right place; he never studied it scientifically or systematically; and until it is treated in this way, it might as well not be treated at all.

Such is my primary meaning when I name psychology as one of the chief studies needful for the understanding of human character. But there is another question, to which at a later stage we shall have to apply it also. I refer to the action of the egoistic and the altruistic motives. Of these in the present day we hear a great deal, and writers of the Positive school, who dwell much on the progress of humanity, invite us to look forward to a complete re-adjustment of the two. To estimate the value of this view of the matter, we must first do what such writers never have done,—we must make an accurate study of the psychology of unselfishness. Having thus satisfied ourselves what varieties in the operation of motive are conceivable, we shall then turn to history, to inquire what changes in the average character we have reason to believe possible. At present, however, I am observing this by the way; and I only wish to insist broadly on the position to be given to *motive*; that it is through *motive* that we must approach action; and that it is in terms of motive we must try to express action.

This brings us back to a fact which I have already noticed, and which Buckle and thinkers of his school persistently—I might almost say wilfully—overlook. Motive acts upon the individual only. In the joint action of masses there is no fusion except metaphorically; what there is, is coincidence. In the case of a million men there are a million wills concerned, each as distinct and separate as the million pairs of legs; and no matter how wide a view we flatter ourselves we are taking, this fact remains. A wide view may be as necessary as a near view, but the details revealed of the latter do not seem to exist, because they are lost to us, when we take the former. Hence comes the importance of that second class of materials—namely, those supplied by biography. Let me dwell upon this farther.

When I speak of biography in this connection, I am not thinking only of Lives and Memoirs, I am thinking also of those countless glimpses of personal conduct of which history is full; and a part of my meaning I should perhaps express better if, instead of biography, I said a biographical view of history. When we read, for instance, of any popular tumult, of how the passions of the people were roused, and how they at last were pacified, the chief question we should try to keep before us is the average of popular character that is implied in these occurrences. Thus if we see the populace in question to have been patient under insult, but impatient under heavy taxation, we shall draw one conclusion; if the opposite was the case, we shall draw another; and there are enough cases in which this can be done with accuracy, to present us with materials for many important gene-



realizations. Still, it is to biography in the common sense of the word that we shall have to turn principally; and the details are preserved to us of a sufficient number of lives to enable us to draw certain general conclusions from them. The following circumstance also adds to their value: biographies have been rarely written of men who have not in some way or other distinguished themselves. The facts, therefore, that we are thus supplied with are facts as to human character in its most pronounced developments; and we can reason from those to the more ordinary manifestations of it. If we would study, for instance, the patriotic passion in man, we must study the biographies of the patriots; if we would study sanctity, we must study the biographies of saints. Or, again, if we would study the spirit of democracy, we must study the biographies of leaders of the people. When a man has preached unselfishness, we must see how far he himself has practised it; or where he has tried to excite others to a passion for equality, we must see what his exact motives have been, and if in his own person he has shown no desire for inequality.

This last example is so extremely pertinent that I shall dwell a little longer on it. Social equality, as we all know, is the watchword, nowadays, of a certain party of thinkers. Now these men assume three things as to equality: firstly, that the mass of mankind desire it; secondly, that they can attain to it; and, thirdly, that having attained it, they will keep it, and that civilization will continue, and will continue to advance, in consequence. How should these views be treated? Of their opponents, some try ridicule, some try indignation. Those that advance them, use loose rhetoric, confident assertion, and broken fragments of science, that are worse than no science at all. None of these ways are of any value whatever. If we are really anxious to discover the truth of things, the right proceeding is this: let us apply to history and biography, and let us read each of these in the light thrown by the other. Let us take all the most prominent men who have been apostles of equality, and have incited others to struggle for it, and examine their lives carefully; let us note the exact circumstances which led them to undertake their apostleship; let us ask if they were embittered by any disappointed ambitions, or if their zeal in the democratic cause was at all heightened by persecutions at the hands of the Government. Let us ask if it were due to spite, or envy, or, above all, to a longing on their own part to possess personal power. Let us connect it with its motives, with its conditions; let us compare it, in all the cases within our reach, and in this way we shall arrive, with sufficient diligence, at certain general truths. Did any man, who was above the level of the lowest, ever genuinely desire social equality? If he did, under what conditions did he; and are those conditions such as would exist in a perfect society? If the prophets of equality have any ground for their doctrines, it is to be found in answers to questions such as these. If there is any meaning in stating that a thing will



be, it must be certainly based on the fact that some approach to it has been. The cases of this approach must be capable of being pointed out to us; the circumstances involved in it must be capable of being estimated. There is no question here for fine sentiment or for eloquence. What we want is calm research, sifting and comparing of facts, and an apathetic putting together of whatever they shall be seen to teach us. If we find that certain men have honestly desired equality, that they have desired it under circumstances that conceivably may become universal, and that thus desiring it they are still useful citizens, then we shall be at least reasonable in thinking some new social organization possible: it will imply no inconsistency with the structure of the human character. On the other hand, our researches may lead us to a quite opposite conclusion. They may show us that out of all these cases in which equality seems to have been aimed at, what was aimed at really was some disguised self-aggrandisement, or the gratification of class hatred, the former of which would be incompatible with equality, whilst the latter would cease with its achievement. Or, again, we may find that if, in any case, the love of equality has been genuine, it has been genuine only in the case of indolent and weak men, who though they may wish society well, are incapable of advancing its interests. Should such be the class of facts our observations revealed to us, we might look to arriving legitimately at some such law as the following: that a man's public influence, whether for good or evil, is proportionate to his own ambition, or to his desire, in other words, to assert his own superiority. But we must not pause here. This law would plainly be conditioned by others, relating to the differences between good influences and evil. Thus when the influence has been for good, we should find united with ambition a sense of duty or benevolence; and we should have to gather, from all the examples before us, the common terms of this union and its common characteristics. With regard to this we might arrive at some such law as the following: that when a man does any useful work, there are always involved in it two sets of motives; the one being an interest in the work itself, the other the desire just mentioned, of asserting his own superiority. We might arrive too at the yet further law, that this latter motive is invariably essential to the former, and that though there are many cases in which it is not its cause, it is still a necessary concomitant. Thus, a good servant would not do work without wages; and yet his pride is his work, and his willingness to do it would be due to other motives besides his desire for payment. The two sets of motives are each essential to the other, but they are not identical; and in attributing the good service to either the one or to the other, we should be guilty of a scientific falsehood. With regard to an attached servant, these facts are so homely and familiar, that they sound like mere truisms. What I contend is that in all service, be it never so various, there is implied a precisely similar operation of character, from the case of a faithful butler to that of a patriotic



politician, and that, after getting rid of all casual disturbances, we shall find the law remaining "a conspicuous residue."

And, having arrived at such laws, what will they teach us practically? How shall we be able to apply them to the common facts of life, and is there any single case in which they will enable us to predict the future? The answer to these questions must be given carefully. The laws we are considering are wide laws; and the deductions drawn from them are applicable only to wide events. They will not enable us, for instance, to predict what any single man will do, because in no single case can we be sure of the whole conditions. A man, for instance, may have some great trouble in store for him, or some great temptation, which will influence his whole future conduct. We can never be sure about that. But about troubles and temptations in general we can be sure; and thus in dealing with men in general our position is quite different. But even here we must not expect too much. We must not delude ourselves with dreams of any gift of historical prophecy. In some cases, no doubt, we shall be able to see ahead, and to predict more or less precisely within certain narrow limits. But the chief result to be hoped for from the study of the laws in question, is to learn, not what such and such a nation will do at a given time, but to learn what things no nation can ever do at any time. It is, to learn the bounds of the possible—the bounds within which we must learn to confine at once our efforts and our aspirations. Here is a parallel case from another branch of inquiry: it is a demonstrable fact that a perpetual motion is impossible; but the line of argument that leads us to this truth tells us nothing of the plans for generating motion that are possible; it merely shows us that a certain class of attempts must fail; these excepted, any number may be successful. And it is thus with the science of character. It will not show all the ways in which society can be organized; nor will it show us any of the ways in which it is likely that it will be organized; but it will show us that there are certain ways in which it neither can nor will be: and it will show us this because, as I have said already, it will show us the limits within which human character can vary.

Negative as such conclusions would be, he is very much mistaken who thinks them insignificant. Their practical importance, at the present moment, would be incalculable; and, according to their tenor, they would form an instant accession of strength to either the Radical or the Conservative party. Supposing, for instance, it were ever proved scientifically that social inequality were a necessary condition of progress, that the formation of equality would mean the destruction of civilization, and that it would be followed directly by the re-appearance of inequality: supposing, I say, this one fact were proved—proved as being led up to by a rigid process of induction, so that no one any longer could gainsay its truth, it is easy to see what a vast effect would be produced by it. It would completely revolutionize the current conceptions of progress, and would paralyze the power of what is called the democratic spirit.



The doctrine of equality would become an exploded figment ; and education would be so arranged as to check the desire for it : whilst its present apostles would be regarded as social alchemists, who, had they only been given their way, would have blown up society, in the visionary hope of transmuting it. In that case, just as alchemy paved the way for chemistry, for the latter was only possible when the former was cast aside, so our social alchemy would give place to a true science of progress, which, instead of trying to make things what they never can be, would do its best to perfect a structure which can never radically be altered.

I am not at present asking the reader to assent to any of these supposed generalizations. I am merely giving them as specimens of the sort of truths and the sort of practical result, to which a Science of Character would conduct us. At the same time I may observe that, as a matter of fact, they are themselves either actual truths of the science, or else their converse is. Between these alternatives the study of the science must decide. I shall now proceed to inquire more in detail by what steps it will do so ; and I shall give more specimens of the class of generalizations we must work towards.

In this direction, thus far, we stand at the following point. We have seen that the great question to which we have to address ourselves is, *the limits of the variation of human character* ; but this question is a wide one, and divides itself into many others. I cannot hope, on an occasion like the present, to classify these exhaustively ; all that I can attempt is, to indicate roughly the most important, and equally roughly to indicate their relationship.

First, then, I conceive, stands the question of Selfishness and Unselfishness ; and this must be studied in three distinct lights—the psychological, the biographical, and the historical. We must consider the uniform action of the human mind, the varying action of the human character, and again the core of uniformity at the centre of this variation. The following are examples of the kind of conclusions to be looked for, their actual truth being for the present purpose unimportant.

No action is possible, unless prompted by some form of self-interest ; indeed, *self-interest* is but another name for *motive*. Motives however are various ; therefore self-interest is of various kinds. The commoner form is the desire for fame, power, or riches, and except in a few special cases, this desire is essential to the production of any public beneficence. When the beneficence is confined to a smaller circle, other causes come into play. We have to deal with affection, with good nature, with family pride, and with class feeling ; and self-interest by each of these is conditioned in a certain way. Thus, in the case of family pride, it is merely a case of extended egotism—of an egotism which is capable of being extended thus to a certain degree, but to a certain degree only. All this the inquirer will have to note ; but for the present it will be enough if we consider public beneficence only. Now it will be found that there are three classes of action which are of good to the world at



large, and which are apparent exceptions to the doctrine of self-interest. I refer to artistic production, to the search for knowledge, and to the inculcation of religious or moral goodness. And these are not apparent exceptions only, to some extent they are real ones. The question is, to what extent? The religious motive it will take too long to discuss, so we will let that pass. We will only touch upon the artistic and the scientific motives. Now, no one will for a moment deny that there is a delight to the artist in the very fact of production; and that there is a delight to the man of science in the very fact of discovery. Indeed, when the one is painting a great picture, or the other discovering a new planet, there is nothing, probably, of self-interest present to the consciousness of either. This however goes for little. Let us try an experiment. Let another artist claim the picture, let another astronomer claim the discovery of the planet, and the indignation of the injured parties will afford a singular revelation to us. It will show us that in each case, though at the time it was unsuspected, there was self-interest working, and giving life to the other motives. The artist feels not only that a great picture is being painted, but he feels, "It is I that am painting it;" and the astronomer feels similarly, "It is I that am discovering this planet." Thus some form of self-interest is essential to all great deeds, and the deeds are great in proportion to its character and vitality. What remains to be considered, so far as this point is concerned, is the relation between the various forms of self-interest, and the scope of the actions produced by them; and with regard to this point, some such laws as the following will be found to hold good.

We shall find that whereas the self-interest proper to art, science, or philosophy, is concerned merely with prestige, all other forms of self-interest are concerned with political power, with riches, and with material elevation; and we shall find a corresponding difference in the social results produced by these two classes of motive. We shall find that the more abstract, or, as we may call it, the purer form, never produces results that are of direct popular benefit. It produces discoveries, but it does not produce inventions; it may lead to the understanding of economic laws, but it will never lead to the establishment of any special trade or manufacture; it may produce a great architect, but it will never produce a builder; it may lead men to form theories of government, but it will never produce an active and successful statesman. If we pursue this train of observation further, we shall be led to some conclusion very much like this: that the nature of the self-interest involved in beneficent action, is in relation to two things—the directness and the extent of the social benefits conferred by it. The more abstract is the motive, the less direct, and probably the more wide, is the benefit. The more direct is the benefit, the more concrete is the motive; and the wider is the direct benefit, the greater must be the magnitude of the motive. We may illustrate this by a very familiar



example—the discovery and the application of gunpowder ; with regard to which we will take three cases. Friar Bacon discovered it, Lord Nelson, let us say, and a common marine, applied it. Now the self-interest proper to the discoverer is essentially an abstract self-interest. It is little more than the identification of the ego with the fact of a great achievement. The self-interest proper to the admiral has for its object certain material splendour—all that is implied in the celebrated exclamation, “Victory, or Westminster Abbey!” Lastly, the self-interest proper to the marine may be little more than his pay, or the securing to himself a certain mode of living. The two last motives we may consider as the same in kind ; their chief difference is their magnitude ; and this corresponds to the difference in the extent of the results in question. The results achieved by each separate marine extended only over his own immediate neighbourhood ; whereas on the Admiral depended the entire conduct of the engagement.

The above allusion to the heroism of Lord Nelson, may be a good occasion to protest against a possible misconception of my meaning. A hasty or intemperate reader may conceive the above argument to reduce all great deeds to mere selfish ambition, or cupidity. Such, however, is in no way its tendency. To ascribe Nelson’s gallantry to a mere hunger for rank or honour, would, in the opinion of most men, be to take a very low view of it. Whether it would be a low view or not, is of absolutely no importance ; but what is of importance is, that it would be a manifestly false view. All I maintain is, not that self-interest was Nelson’s only motive, nor is it even to the point to maintain that it was the chief motive. All that is maintained is that the motive was present, that in the production of such conduct as Nelson’s its presence was an absolute necessity ; and that without its presence on similar occasions, no similar conduct ever was or ever will be producible. Those who view these questions primarily through the medium of their feelings, may take comfort from the obvious reflection, that the selfishness does not degrade the heroism, but that the heroism transfigures the selfishness.

Having thus glanced at the problems concerned with selfishness, let us pass on to another set which I think come next in prominence. These are concerned with the facts, not of men’s social but of their physical and their mental inequalities ; of which facts there are certain ones so constant, and so universal in their recurrence, that no one can for an instant doubt them to be unalterable features in human nature. Foremost of these is the inequality in physical development, and in brain-power. There is an average always of strength and of intellect ; but there are always individuals who either fall below it, or who rise above it ; and the relationship of this latter minority to the rest, is one of the most important points in the history of human action and progress. It will be found—at least tentatively I may be allowed to say so—it will be found to be a universal law, that all progress, all advance from savagery, all permanent alleviation of human suffering, is accomplished



by the agency of the superior minority. Human nature can no more advance without its aid, than an individual man can walk without his left leg. Other conditions are needed too; I am not denying that. The thoughts of the minority, indeed, are conditioned by those of the majority. All that we need insist on is, that no matter how conditioned, the thoughts of the minority are necessary. The causes that led Columbus to plan the discovery of America, existed outside himself; but just as, in producing the result, they were necessary to him, so he, or some one like him, was just as necessary to them. These facts, and the true balance between them, one would think were plain enough: but it is curious that even acute thinkers continually fail to keep this balance even. Macaulay, for instance, handles the subject thus: "It is the age," he says, in the beginning of his essay on Dryden—"it is the age that forms the man, not the man that forms the age. Great minds do indeed react on the society that has made them what they are; but they only pay with interest what they have received." Such is his general statement, and with this we need not quarrel; but let us see how he goes on to reason from it. "The inequalities," he says, "of intellect, like the inequalities of the surface of the globe, have so small a proportion to the mass, that, in calculating its great revolutions, it may safely be neglected. The sun illuminates the hills, while it is below the horizon; and truth is discovered by the higher minds a little before it is manifest to the multitude. This is the extent of their superiority. They are the first to catch and reflect a light which, without their assistance must, in a short time, be visible to those who lie far beneath them." So reasons Macaulay, and the line of argument is by no means peculiar to him. But can anything be more monstrous, or, indeed, more at variance with the facts a moment before admitted? "Great minds do indeed react on the society that has made them what they are." In other words, the society thus reacted on, becomes what it is, in virtue of this reaction. It changes in a way in which, but for the great minds, it would not change. The great minds are a link in the chain of causes; and yet, with this fact before his very eyes, Macaulay compares such minds to hills in the early sunrise, which do but first catch a light that will soon be shining on everything. The whole point of the situation has been completely missed. The hills play no part in the transmission of daylight. In the transmission of knowledge the great minds do. Macaulay, indeed, explicitly justifies his confusion, by contradicting himself, and denying this last fact. Great minds, he says, do but hasten, by a little, the discovery of the truth, which, "without their assistance," the masses would find out for themselves. It is hard to conceive a statement at once more repugnant to common sense, and more flatly contradicted by history. What great truths, that have been first discovered by genius, could the masses have found out unaided? Would they have discovered America? Would they have discovered the law of gravitation? Would they have discovered the binomial theorem? or the distance of the earth from the sun?



How is it possible that any one of these things could be discovered by mankind generally? So far from being possible, it is barely even thinkable. Individual genius of some kind and degree has been always present and always essential in every advance ever made by man. Connected with this truth, is another much akin to it. Not only is no advance in civilization possible without the operation of some individual intellects, but no joint action of any kind is possible without individual leaders. Here, again, is something that seems a truism; but nevertheless it is worthy of our best attention. It was a truism to say that an apple would fall to the ground long before Newton discovered the law of gravitation; but it is one thing to recognize a fact in this way, it is quite another to recognize it as the embodiment of a special law; and the study of the science of character would give the particular fact before us a significance never discerned in it by our ordinary haphazard observation. It would do this in two ways. In the first place it would give an ordinary observation accuracy; in the second, it would give it universality. Unless our apprehension of a fact has these two characteristics, there is nothing stable about it. It is liable to be set aside by the contemplation of new circumstances, and we shall fail to see how, under changed aspects, it is essentially still unchangeable. Thus, in the present case, there are the following facts to be examined, which the unscientific observer can be only vaguely master of. Individuals lead and organize the joint action of masses, whether such action be battles, or political agitations, or revolutions, or voyages of discovery, from several distinct causes, which are inherent in the human character; and these causes we must learn to separate and distinguish. The first of these causes consists not in the leader's superiority, but simply in the fact that even were all men equal in intelligence, yet in any joint action a director would still be necessary to insure activity being simultaneous; just as on a railway it is necessary to have signal-men, with special powers of direction, although no special genius may belong to them. In other words, even were there in men no actual inequality, it would be necessary to create inequality whenever they were to act together. We may call this official inequality, and this is obviously an unalterable condition of every action or enterprise in which men assist each other. The second cause of the necessity for leadership consists in a different fact. The foregoing cause has reference to the organization of means; the second has reference to the discernment of ends; and just as official inequality is a necessary condition of the first, so is natural inequality a necessary condition of the second. Just as we must create or elect our overseer, so must we find our prophets. The following is a simple example. Amongst the common sailors who went on his first voyage with Columbus, we may easily suppose that there was a rough, natural equality; yet, when these men were raising the anchor, some one of the number had to time them at their work at the capstan. Any of the others might have done this equally well, because the end aimed at was



equally well-known to all, and, therefore, here is an example of pure official inequality. But with regard to the purpose of the voyage, we come to a different order of facts. The inequality of Columbus was natural, not official. He was the only man on board who could have performed his special function; and this superiority of his was not due to his official position; his official position was due to that. As to itself, it was due to causes which we can never even dream of fathoming; he was an example of the working of a law we shall never be able to explain. But we must not stop here. Though we can never explain the law, we can, with the utmost confidence, state it, and that law is this—that everywhere, and in every age, there are some men naturally superior to the generality, and that it is only through these that progressive action is possible. Why there are some men of genius, and only some, we can never know. We only know that it is so. It always has been, and, so far as we can tell, it always will be.

Here then, may be stated, are two of the conditions of joint action—official inequality and natural inequality; of which the one is the condition of all joint action whatever, the other the condition of all progressive joint action. I have no space here to pursue this particular subject further; but it will be found to divide itself into many further questions. Of these I may mention one of the most important. If we assent to the proposition that progress is only possible through individuals, we may see our way to at least defining broadly what are the elements of the incalculable in any particular movement. In all cases of public spirit or beneficence, self-interest is always allied with it; but though this general fact is a scientific certainty, it is a certainty only within limits. The exact nature of the self-interest depends on the character of the individual; and of a single character, as we have said already, there can be no science.

I shall now pass to a further point in human character, also connected with progress, and that is the laws that condition men's desire for it. Here, again, from the study of the science of human character, we shall arrive at certain universal truths, and these will be found to deal with such facts as the following. It will be found that there is a certain constant relation between the imagination and the reason, the former of which presents a certain thing, not yet present, as desirable; whilst the latter pronounces judgment as to the ease or difficulty of attaining it: and the human motive-power, available on any given occasion, is some resultant of these two. It is, according to the proportion that these bear to each other, that their practical outcome is either ambition or envy—that is, desire expressing itself in intelligent action, or desire expressing itself in unintelligent hatred.\* Thus a Parisian workman, who longs for wealth, and sees his way to attaining it, works hard, and in time becomes a capitalist. A Parisian workman who longs

\* Here is another question, useful as showing what a science of character would deal with—the question of the relationship of desire and hatred, and the conditions of their permutation.



for wealth, but who will not or cannot achieve it, becomes a Communist, and burns down the Tuileries. But, besides thus studying the relationship between the imagination and the reason, we must study the laws by which each of these is conditioned separately. Thus it will be probably found that the average imagination can never be in advance of reality beyond a certain distance. An instance of this may be seen in the construction of railway carriages, which were modelled upon the old stage coaches, and which, to this day, retain certain quaint traces of their origin. Slight as this fact may seem, it will be found, I think, to embody a universal law, which has regulated the most momentous changes mankind has ever known in the past, and which will continue to regulate them to the end of time in the future. A study of this question will throw further light on the relationship between the leaders of progress and the masses that are influenced by them. It would be probably found that one of the chief points in which such men of genius were exceptional, was in the range and the distinctness of their imagination; it would be probably found also that these qualities were in *some degree* capable of being imparted by the stronger to the weaker, and that herein lay one of the secrets of the influence of great leaders. This is not the place, however, for following out this inquiry further; indeed, my entire present object is to suggest problems, not to insist on any special solution of them, though I am obliged to give the solutions which seem, speaking broadly, the most probable.

I shall touch upon one more problem closely connected with the foregoing one, and that will be all I shall find space for. I have glanced just now at imagination in its bearings upon progress. Let us now glance at it in its bearings upon happiness. If we do so, we shall soon be convinced, I think, that what at first seems an absurdity, is, in reality, strictly possible. I mean that human happiness, within certain limits, can be made a subject of profitable scientific investigation, and can be shown to be regulated by certain universal laws. It will be well, however, to observe at starting that the happiness in question must be limited to certain elements. We must exclude from it whatever is religious, spiritual, or visionary, not because we despise these elements, or think the happiness they produce unimportant, but because, if they are studied at all, they must be studied separately, and this study must be preceded by that of the elements that are purely material. The sort of happiness, then, that we are here concerned with is the happiness that is dependent on material circumstance, and with regard to this, it will be generally found to be a law that, just as progress depends on the imagination being more or less in advance of our real condition, so does happiness depend on its being more or less limited by it. The happiness of two men, in two classes of society, is, of course, a thing that can never be accurately measured; but it can be measured quite accurately enough to let us come to some very decided conclusions about it.

One of these conclusions is this: that though, within certain limits, it



is increased by the increase of riches, the relation is by no means constant; nor is the latter, in any case, any desired measure of the former. Thus the attainment of a luxury or comfort, already desired or experienced, may, no doubt, increase happiness; but the mere absence of it, if it has been neither desired nor experienced, need not be a condition of a lower degree of happiness. Our pleasure in houses, in gardens, in furniture, in comfortable armchairs, and even in food, is all conditioned by the imagination, and by habits which the imagination influences. Indeed, so much is this the case that a chair or a sofa which, at one period may have seemed luxurious, will at another seem almost intolerable in discomfort. Decorations which at one time gave us pleasure, may by-and-by excruciate us; whilst food at a country inn may please a man, because it is better than he expected, which at his own table might disgust him, because it would be worse. In spite, however, of so much of our happiness being thus relative, there are certain conditions which are very nearly absolute; and these are a sufficiency of food, and, in hard climates, of fuel and clothing. Without these there can be no happiness or content; and the misery caused by a want of these has a most dangerous social effect on the character of those it touches. A science of character would yield many results as to this point, which would be of great importance to statesmen. It would yield, also, another kind, equally important to those engaged with more general questions. These last-named results would deal not with man under the influence of want, but man when in full possession of what is needful for a healthy animal life. How far, when he is in this condition, is want needful to make the average man work? Or in what degree will education supply him with motive? He will always work for food. If he wants a house, he will work to build one. What are the conditions that will make him do more than this? In estimating the capacities of human society for improving itself, this is a very important question; and for arriving at some conclusion on it, we have abundant materials. We have, for instance, the Esquimaux, the South Sea Islanders, and the Irish peasantry—all cases of men, each under different conditions, yet all of them exhibiting certain common features. All these are cases of human character, in which the only motive present is the satisfaction of the most inevitable appetite, and in which the appetites being satisfied, further industry is unproducible.

Here, again, we have been glancing at facts which may naturally seem like truisms, just as many of those did at which we glanced before. But here again the same thing holds good. They cease to be truisms when by a scientific study of them we apprehend them accurately, and apprehend them to be true universally. In considering the condition of a people, in considering how to treat them, and to educate them there can be nothing more needful, and there is nothing more completely wanting, than some scientific understanding of the general condition of happiness.



I shall hope before long to pursue this inquiry further. At present I must content myself, in conclusion, with a reiteration of two remarks on two of the foregoing subjects. One of these is that very difference I have this moment been speaking of, between the results of scientific inquiry and those of mere common shrewdness, or even those of what may be rightly called profound wisdom or sagacity. For this science of character the great mass of the materials may be before us at this moment, and take any of them separately, our ordinary common sense may be master of it. It may be impossible, perhaps, to select one that could be said to be unknown or new ; but what would be new would be the putting of these together. What would be new to our knowledge would be our taking stock of what we know. A man may have a room full of bills, every one of which he has seen a few times over ; but they may be all of them in a litter ; he may never have added them up, and he may have no notion whatever of the extent of his liabilities. With regard to human character we are much in the same condition ; there is room for an increase of knowledge equally great and practical.

I have further to insist again—and with this remark I shall end—that not only is there room for this increase of knowledge, but there are ample means for obtaining it. There are abundance of materials for a genuine science of character. Let us look where we will, over the whole face of the earth as it is at present, and through all the records of the past, and whenever and wherever we contemplate human action we shall see in the human character constant points of sameness. Not only shall we find men thinking in accordance with the same mental laws, but we shall find them to a certain extent loving alike, and hating alike. We shall find pain and pleasure, punishment and reward, honour and insult, love and jealousy, to be within limits the cause of similar actions ; and within still narrower limits, if we begin with the results of action, shall we be able to reason back to the class of motives that have caused them. Many people, when all this is urged upon them, will feel inclined to pass by it, saying, "Of course that is so," or "That is obvious," or "We all knew that before." But let us question them carefully. Let us ask them, What is of course ? What is obvious ? What they all knew before ? For instance, they may all have observed many cases of jealousy, and they may recognize in "Othello" an accurate representation of the passion ; but let us ask them to define in what points it is accurate, and they will be quite unable to tell us. They will be unable to abstract the general points of resemblance that underlie events, which the poet represents at Cyprus, and which they may have observed in South Kensington. And yet there the resemblance is ; they at once know it, and they do not know it, and in this composite state of knowledge and of ignorance, they at once admit the possibility of a scientific statement of the matter, and that they themselves at present are quite unable to make it.

W. H. MALLOCK.



## FAIR TRADE AND FREE TRADE: A DIALOGUE.

[Pliable is staying with Faithful, at the country-house of the latter.]

*Faithful.* Come, Pliable, let's go for a stroll and have a talk. You want, I know, to discourse on depression of trade, and air your new crotchet of a remedy; and I should be glad to hear what you've got to say on the subject.

*Pliable.* Nothing I should like better; for my mind is somewhat in a Slough of Despond at present, and I don't quite know on which side to scramble out. But doubtless, so soon as we begin to discuss the question of Fair and Free Trade, we shall get warm on the subject, and that will materially—according to custom—assist me to make up my mind on the side opposite to that which you take. It's something to make up one's mind, even if one makes it up the wrong way!

*Faithful.* I shall be happy to try to persuade you that the supposed lodestar which is attracting you is but a will-o'-the-wisp, which will but lure you on deeper and deeper into the mire.

*Pliable.* Pray remember this throughout the discussion, that I am as much a Free Trader as you are; but I don't like the present system of isolated or one-sided Free Trade; and my dream is that by retaliating on the foreigner we shall induce him to lay aside his unfair and selfish policy, and adopt the alternative scheme we offer—universal Free Trade. I am in no way advocating Protection, but propose a new and very different course, with the intent to enlarge the borders of Free Trade.

*Faithful.* Oh, of course, you're a Free-Trader! We're all Free-Traders however much we may disguise ourselves! But it strikes me that the handful of good seed which was sown on the stony Conservative ground took but slender root, and is in danger of withering away under the winds of adversity. Scratch a Conservative and you find a Protectionist. It's all very well for you to call your scheme a new idea; it seems to me to have a somewhat ancient and fish-like smell, as though it were merely the resurrection of a long buried body. How-



ever, I don't think you at least are one of those—too common, alas! just at present—who have an “open mind” on the subject of Fair Trade, who say they want proof of this or that—things are in a bad way—and that it may be all right, but still—&c., which merely means that they desire to sit a little longer on the rail, and wait to see which way the wind blows before they jump down.

*Pliable.* Don't get nasty and sarcastic; let's discuss the question without “epitaphs.”

*Faithful.* I also am anxious so to do; for it certainly is no argument to call a man a fool because he disagrees with you—even if he be one. Abusive language conduces neither to friendly feeling nor to conviction. And now as to the question itself—

*Pliable.* Stop a bit! To save time and breath I will grant you this, which, as far as I can make out, is allowed by—as you would say—“even” us Fair Traders—namely, that it would be suicidal to impose an import duty on what are called raw materials, that is, on articles, such as cotton, wool, &c., which we do not produce ourselves, and which we simply import in order to manufacture into goods for our own or foreign consumption. Moreover, for the moment, at all events, I will allow that articles of food must not be taxed. I am not quite sure that something might not be done in the matter—especially in the form of a Zollverein with the colonies—but the question is not at present within the range of practical politics. You Liberals, would I know, at elections make so much capital out of the small loaf and the big loaf, and depriving a poor man of his bread, as to make it hopeless to attempt to meet your ranting with argument.

*Faithful.* Very well, we eliminate then any question of a tax on raw materials, and on corn and other articles of food. Certainly since the expression of opinion of Sir S. Northcote and Lord Salisbury the other day, at Newcastle, when the former declared that he “did not advocate a five-shilling duty on corn, and never was in favour of it;” and the latter stated that “the food of the people and the raw materials of our industries must be held sacred” from a duty; and after what is known to be the decided opinions of the Liberal leaders, the imposition of a duty on articles of food is not an immediate question. The “pious opinion”—though, as Lord Holland said of what was described to him as a pious fraud, the opinion is plain enough, but where is the piety?—may of course gradually become an “article of faith,” and it will then have to be seriously controverted as heretical. The question, however, of placing reciprocal duties on foreign imports of manufactures, has, after the “pitch orthodoxy and formulas” speech of Lord Salisbury at Newcastle, the equally significant silence of Sir S. Northcote, and the trimming speeches of Conservatives all over the country, become a practical question which needs to be met and discussed fully and frankly.

*Pliable.* Just so. Now I would state our case concisely as follows: We say that the trade of England is seriously depressed; distress prevails



in many districts which were formerly flourishing; and trade is surely leaving England and fleeing abroad. That formerly other countries had to take our goods because they were unable to manufacture for themselves; but gradually, by means of protective duties, they have so fostered their industries as to be able now successfully to compete with us, not only in their own and the neutral markets, but in our home markets also. Moreover, we assert that so long as we rely on our so-called Free Trade, other nations will increase and prosper, while we, year by year, shall see our trade diminish.

No one but a simpleton would deny that Free Trade has been of great use to us in times gone by; it stimulated our trade and industries, and gave us access to, and increased powers of competition in, all the markets of the world. Such Free Trade is, however, only useful up to a certain point which we have already passed. It seems to me astonishing that you out-and-out Free-Traders were incapable of seeing the ultimate consequences which would inevitably result from the adoption of the Free Trade in which we rejoice. You are like the Bell-man, in the "Hunting of the Snark," who—

". . . . perplexed and distressed,  
Said he *had* thought at least when the wind blew due East,  
That the ship would *not* travel due West."

When we adopted a system of fiscal freedom, our manufactures and trades were properly established, they required no protection to set them going, but only Free Trade to stimulate their productiveness. Other nations were in a different position, and believed that the best means of enabling their traders and manufacturers to obtain a fair start, and prevent their markets from being flooded with our goods, was to protect and foster them; doubtless, somewhat at the expense of the consumer. Their policy has been thus far successful that they can now produce articles which they used to have to buy from us. They are allowed to compete with us on even terms in our markets, but refuse to permit us to compete with them on anything like an equal footing in their markets; and this we consider grossly unfair and injurious to our manufacturers.

We do not deny the advantages which would spring from Free Trade, if it were free and fair all round; nor yet do we deny that in the past, Free Trade, one-sided and unfair as it has been, has benefited us. With a fair field and no favour our traders would easily hold their own; our aim should therefore be to obtain the universal adoption of Free Trade—or as near Free Trade as possible—by ourselves retaliating on the foreigner who attacks our goods. That is, we must place heavy duties on imported manufactures, in order to induce or force other nations to receive our imports free of duty, as we receive theirs free of duty. In other words, we propose to fight the foreigner with his own weapons, until he cries, "Hold, enough!" No doubt there are evils connected with any tampering with the system of Free Trade. The present state of things cannot, how-



ever, be allowed to continue, for unless we can force our neighbours to act fairly by us, it must end in national bankruptcy, and that soon. After all, there is nothing so very retrograde or contrary to politics, economical principles in placing protective duties on imports; if it be done with the intent to extend Free Trade. In such a matter as this we may fairly do damage that advantage may accrue; evil that good may come. Political Economy must be tempered with sentiment; its dry bones must be vitalized by everyday experience and common sense.

Here, then, is my proposal. Let us place Protective duties on foreign imports of manufactures, and by these means retaliate on the foreigner for his protective and prohibitive tariffs directed against British goods, and force him to take off his duties. Let it be understood that, when he is ready to consent to our terms, we also will abolish our reciprocal duties.

*Faithful.* Your proposal is clear enough, and seems to have a considerable number of supporters; though I must say you Fair-Traders seem, as a rule, to find it very difficult to agree amongst yourselves on any one rational scheme.

Let us examine your proposal and your remarks somewhat in detail. In the first place then, while not denying that one would be glad to see the trade of England more flourishing than it is, I entirely deny that it is really in the prostrate condition you describe; and further, I would affirm that since the disastrous years 1876-8 our trade has been gradually reviving, and has now, again, almost reached the point from which it began to leap and bound backwards. I need not, I should think, enlarge on the causes which, quite irrespective of Free Trade or Protection, seriously crippled and injured our trade, and gave it such a blow that it has taken years to recover.

*Pliable.* Yes, of course, I know to what you are referring; and I grant the overtrading and speculation of the fat years, the reckless re-investment of profits in business as if the roaring times would last for ever, and the consequent great and unnecessary increase of plant and production; our folly in lending millions to pauper and dishonest States, which millions also for the moment assisted unhealthily to inflate our trade; and above all, the dead loss to the country, computed at about 150 millions, which has arisen from lack of sun during the last few years; a loss which has necessarily re-acted injuriously on other industries.

*Faithful.* Yes, these and other reasons, to which, without entering on any controversial point, I must add the fact that Europe and other parts of the world have for some years past been distracted by wars and rumours of wars—which of themselves necessitated increased armaments and loss. Trade, as you are well aware, is an eminently sensitive plant, and its growth is easily checked by too rude a breath. Now, fortunately, we have profound peace throughout the world, and trade has already taken heart, and begun to put forth new shoots.

*Pliable.* Granted. But, on the other hand, I cannot allow that the



vast increase in national prosperity of the last thirty or forty years is by any means entirely due, as your friends seem to try to make out, to our adoption of a system of Free Trade ; and I do not care to have this year compared with 1840, or earlier, and every advantageous item credited to Free Trade. What we want to see is, not whether we are richer than we were thirty or forty years ago—of course we are—but whether we have not of late years been going rapidly down hill.

*Faithful.* Certainly ; I “ skip forty years ” and proceed without further remark to confine my attention to the last ten or fifteen years, and though I am not going to bore you with figures, I think the export returns of these years—you will doubtless object to my quoting imports as tests of prosperity—will prove that trade is on the mend. Here they are\*—

Total Exports 1867	.	£225,800,000	1875	.	£281,000,000
„ 1869	.	237,000,000	1878	.	245,500,000
„ 1872	.	314,600,000	1879	.	248,800,000
(Highest they have ever been.)			1880	.	286,400,000

This year also, 1881, they have shown a steady advance on last year. Other signs, also, such as the increased traffic receipts of our railways, &c., show that the turn of the tide has really come. The export figures I have given above do not moreover really show the whole extent of trade recuperation. For while the nominal value is less, we are really exporting a greater quantity of manufactures than in the years of greatest apparent prosperity. The fall in price is due to over-production, and to the rise in the value of gold, and extends to the raw materials imported, as well as to our exports.

*Pliable.* Well, what earthly good is that to us ? it only means that we are sending away more of our goods for a less price ; and that profits are diminished or non-existent.

*Faithful.* Not quite so. As regards our exports of raw material, coal, iron, &c., the fall in price involved doubtless a serious diminution of profit, which in some cases may amount to actual loss. But I was speaking particularly of manufactures, which represent nearly 80 per cent. of our home export trade. Here again, no doubt, your assertion would be correct if we were paying the same price for the raw materials from which the goods are manufactured, and receiving a less price for the manufactured articles. This, however, is not the case, for while the price of our manufactured exports has fallen, the price of the raw material from which they are manufactured has fallen almost in the same proportion—in some instances to a greater degree. It follows then that under such circumstances as these an increase in the amount of our export trade, even though the value be less, means more work, wages,

\* [Where actual figures are given, I have myself with considerable pains extracted them from official or semi-official sources, the following being the authorities : Board of Trade returns, Statistical Abstract, Commissioner of Customs return, Trade and Navigation returns, Board of Trade returns of manufactured exports and imports, prepared by P. S. King, Parliament Street, Return of exports of Cotton, Silk, &c., from France and England presented to the House of Common, Martin's “ Statesman's Year Book,” &c.—S. C. B.]



and profits to our manufacturers and workmen; the profit is made on turning the raw materials into manufactures, and the more there is of this business the better the trade.

Our imports continue to show a satisfactory increase; last year's imports being the largest ever known—

*Pliable.* One minute—on this question of imports and exports. Of course, it is easy enough to see that our imports ought to exceed our exports, from the mere fact that the former includes all the charges of freight, &c.; while to the latter, they are not yet added; and putting this aside, if they merely balanced it would mean that foreign trade was unprofitable. Moreover, there is of course a certain amount of interest and repayment of capital yearly due to us from foreigners to whom we have lent money;—but granting all this, last year's excess of imports of over £180,000,000 does seem to me to prove that we must be partly living on our capital.

*Faithful.* I dispute your figures of an excess of 180 millions. You omit the re-exports of colonial produce, an important part of our trade, and which being brought into one side of the account must certainly not be omitted from the other. I know of course that *you* are incapable of cooking accounts; but I must say that most of the figures and returns quoted by "fair" traders, when not entirely fictitious, always appear to be produced to prove a point with which they really have no connection. Your friends act like the verger who heated the thermometer with a lamp before service, in order to prove from its temperature that the church was properly warmed.

I make the exports and imports to be as follows (throughout I shall give round numbers.)

Imports	£411,200,000
Exports (British produce)	£223,000,000
„ (Foreign and Colonial produce)	63,200,000
	<hr/> 286,200,000
Excess of imports	125,000,000
Gold excess exports	2,500,000
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Total nominal excess	£122,500,000

To bring the real value of the imports and exports to a common denomination, it is necessary to deduct from the "declared" value of the former the cost of freight, insurance, interest, &c., which are not included in that of the latter. The necessary deductions, and the similar unincorporated charges on the exports, amount to about £70,000,000, made up of £41,000,000 in respect of the imports, and £28,500,000 in respect of the exports. At least fifty of these seventy millions goes into British pockets as imports, inasmuch as 70 per cent. of the English trade is done in British bottoms; and this is allowing nothing for the international shipping trade which earns us a pretty penny. More-



over, it is calculated that we receive each year at least £55,000,000 as interest from our foreign and colonial loans and investments, irrespective of any repayments of capital. Adding this amount to the fifty millions of transport earnings, we get a total of £105,000,000, which must be first deducted from the excess of imports before we can begin to talk about living on our capital. Deducting this amount from the £122,500,000 of excess, there is left an excess balance of only £17,500,000; a very moderate amount indeed to represent the profits on an annual foreign trade of nearly £700,000,000. You see, therefore, that the balance which so alarmed you entirely disappears. As many good authorities calculate our earnings as carriers, insurers, &c., our profits on foreign trade and our income from foreign investments, &c., at considerably above the figures I have given, the excess of imports ought to alarm us by reason of its smallness rather than on account of its greatness. And indeed so it would, if we did not know that a large amount of our profits and interest is never brought home to England at all, but is invested or re-invested in foreign countries; and while these investments do not appear in our trade returns, they advantage and enrich our countrymen. It is conceivable that a very much enlarged excess of imports might mean that we were partly living on our capital; but I have been able, I think, satisfactorily to explain away the existing large excess.

*Pliable.* What you have said may be all very true, still I do not understand how we actually pay for the enormous yearly balance of trade which is against us, and which we must liquidate in some way or other.

*Faithful.* I assume you do not believe that which some of your fellow-arguers appear to think—that the balance is paid for in gold and not in goods?

*Pliable.* No; considering that while our imports during the last five years have exceeded our exports by over six hundred millions, and that during the same years we have imported more gold than we have exported, I do *not* think that the balance or any part of it was really paid for in gold. But, then, how is it paid for in goods—we send less than we receive?

*Faithful.* I will try to show you how the balance is liquidated; and, to put it in the form of a paradox, I would assert that part of it is paid for by never being paid for at all, or rather, that the lesser amounts of exports actually do pay for the larger amount of imports. The simplest way to prove this will be to take two concrete cases: first, that of a merchant exporting and importing goods; and, secondly that of an Englishman who has invested money in a foreign country. You have already acknowledged that if a merchant exported a thousand pounds' worth of goods, and only received back a thousand pounds, he would have done worse than if he had merely wrapped his talents up in a napkin, which form of business would at all events have only involved the loss of the interest on his capital and the cost of the napkin. If he trades



abroad, and pays freight, insurance, warehousing, &c., and is out of interest on his capital, and takes the risks of trade, he would be suffering a heavy loss on every thousand pounds worth of goods he exported, unless he received back very considerably more than the same amount in imports—it is only a Jew who can make a profit out of a large number of losses.

Take, then, the case of a man who exports goods to the declared value of £1,000. To get them to market he has to pay quite 10 per cent. for transport, &c. The cost is, therefore, raised by £100, and he moreover expects to receive a profit of, say  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., on the sale of his goods. Unless, then, he is to make a practical loss, he must receive £1,120 10s. at least for his goods; and with the proceeds, he, or the firm which has ultimately to remit to England, buys productions of the country to the nominal value of £1,120 10s. To get these back to the home market, another £100 or so has to be paid for transport, &c., and the goods are finally entered in the import returns at some £1,250, which gives an excess of imports of £250; and no one is the worse. And now take the case of capital lent to a foreign country. I lend nominally £1,000 to a friend in America, which he invests in some profitable business and advantages by the loan; he is to pay me 10 per cent. interest, and repay the capital in ten years. My loan is sent over in goods—as it is not sent in gold—and figures in the export table, and costs me only perhaps £900, which will be equivalent to £1,000 when it arrives in America. Each year, then, for ten years the imports are swelled by £100 of goods representing the interest, and £10 representing the cost of transport of these goods; and on the tenth year they are further increased by £1,100, being the capital repaid and cost of transport. That is, on this transaction alone, the exports would have appeared as £900, and the imports as £2,200, and both parties would have benefited.

*Pliable.* Ah, but you now assume in this transaction that which I assert, that we are consuming some of our capital.

*Faithful.* True; but as on my assumption, capital is not being consumed, I was going to carry on the hypothetical transaction one step further, and assert that, on receipt of my £1,000, I should re-invest again abroad the original capital, and probably an increased capital,—English capital is continually and increasingly being invested abroad. That is, I should send over again £900 of exports. The transactions would then stand thus:—

Total exports . . £900 + £900 = £1,800

Total imports . . £110 × 10 + £1,100 = £2,200

Excess of imports, £400. In addition future import returns will be swelled by the £1,000 of capital, and the £700 to £1,000 of interest, which I shall in due course receive without having to make any further payments.

If you examine, therefore, these two transactions, I think you can see how easily and simply the imports ought largely to exceed the exports,



and how the latter pay for the former without the so-called balance of trade being against us. It is not true in any sense to say that the value of the imports is what we *pay* the foreigner, and the value of the exports is what we *receive* from him; that one is our expenditure and the other our receipts. Any great diminution in the excess of imports would imply one of three things; that our trade was becoming less profitable, we were paying more and receiving less; that some of our debtors had become bankrupt; or that while our earnings, profit, and income were increasing or undiminished, less was being brought home, and more was being at once invested abroad.

*Pliable.* Yes, I see; it never struck me before that our imports are swelled as rapidly by single transactions such as you describe. But now how do you account for a flourishing and wealthy country like America showing a large excess of exports; it seems an anomaly that we should boast of our excess of imports and she of her excess of exports?

*Faithful.* I don't think there is much difficulty in explaining the so-called anomaly. America has an enormous public debt, which is very largely held abroad; and in addition, millions of foreign capital are invested in industrial and other undertakings in America; while her citizens, possessing unexampled means of profitable investment at home, rarely invest their money abroad. This balance of indebtedness has to be annually met by exports of American produce. Moreover, in a way exactly contrary to that of Great Britain, almost all the American foreign trade is done in foreign ships, and so the nominal value of her imports must be increased, and that of her exports diminished by the cost of freight,—profits on carrying, &c., which she does not receive, but has to pay to others. Her nominal excess of imports last year amounted to £35,500,000, and the real excess cannot have exceeded £20,000,000, a sum barely sufficient to cover the interest she has annually to remit abroad, &c., and leaving no margin for repayment of capital. Until therefore, America has considerably reduced her indebtedness to other nations, and become more largely a ship-owning country, she will continue to rejoice in an excess of exports.

*Pliable.* Possibly that may be true; but, before we go further, I want to ask you this. No doubt it is a fact that our capitalists receive large amounts from foreign investments; but, after all, these investments, while they may enrich the holder, are of precious little good to the British labourer and workman if our home industries languish and decline. I can see that, if the investments were very largely increased they might become a source of loss to the country, and not gain, inasmuch as the foreigner owing us more—by the arguments of your own school on supply and demand—would be less able to take our exports.

*Faithful.* Do you really seriously mean to advance the position that an increase in the wealth of the country may positively impoverish it; for that is the paradox you set up. Surely it can do no one any harm that our capitalists, if they make good investments, should lend money



abroad, for the interest they receive, by increasing their incomes, will enable them to spend more at home, and thus give greater employment. There is no room for investment at home for all the capital saved, and according to you, it would be better that the surplus should be cast into the sea rather than profitably employed abroad. Remember that capital lent abroad, if properly invested, will increase the industrial resources of the borrowing country, and thus make a market for an exchange of goods, and so swell instead of diminishing the demand for our manufactures.

*Pliable.* That is an incidental digression; but to return, I cannot allow that our trade as a whole, and in particular branches more especially, is not suffering greatly from depression; and I see no chance, unless a fairer system of trade be introduced, of its being able to revive.

*Faithful.* You seem to forget that if we have been smitten, other nations have suffered and are suffering equally or more than ourselves. Germany and other continental nations have we know suffered. France complains bitterly of stagnation of trade and of our competition, and her exports have fallen off seriously of late years,\* while America herself has been affected by a crisis more severe than ours.

The fact is, the whole world has been passing through a cycle of bad times, lean years always follow fat years, and during our fat years we were not provident like Joseph, but shortsighted like the Egyptians, or we might have been more able to resist the pressure.

*Pliable.* But America?

*Faithful.* Of course, you quote America! She is always cited as the great Protectionist country, which has proved that it can progress better than a Free Trade country. Now, has she really progressed faster than we have? I have some official figures at home which show that during the last twenty years England has experienced a greater progressive increase than America in imports and exports, and more especially in the shipping trade. Moreover, in considering the position of the United States you must not omit to take into account all her natural and physical advantages. Again, she, a country as large as Europe proper, has a perfect system of internal Free Trade. The cost of her army and navy is insignificant compared to ours. Besides, all is not a bed of roses in America, she has her crumpled leaves; one hears complaints loud and deep, of the cost of living, of the fact that while wages may be high their purchasing power is very low; of the vexatious and intolerable burdens due to the Protective system. America desired to initiate industries, ours are already started and flourishing; she wanted to pay off the debt rapidly, and found the easiest mode of raising revenue was from import duties. She is in such a position that the most fatally false fiscal system could do no more than delay her progress.

*Pliable.* This is no doubt partly correct; but anyhow, what I look at is this, that America, France, and other countries, by a system of

\* France: total exports in millions of pounds, 1873—151½; 1876—143; 1879—129½.



Protection, have increased in wealth, showing that Free Trade is not essential to success. I say, then, that we must do something to retaliate on the foreigner for his unfair and selfish ideas of trade, and to place it on a fairer footing.

*Faithful.* A moment—I think you and others are too much led astray by the words “unfair” and “selfish,” and are vexed and annoyed as though you thought that the foreigners were taking advantage of your kindness, and dog-in-the-manger like, were refusing to reciprocate your liberality; selling you his goods and refusing to buy yours.

*Pliable.* Yes, that is it, unfair and selfish.

*Faithful.* Now, I don’t agree with you, I don’t see anything more “unfair” or “selfish,” though it may be more foolish, in imposing protective duties, than in adopting a policy of Free Trade. We went in for Free Trade, and we keep to it, because we “selfishly” thought it would be of the greatest advantage to the trade of England that the exchange of her products against those of other nations should be as far as possible expanded. We believed, and still I hope believe, that a system of Free Trade would best bring about the expansion, and enable us profitably to increase our productions, to compete with the foreign manufacturer, and flood his markets with our goods. Our first, second, and third thoughts were for ourselves, though the far-sighted men who initiated the policy, saw clearly that the foreigner would benefit also from the adoption of a system of Free Trade, and that his benefit would be ours also, for the greater the volume of the trade of the world the better for every people. The foreign manufacturer, on the other hand, did not quite see the matter in the same light. He was painfully aware that English goods were being imported in millions of yards and tons, and that he was being beaten even in his own market—and we who complain of the imports of a few millions worth of goods, should be able to realize the feelings of the foreigner who actually, or in imagination, saw his home markets choked with British goods. He, erroneously thinking that he was being fatally injured, and being accustomed to rely on the State for assistance, called for and received Protection. We cannot justly complain of the foreigner for adopting a system which he considered best for himself, and certainly we cannot fairly call him selfish if he avails himself to the fullest extent of any advantage he may consider he obtains from our system of Free Trade; he would be a fool if he didn’t. We went into the matter with our eyes open; it was a balance of advantages, and I trust the country will still retain its sense, and consider that it gains more by Free Trade than it would by the system of cutting off its nose to spite its face, called “Fair Trade.” Your catchpenny cry of “Fair Trade” has doubtless been of use in attracting adherents, but it is entirely erroneous and misleading.

*Pliable.* All the same—with due apologies to Wither—I would say of Trade:—

“If she be not Fair to me,  
What care I how Free she be.”



And this brings us to the point. I say that our manufacturers ought to be protected against the foreigner, and I propose the retaliation scheme I have already propounded. What have you to say against it on its merits?

*Faithful.* I have a good deal to say against it. In the first place, I would endeavour to expose the evils which would spring from its adoption, and secondly, I would show that it cannot really be carried into effect. Though perhaps—as with the reason given to Louis XIV. for not firing the cannon—the latter argument would alone suffice. However, let us first examine the disadvantages of the scheme. I will put aside the pretty safe assumption on which I might insist, that if one branch of industry were protected, all the others being injured by that Protection, would naturally and fairly enough clamour for assistance—and probably get it. And I will come at once to the crucial point, which it seems to me is this—that our *foreign and colonial trade* depends on our powers of competition in hostile, and especially in neutral, markets, and any increase in the cost of production, any self-thrown stumbling-block in the way of our trade, would by so much diminish our powers of competition, and decrease the volume of our trade. The fact is too much put aside or forgotten that we stand in a very different position from any other nation in the matter of foreign trade. Not only do we engross fifty-two per cent. of the whole carrying trade of the world; but we, with our population of thirty-five millions, have an annual foreign trade of nearly 700 millions. While—

France,	population	38 millions,	foreign trade	£380,000,000
Germany	„	44	„ „ „	350,000,000
United States	„	50	„ „ „	290,000,000
Russia	„	86	„ „ „	183,000,000
Austria	„	38	„ „ „	128,000,000
Belgium	„	5½	„ „ „	99,000,000
(Home trade.)				

We see, therefore, that our foreign trade is of much more relative importance to us than the foreign trade of any other nation is to her; and we must be very careful how we tamper with a system which has largely contributed to produce this startling and satisfactory result. We complain of the imports of foreign manufactures “which might be produced by our own traders if only the fiscal system were fair”—that is, if they were protected. Now most of the categorical and sensational stories which are told of foreign competition in the home market show great facility of invention on the part of the narrator, and even if they have a foundation of fact they have usually a large superstructure of fiction.

*Pliable.* Oh!

*Faithful.* The amount of manufactured goods imported which we could really produce ourselves is very small—but I shall come to that point later on.

In complaining of the terrible foreign pests—which seem to alarm



us as much as did the importation of the Colorado beetle, and which like the beetle, require legislation to prevent their entrance—we forget to look on the other picture, and notice the millions and millions of manufactured exports, which in spite of the heavy protection duties, often amounting to 70 or 120 per cent. on the value, we dispose of in hostile markets, and the enormous quantities which we tempt the neutral markets to accept.\*

We can do all this; we can increasingly command and nearly monopolize the neutral, *i.e.* the unprotected markets; we can even compete with the protected manufacturers in their own markets; and year by year we obtain a greater share of the shipping trade of the world—for this reason, and this reason alone: that in consequence of our natural advantage, and still more in consequence of our Free Trade and unrestricted tariff, our manufacturers can buy more cheaply, produce more cheaply, and sell more cheaply, than foreign manufacturers. The foreigner does not buy English goods because they are English, he buys them because he gets a good and cheap article, and any rise in price would at once induce him to give his custom elsewhere. Our only means therefore of retaining and increasing our trade, and our pre-eminence in cheapness of production, is by keeping down the cost to the lowest point; and we can only lose the advantages of cheapness which we possess, by other nations adopting Free Trade, or by ourselves adopting Protection. You will allow that protective duties must somewhat increase the cost of production by raising the price of many articles essential to the welfare of the workmen, necessitating an increase of wages; and by raising the price of the instruments of the trade, necessitating a larger capital for the same amount of business, and consequently reducing profits. For instance, the protective duties in America so increase among other things the cost of articles of clothing and instruments of trade, that though a man there may get much higher wages than in England, their purchasing power is not proportionately greater. Every coat or blanket, every hoe or plough he buys, costs him seventy or eighty per cent. more than in England;

\* [Comparing 1872 (inflated year) with 1880 (natural year), the total decrease of exports to the protected States of Germany, Holland, United States, and some South American, chiefly bankrupt States, was £39,000,000, while the decrease on the whole of our export trade was £28,000,000 or £11,000,000 less than the decrease to the above countries. The decrease to them was therefore more than made up by increased exports to other, chiefly neutral, markets. There were good reasons for the diminution of exports to the above countries; while the figures given prove that our supremacy in neutral markets is not only untouched but is yearly increasing. Moreover, on the whole, last year our exports to protective countries showed a substantial and satisfactory increase, as follows:—

INCREASES.		DECREASES.	
United States . . . . .	£10,500,000	Germany . . . . .	£1,650,000
Belgium . . . . .	700,000	Holland . . . . .	500,000
France . . . . .	600,000		
Spain and Portugal . . . . .	550,000		
Italy . . . . .	450,000		
Russia . . . . .	100,000		
	£12,900,000		£2,150,000
Net Increase—about £10,750,000]			



the railways have cost more to build, and therefore the cost of transport is raised; and, turn where he will, he finds it more difficult to make the two ends meet.

By means of protective duties other countries may prevent us from retaining our footing in their markets, but they cannot drive us out of the neutral markets; and every further step they take towards Protection decreases their powers of competition with us in our own and the neutral markets, as well as in the shipping trade. You said a while ago, that other nations by their protective duties have enabled their legitimate manufacturers to compete the sooner and better with us. Granted that this be so—which I deny—what possible good would Protection have done us in the past, how would it have prevented this unwelcome consummation, or enabled us to compete the better with the foreigner in his own or neutral markets?

*Pliable.* It would have enabled us to retain the command of our home markets, and to retaliate on the foreigner.

*Faithful.* That is no answer to my question; but I am coming to the question of the home market and retaliation directly.

*Pliable.* You talk of the cost of production being raised, but the number of articles protected and the amount of duty would not be so large as to increase the cost materially all round; besides, a duty would not necessarily raise the price of the home-made protected goods, but only of the foreign goods imported, and so place them at a disadvantage, which is exactly what I want.

*Faithful.* Well, if the whole matter be a very small one, you will produce no impression on the foreign Protectionists. But as to your remark, it is as certain as anything can be, that the price at which articles will be sold will be the *highest* price at which the foreigner will be able to compete. I refer of course to those articles with which he now competes with us in our home markets. The price of the home-produced articles will be raised by as nearly as possible the amount of the tax, and very probably by more than the amount, in consequence of the additional capital required to pay the tax, &c. This is a truth which you can verify by looking abroad to any protective country and any protected article. Do not delude yourself with the belief that the British consumer will not have to pay an additional price for every piece he buys of the protected articles, whether it be of home or foreign make. Consumers and producers having to pay an additional price for some articles, the cost of production of all articles would be raised, and consequently their prices, though probably not equal with that of the protected articles; and so, while the consumer will thus be mulct for the sake of particular producers, the powers of competition abroad of all producers would be weakened, and our foreign trade diminished. Consumption at home, in consequence of the rise of price, would also be checked, and thus both producers and consumers would suffer. Like the wise Moses, we should have exchanged our horse for a gross of green spectacles.



*Pliable.* Consumers and producers! It seems to me that a great deal of nonsense is talked about the poor consumer. There is too great a distinction drawn between the producer and consumer, as if practically to all intents and purposes they were not on the whole one and the same. Neither can exist without the other; by which I mean, that as the producer employs the consumer, or enables him in some way or other to make a living or profit, if he were ruined and disappeared, the consumer also would be impoverished and pine away. Why cannot people see that the interests of consumer and producer are identical, and not talk as if, so long as the former gets his articles of consumption as cheaply as possible, the producer may go to Jericho or any other place he likes—he will go to America? My scheme is founded chiefly on the ground that the producer must be considered a little more, and that if he be flourishing and wealthy the consumer will also thrive, and the whole country be benefited.

*Faithful.* I grant you that too much is often said about the consumer at the expense of the producer; for, as you say, if the producers, the manufacturers, the farmers were to disappear in England, it would be a terrible blow to the country and to the majority of the consumers. But I am not going into the relative merits of the consumer and producer. After all, whatever you may say about the producer, he at least, could not exist without the consumer. But my arguments are founded on the ground that Free Trade is better for the producers,—by which I mean the large majority of producers,—as well as for the consumers—by which I mean the nation as a whole—and that in England at least a system of Protection would injure the producers, while I suppose everyone would allow that it could not fail injuriously to affect the consumers.

*Pliable.* But at all events the producers of the particular protected manufactures would gain.

*Faithful.* No doubt they would apparently gain for a time, but not for long, for new competing capital would at once be attracted to the trade.

*Pliable.* But now as to this cost of production and the injurious effects to producer and consumer. I would say this as against your arguments. First, that the consumer would not be much injured by the rise in price, inasmuch as the taxes produced would relieve him of other fixed burdens; and secondly, that the producer would be benefited by getting some or all of the trade which now goes to the foreigner, and so there would be more employment for English workmen; while he would also receive a higher price for his goods.

*Faithful.* Stop a bit! that which I am insisting on is this, that if your new duties were heavy enough seriously to injure the foreigner, the cost of production here would be raised all round, that therefore our powers of competition with the foreign producer in foreign markets would be weakened, consequently you would seriously diminish the



volume of our trade, and we should be seven times worse off than we are at present. Now how do your criticisms affect this argument of mine? We should, you say, receive increased revenues from the import duties, and thus be able to relieve the consumer from part of his present burdens of local or imperial taxation; you also assert that the trade which now goes to foreigners would be monopolized by home producers. Your propositions are however mutually destructive, for if the home manufacturer produces that which before was produced by the foreigner, no revenue would be received from the new duties; while if large revenues be received, that would mean that our manufacturers had not absorbed the trade, while our consumers were suffering from the increased cost of goods. Moreover—and though I must use the figures again when I come to the “impracticability” of your scheme, I may as well quote them now—the whole of our manufactured imports of every description amounts to less than £40,000,000 a year. Further on I shall show that nothing like the whole of this amount could by any possibility be taxed. Assuming however that it could be, a duty on this would at the maximum, after deducting the greatly increased cost of collection, produce but a few millions sterling. On the other hand, the cost of all the protected articles, and of others also, would as I have shown be raised; and so against the flea-bite derived from the duty, the consumer would be affected to the amount of many millions sterling, in addition to the loss which would ensue from the disorganization of trade. With regard to your second idea that the English manufacturers would monopolize this forty millions of trade; if you examine the articles which make up the amount of manufactured imports, you will see that a very large proportion consists of goods of special manufacture or luxury which the consumer will buy, if of foreign make, but not if home made. The remaining twenty to thirty millions, doubtless, could be produced at home, consisting as they do of silks, woollens, &c. But what would the transference mean? It would simply mean that in addition to the rise in price, which by-the-bye would diminish the powers of the consumers to purchase these articles, the British manufacturers, at the expense of the general public, would have to expend capital, which might be much more profitably employed, in producing articles which the foreigner has shown he can produce better or at a smaller cost.

*Pliable.* But the home market would be protected.

*Faithful.* So you said before; and there is no doubt that, by means of Protective or Prohibitive duties, we could without difficulty protect our home markets, and reduce to a minimum the imports of foreign manufactures; and if we were unfortunate enough to possess no foreign trade, or one of only some twenty or thirty millions annually, the matter might perhaps be fairly considered. But our foreign trade is not twenty millions, it is nearly seven hundred millions, and if for the sake of protecting our home market from the importation of articles to the value of a few millions which we might (at increased cost) produce ourselves, we were to injure and disorganize our enormous foreign trade—



the inevitable result of Protection—we should, indeed, be acting in a suicidal manner.

In addition to the increase in the cost of production which would be caused by protective duties, and our consequent diminished powers of competition, we must remember this, that any decrease in the volume of the trade of the world would be a very serious loss to us, who have the greatest interest in its expansion. If we by protective duties diminished the amount which other nations could sell to us, by the amount of this loss of profit and turn-over to them, they would be the less able to buy our goods. If they could not buy our goods we should again have less means of buying theirs, which would again diminish their powers of consumption, reacting again on us; and so on in a vicious circle. So that though, as you say, the protected producer might get a higher price for his goods, the demand for them, and for other goods besides, would be on every hand diminished. He would be in the position of the painter, who said he should paint only a quarter the number of pictures he was accustomed to paint, because thereby he would receive double the price for each one he sold.

*Pliable.* Plausibly reasoned! But let me put this case to you. Certain English firms, formerly trading with America, in consequence of the high protective duties placed on the import of their goods into the United States, have removed their whole business to America, and now manufacture there instead of in England. Now you can see that if this be the result of Free Trade, and their example be followed to any great extent, England may as well put up her shutters at once.

*Faithful.* Just as one can never get nearer than third hand to an authentic ghost, so is it difficult to verify these chapters of Exodus which you quote. One is told by somebody who knew somebody who had heard of a firm which had done that which you describe. However, there may have been such cases, though the example cannot have been extensively followed, otherwise we should have heard more about it; nor can the story be made to tally with our increasing imports of raw materials. And how, after all, does the case stand? The firm you speak of wished to supply the United States, and the United States alone, with goods, and its powers of competition in the American market with American producers, were very seriously crippled by the enormous amount which, on account of the duty of 70 or 80 per cent., it had to add to the price of its goods in order not to sell at a loss. To avoid these duties, and to compete on more equal terms with the American producers, the firm transplanted itself to the States, and produced on the spot the manufactures which it desired to sell to the Americans. By so doing, it avoids payment of the enormous duty, and has a wide field of operations in which absolute Free Trade prevails; and it is only hampered by the fact that it cannot produce at anything like the cheap rate at which it used to be able to produce in England. The firm cares only for the American market. Suppose, however, it were now to endeavour—that which when producing in England it might have successfully



attempted—to supply other foreign markets, or the English market, it would at once find that the American protective tariff had so seriously raised the cost of production, that it could not compete on anything like equal terms with English manufacturers. And now assume for an instant that in order to retain this firm in England—and that is your object is it not?

*Pliable.* Yes.

*Faithful.* If then in order to do this we placed heavy protective duties on foreign imports, what possible benefit would that be to similar firms to the one in question? It wanted to sell its goods in America, and the imposition of home protective duties would, by raising the cost at which it could manufacture goods, not increase but still further diminish its powers of competition in America; and by so much the more render the partners anxious to leave England and take up their business abroad in America. Protective duties would not attract or tempt these manufacturers to stay in England, but would all the sooner drive them out of the country. The moral of this is that the transference of such firms from England to America is not in any way due to Free Trade—Free Trade is the only thing that would keep them in England.

*Pliable.* I must confess that seems pretty good argument as far as it affects a firm which wants to produce for one particular protected market exclusively—such as America, for instance. To a manufacturer who desired to supply the home market, the matter is however different, and your argument would not apply to his case.

*Faithful.* Of course it is; but I think on that point I have been prolix enough in endeavouring to show you that if the home market were alone in question, and not those of neutral or hostile markets also, there might be something to be urged for Reciprocity. Fortunately for us, we do not depend on our home markets alone. Without our foreign and carrying trade, England would be very different from what she is. We cannot make our fortunes merely by swopping penknives with one another, as Americans are supposed to be able to do. At the same time, you must not understand me to mean that we should in any way neglect our home trade; it is an eminently important branch of our industry; but I am convinced that any attempt artificially to prop up some of its branches would injuriously affect our home trade as a whole, and at the same time do our important foreign trade an irreparable injury.

*Pliable.* I go along with you to a certain extent as to the injury which protective duties would do to our foreign trade. But, after all, my point is this: not that it would in itself be an advantage to adopt a system of import duties on foreign manufactures, but that we ought to wield such a weapon in order to force other nations to adopt the system which we consider best—namely, real and not one-sided Free Trade. Mill allows that such a system of retaliation is justifiable.

*Faithful.* Mill and other political economists suffer somewhat at the hands of you Fair Traders, who quote a few words and omit the context.



But he does, with important qualifications, allow what you assert, that a system of retaliation may be justifiable.

And this brings me to my second point, namely, the impossibility of successfully carrying out a system of retaliation. So far I have merely been endeavouring to show the great evil and injury which any system of Protection would do to our trade and commerce.

*Pliable.* You talk as though I were already convinced. However, never mind me, go on.

*Faithful.* Bear up, and lend me your ears a little longer. I wish now to convince you that the likelihood of the desired end being in any way attained is shadowy in the extreme,—the end being, I take it, the extension of Free Trade principle and practice,—for the means whereby you seek to obtain it are impracticable and impossible. I will not dwell on smaller objections, though there are some of very considerable weight indeed, such as, that any tampering with Free Trade principles would tend to increase and confirm other nations in their mistaken ways and opinions; that if protective duties were once imposed it would be almost impossible to take them off—protected interests grow like weeds; that the protected trades suffering from the evil effects of Protection, but not attributing their evil plight to the true cause, would be constantly clamouring for the imposition of further and heavier duties; while the still unprotected industries would be continually agitating for concurrent assistance. The old man of the sea once seated on our backs would remain there and become heavier and heavier, more and more of a burden.

*Pliable.* Well, get on.

*Faithful.* You are impatient! Your proposal, which I wish to show you would be impracticable, is as follows, is it not: that we should place import duties on foreign manufactures in order so to retaliate on the foreigner as to force him to adopt Free Trade, or to diminish the very heavy import duties he has placed on our goods.

*Pliable.* That is my proposition.

*Faithful.* And my reply is this. Our total exports for last year, 1880, amounted to 286 millions and our imports to 411 millions; as follows:—

IMPORTS.	
ARTICLES OF FOOD . . . . .	£166,800,000
RAW MATERIALS:—	
Textile fabrics . . . . .	£83,500,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	19,750,000
Ore . . . . .	17,350,000
	<hr/>
	120,600,000
SEMI-MANUFACTURED ARTICLES . . . . .	42,000,000
WHOLLY DO. . . . .	44,400,000
	<hr/>
Carried forward . . . . .	£373,800,000



	Brought forward	£373,800,000
<b>EXOTIC LUXURIES :—</b>		
Spirits and wine	£8,500,000	
Tea	11,600,000	
Tobacco	2,900,000	
Cocoa, Coffee, &c.	9,900,000	32,900,000
<b>MISCELLANEOUS</b>		4,300,000
		<hr/> £411,000,000
<b>EXPORTS.</b>		
Manufactures		£180,500,000
Raw materials		33,000,000
Provisions		9,500,000
		<hr/> £223,000,000
Foreign and Colonial produce re-exported		63,000,000
		<hr/>
Total		£286,000,000

In order to arrive at the amount of imports on which we can place taxes, we must first eliminate raw materials and articles of consumption.

*Pliable.* Yes, we agreed at the beginning that these articles should not be subject to taxation.

*Faithful.* We must also eliminate the articles which I have called exotic luxuries, on which custom duties are levied, and which do not compete with home industries; as we already draw from them twenty millions of revenue, they would hardly bear further taxation. We have then—with your consent—eliminated *raw products, articles of food, exotic luxuries*, and we have left

Manufactured goods imported	£44,400,000
Semi-manufactured goods	42,000,000

Total . . . £86,400,000

Further large deductions must still be made. In the first place we must eliminate the greater part of the semi-manufactured goods, which are re-manufactured at home, and are to all intents and purposes raw materials necessary to our industries.

*Pliable.* Certainly, I allow that some of these, but not all, are in the position of raw materials and must not be taxed.

*Faithful.* Of the forty-two millions of semi-manufactured goods, eight millions were simply re-exported—that is, they merely passed through the country. Of the remaining thirty-four millions, nearly one-half consisted of wood simply hewn or sawn; in addition there were articles, such as part-wrought copper, tanned and dyed stuffs, drugs, manures, oils, &c., which are more or less in the position of “raw materials.” If we deduct these, and they ought to be deducted, a balance of but three millions is left, consisting of cotton, linen and woollen yarns, and iron



bars, and these we will consider as more or less manufactured, and as coming into competition with home-made goods, and therefore available for your proposed taxation. We may say, therefore, that out of the 42 millions of *semi-manufactured* goods, but 3 millions are available as weapons for retaliation.

And now let us take the  $44\frac{1}{2}$  millions of *manufactured* imports, and here again we must make considerable deductions to arrive at the real total open to attack. In the first place four millions were simply re-exported—the profit on all these mere re-exports we should, by the way, run the risk of losing if we imposed import duties, for they probably would no longer be sent through the country. There remain, therefore,  $40\frac{1}{2}$  millions of imported manufactures consumed in England. This total must be divided into two groups. The one consists of goods which could not really be taxed, unless we returned to the obsolete and now almost impossible system of levying duties on hundreds of small articles; while, moreover, these imports consist chiefly of fancy articles which would not or could not be properly produced in England, however much the supply of them from abroad were curtailed or prevented. The other group consists of goods on which duties certainly could be placed without much difficulty—though I do not say without danger. In the first group are included articles like these: buttons, clocks, candles, cordage, artificial flowers, gold leaf, hats, musical instruments, pictures, painter's colours, toys, and innumerable miscellaneous articles, amounting to a total of nearly twelve millions. The second group includes cotton, silk, linen, woollen and leather manufactures, iron and earthenware manufactures, lace and glass, to an amount of about  $28\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

To sum up then. From the total of £86,000,000 of manufactured and semi-manufactured imports must be deducted

Re-exports . . . . .	£12,000,000
Semi-manufactured articles equivalent to raw materials . . . . .	30,750,000
Manufactured articles which cannot be taxed. . . . .	11,750,000

Total . . . . .	£54,500,000
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leaving a balance of  $31\frac{1}{2}$  millions of goods open to retaliation; made up of three millions of semi-manufactured and  $28\frac{1}{2}$  millions of manufactured articles, and even all of these do not come from "selfish" countries.

*Pliable.* I—

*Faithful.* Excuse me for interrupting you; but I have forgotten something. I was so anxious not to understate your case—

*Pliable.* Thank you!

*Faithful.* —that I included in the total the three millions of yarns and iron bars, semi-manufactured imports. But of course these articles could not really be taxed. Is it likely that the British weaver, and the maker of the more elaborate descriptions of iron and steel goods, would allow himself to be directly injured for the sake of totally different



industries to his own? I think not. Deducting these three millions, we have left some twenty-nine millions on which you may do your worst—to your own great injury also.

*Pliable.* In the opposite way to the men in buckram, each time you mention them you seem to diminish the amount of imported manufactures in an extraordinary way. But, by the way, your forgetfulness has reminded me that I also have made an admission I wish to withdraw. We have, as regards French wines, by no means exhausted our powers of retaliation. You lumped them under the head of heavily taxed exotic luxuries, and I forgot for the moment that they are really very lightly taxed. You must add French wines to your list of attackable articles.

*Faithful.* The whole amount of our imports of French wines is only just over three millions; but we will add them if you like. The drawbacks to increasing our duties on them are great. However, they are certainly open to attack; and let me hope the French will take this into account in the treaty negotiations now going on.

*Pliable.* Anyhow the thirty millions or so is a good sum to be taken from our home traders and manufacturers, and to go into the pockets of the foreigner, and we could at all events tax that amount of goods.

*Faithful.* I have already shown that even if we could produce all these articles at home, nothing like the whole amount of the trade would really be transferred to home producers. Moreover, as to the bulk of the other articles, it is clear that they can be made more cheaply abroad, and that we should therefore be only producing at a greater cost, articles which elsewhere can be manufactured better and more cheaply.

But now I come to my main point. I have endeavoured to prove that the whole amount on which it is possible for us to place import retaliatory duties does not amount to more than thirty millions; while, on the other hand, our exports of manufactured goods amount to a hundred and eighty millions a year; and in addition we export thirty-three millions of raw materials, which are or might be equally taxed with our manufactures in protective countries. We see, then, that while at the most we could injure with our "reciprocal" duties *thirty* millions of foreign trade, we have nearly two hundred and twenty millions of our own open to attack.

*Pliable.* Yes; but nothing like the whole of that goes to protective countries; it is not, therefore, at all correct to say that we are open to attack to the extent of two hundred millions.

*Faithful.* Certainly, the whole of our trade is not with protective countries; and I was going further into details. At the same time your remark induces me to repeat and insist on the fact that any restrictive change in our fiscal system would not only affect our trade with protective countries, but would also injuriously affect our powers of competition in neutral markets. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that an attempt to tamper with the thirty millions of imports could



not fail injuriously to react on at least two hundred millions of our exports.

It is evident, however, that you are ignorant of the extent of our trade with protective countries. We exported last year to the high-tariffed countries,\* articles of home produce, on which duties are charged in some or all of these countries, to an amount of £95,000,000, a total considerably more than double that which we imported of their manufactures—our total exports, British, Foreign, and Colonial, to these countries amounted to 154½ millions. These naked figures do not however, show the whole of the case against your proposal, for our exports and imports were by no means divided in the same proportions among the protective countries. From France, for instance—one of the least offenders in the matter of duties—we imported twenty-one millions of manufactured goods, and exported to her but thirteen and a half millions; from and through Holland and Belgium together, also moderate offenders, we imported thirteen and a half, and exported fourteen and a half millions. But on the other hand, from Germany, a great offender, we took but nine and a half, and exported fifteen millions. We bought Russian manufactures to the amount of only half a million, while we sent to Russia over seven and a half millions of goods. To America—and she is the country whose duties seem most of all to aggravate our friends—in addition to six millions of taxed raw products, we exported twenty-four millions of manufactured goods, of which over ten millions consisted of cotton, woollen, and linen manufactures; while we imported just four and a half millions of American manufactured goods, of which but £800,000 were real competing manufactures, such as cotton, iron, and steel. No American linen or woollen goods were imported. The balance of her imports to us consisted of hides and oil seed-cake to the amount of two and three-quarter millions, and such miscellaneous articles as clocks, caoutchouc, books, soap, manures, &c.

You must remember also that the above total of imports have not been subjected to the process of reduction to which I submitted the general figures, and they labour therefore under the disadvantage of having to be considerably weeded before we can arrive at the real amount open to attack. But putting this aside, it appears that while we might on more or less equal terms attack the comparatively friendly nations, France, Belgium, and Holland—the “equal terms” implying of course mutual injury—we could not really, with any chance of success, retaliate on Russia, America, or Germany, who relatively to ourselves are almost invulnerable. I trust I have proved to you that as against the highest tariffed countries our powers of retaliation are next to nothing—a squirt to a fire-engine. What possible means therefore should we possess of forcing America, for instance, to accept our doctrine of Free

\* These countries are—Holland, Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia, and United States—arranged more or less according to the stringency of their duties, the worst being last.



Trade? We could, it is true, tax something very considerably under four and a half millions of her imports; but she already taxes, and could still further tax, thirty millions of our exports, which in spite of her duties we send into her markets. Can you call this Reciprocity? If it be a game of brag and hard hitting, certainly America and these other countries would have considerably the better of us. One might compare the conflict to a duel between two marksmen, equally dexterous, one of whom was exceptionally fat, and the other exceptionally thin; the former thus offering two or three times the larger target, the fight would hardly be a fair one.

*Pliable.* But we could retaliate with some success on France, and she levies heavy duties on our exports; besides, her silk trade competes very severely and unfairly with ours.

*Faithful.* No doubt we could injure France; no one denies it; but we must look on the matter from a common-sense point of view. As I have already said, the French tariff is not a high one. Our trade with France is very considerable, and increases year by year to the mutual commercial, social, and political benefit of both countries, and any tampering with its present basis would assuredly seriously affect it. Moreover if I had the time and you the patience, I could show you that before we can begin to argue from the returns of our exports to France and those of her to us, the nominal value of the former must be increased and of the latter diminished; and I could enlarge on the difficulties which would arise from any attempt to discriminate between France and other countries; and on the certainty that if we were to impose duties, the French would retaliate by increasing theirs. Belgium and Holland are much in the same position. Are we, then, to attack the lesser offenders and let the worse go free?

*Pliable.* But the silk trade; we yearly import more silk manufactures, and this shows a bad state of things.

*Faithful.* I was going to say a word on that. There seems to be a great deal of misconception in the matter. It is true that the imports of silk manufactures yearly increase, and in consequence people talk as if our whole silk manufacturing trade were ruined and had disappeared; while in fact the returns show that, though doubtless it is not a very flourishing trade, it is again on the mend, and compared to eleven years ago shows a substantial improvement. On the other hand, the silk trade of France—the home of this industry—has rapidly declined of late years, showing that the consumption of silk has diminished.\* We complain therefore somewhat unreasonably of the falling off in our silk trade. Surely, moreover, you would not, for the sake of one especial small trade, have us throw overboard our Free Trade principles. I will not now extend the inquiry into the woollen and linen trades, but they show very much the same features of reviving energy.

\* English exports of silk yarns and manufactures—1869, £2,260,000; 1873, £3,550,000; 1876, £2,870,000; 1878, £2,490,000; 1880, £2,700,000. French exports of silk yarns and manufactures—1873, £19,000,000; 1876, £11,500,000; 1878, £9,000,000.



*Pliable.* There is this to be considered, the foreigner at present has it all his own way, and if we were to threaten to levy retaliatory duties, and he saw we were in earnest, he would think twice or thrice before he provoked our wrath, and would probably "come down." The closing of the English ports would be a very serious matter to him.

*Faithful.* No doubt retaliation on our part would be a serious matter to France and one or two other countries; but is it prudent to threaten unless you are sure you will strike? You must remember this of all protective countries, that the high duties have been imposed on foreign goods, in order as far as possible to keep them out of the country; and the duties are chiefly aimed against English goods. The foreigner believes that his right policy is to exclude our goods, and we are always confirming him in this opinion by our indiscreet and probably unfounded boast, that if only his protective duties were abolished, we should flood his markets. Any retaliatory move on our part would therefore in all probability be merely met on his part by a corresponding increase of duties, making them perhaps absolutely prohibitory. We might, of course, still further increase our duties and go on cutting each other's throats, to the great injury of both, and especially of England, who has the largest foreign and carrying trade in the world. Even France, whose exports to us exceed ours to her, and who would suffer most from a change in our system, would probably not in the end be injured as much as we should, for her whole foreign trade is not half so great as ours, and she is already accustomed to protective duties. Other countries, such as America, Germany, &c., would laugh at our proposed retaliation. Their manufacturers would gladly give up their small modicum of export trade to us, if only their Governments would still further tax or prohibit our imports.

Certainly our international relations would not be improved by the initiation of a war of tariffs.

*Pliable.* Oh, come now; we at least should not be initiating a "war of tariffs," the war exists, but all on one side. We have stood still, steadily, calmly, not to say stolidly—in the way Englishmen will—to be shot at without returning the fire, and it is about time for us to take the offensive.

*Faithful.* Perhaps, but if we opened fire on the enemy—as you choose to assume him to be—for every gun we could bring to bear, he could unmask half a dozen and of greater calibre; and we should certainly get the worst of it. No doubt the foreigner would not like to be excluded from our ports; but so long as he believes that his best policy is to exclude our goods, retaliation on our part would be met by counter-retaliation on the other, and the responsibility of beginning this war of tariffs would be a serious one.

I say then, in conclusion, that your proposal would be very injurious if adopted, and could not by any possibility lead to any ultimate beneficial results. I agree with you, however, so far as this, that if we could



have universal Free Trade instead of one-sided Free Trade it would be better certainly for other nations, and probably for Great Britain. There is something however to be said for isolated Free Trade from one point of view, namely, that the protective duties of other countries, by raising their cost of production, actually give us a real protection in our own markets, and diminish foreign powers of competition with us in neutral markets ; and every increase in their duties furthers this result. Anyhow, the one-sided Free Trade we enjoy is certainly better than no Free Trade at all.

*Pliable.* As is usual in dialogues, either real or fictitious, I have hardly been able to get a word in edgeways lately ; but I do not know that I have anything especial to add just now. You certainly have not entirely convinced me, but then I did not suppose you would. Who was ever convinced by argument ? I confess I cannot meet all your points off-hand, but I expect when I come to think them over in the privacy of the study, I shall satisfactorily prove to myself that they are fallacious and answerable.

*Faithful.* I think not, and I believe not. Facts are proverbially stubborn things ; but you Fair-Traders seem to have become infected with the stubbornness without assimilating the facts.

*Pliable.* Oh, but there is nothing more fallacious than facts except figures, don't you know ?

*Faithful.* All I want you to do is, as a classical writer says—and the ancients, bother them, have been beforehand with us in all our best thoughts—"to examine with judgment each opinion ; if it seems true, embrace it ; if false, gird up the loins of thy mind to withstand it."

Let me just add this : that if your Conservative friends take up this matter in the way they seem disposed to do, they will certainly land in a quagmire, from which they will find it difficult to extricate themselves.

*Pliable.* I don't know what they mean to do, or what the order of the day may be.

*Faithful.* Here we are at home again. Come now, Pliable, don't take such a despondent view of things in general and trade in particular ; prophecies of evil often bring about their own fulfilment. Remember that this is not the first time by a score that England's last days have been numbered. We are, according to some Cassandras, always going to the dogs ; and yet comparing one decade with another, we find that England steadily increases in wealth, health, wisdom, and happiness. Cheer up, the knell has not yet sounded, and unless you Fair-Traders get your finger in the pie, England will continue to flourish as a bay tree—though without the wickedness that is supposed to accompany so much success.

SYDNEY C. BUXTON.



## THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

*The New Testament in the Original Greek.* The text revised by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., and FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D. 2 vols. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.  
*The Quarterly Review*, No. 304: I. New Testament Revision; the New Greek Text.

THE textual criticism of the New Testament is fast becoming a burning question of the milder kind. In ordinary times a book like "The New Testament" by Drs. Westcott and Hort would have stolen quietly into the world, and, eagerly though it might have been received by a small circle of specialists and students, its influence would not—at least at first—have been felt very much beyond them. But the appearance almost\* at the same time of the Revised Version of the English New Testament, and the large extent to which the new readings had been admitted into this, naturally affected a wider public and awoke a keener controversy. If there was ever any doubt on the matter, there can be doubt no longer. The newer theories of textual criticism will have to do battle for their existence. They will have to overcome something more than the *vis inertiae* of a general dislike to change. There is a mustering of forces and a raising of standards which betokens a war in which each side will have both leaders and followers.

Foremost in the attack is the article which stands at the head of the current number of the *Quarterly Review*. The *incognito* is not difficult to penetrate. There are not many hands that could deal such ringing blows, or that would deal them with such evident, not to say exuberant, glee. A subject that might well be thought dry and uninteresting ceases to be so under such treatment; and, even if the reader is being himself belaboured, he cannot fail to take his punishment in good part.

I should not for a moment pretend to carry on the discussion in the same strain. In a duel of wit and invective I should be indeed "impar congressus Achillei." And yet, after all, there is a Nemesis which is apt to overtake brilliant writers. And there are perhaps subjects on

\* Almost, but not quite, as the Quarterly Reviewer assumes (p. 319), and as I had myself assumed elsewhere (see the *Expositor*, New Series, No. ii. p. 243). The text of which mention is made above was, I believe, formally published five days before the Revised Version. There seems to have been no deliberate plan in such coincidence as there was.



which plain unadorned statement and strict inference would be less appropriate and less sufficient.

The Quarterly Reviewer seems to me, if I may say so, to possess every qualification for his task, but one. His scholarship is ripe, his learning great, his confidence in his cause absolute, his style vivacious and telling to an extraordinary degree. The one thing that he lacks is a grasp on the central conditions of the problem and a real understanding of his opponents' position.

It is unfortunate, though in no way a matter for which he can be blamed, that his criticism should have been written before the second volume, containing Dr. Hort's Introduction and Appendix, had appeared. In glancing over the pages hastily, while his own article was being printed, he has been led to make one or two charges which cannot be sustained. The quotations on page 319 would give the ordinary reader a quite misleading idea of the extent to which the subjective element has prevailed in determining the text of the Cambridge edition. A certain degree of subjectivity must enter into more parts of the process than one. The Reviewer exclaims against this, and yet his own article is full of it from beginning to end. His principles of textual criticism are arrived at *per saltum*, or, one might almost say, picked up off the ground with little or no methodical investigation; and his judgments on particular readings have evidently been decided more by taste and feeling than by any strict laws of evidence. Drs. Westcott and Hort, on the other hand, though they recognize the necessity of falling back, sooner or later, upon the individual mind, have probably done more than any of their predecessors to restrict the subjective element in criticism, and to mark out the definite lines which a sound criticism must follow. As the remainder of this paper will illustrate freely the way in which this has been done, there will be the less need for me to enlarge upon it at present.

There is, however, perhaps a certain amount of foundation for the charge in the predominantly abstract form which Dr. Hort, who is alone responsible for the Introduction, has given to his argument. This has given rise to misunderstanding in several quarters. If he had worked more by means of concrete examples, as in the short section on "Conflate Readings," I cannot help thinking that the argument would have been at once easier to follow and more generally convincing, though it would have been difficult to convey so many valuable results in so short a compass. And yet abstract statement and capricious subjective criticism are of course at bottom quite different things. The reader may rest assured that these seeming abstractions rest upon a most solid and laborious collection of facts. Of this, too, I hope to give a slight and partial illustration from the experience of one who has been working at textual criticism for not more than a fifth part of the thirty years which Drs. Westcott and Hort have devoted to it.

Another point of a similar kind on which the Review is calculated to give a misleading impression is in regard to the extent to which the editors



have admitted "Conjectural Emendations." It is far too much to say that "they see a ghost to be exorcised in every dark corner," and that "specimens of the writers' skill in this department abound."\* Though here again it is open to those who cordially accept the main principles which he lays down, to think that Dr. Hort (who is evidently, in this respect, bolder than his colleague) has gone rather too far. Such conjectures as are put forward are at once tentative in their character and tentatively stated. I believe I shall be right in saying that every one might be rejected without in the least affecting the integrity of the argument. The outposts of an army may be driven in and yet its position in no way weakened. It should not be thought from this that I would wish the conjectures away, for they are always interesting and instructive, and (*pace* the Reviewer) there are really some two or three passages, *e.g.*, Col. ii. 18, which it seems impossible to help regarding as desperate. I would only maintain—and in this I think Dr. Hort himself would agree with me—that the conjectures are not at all essential to the case.

On such points as these the Reviewer would seem, from his necessarily hasty glance at the introductory matter, to have given an incorrect and exaggerated impression; but the defects of his criticism go deeper than this. There is one fundamental principle in his opponents' reasoning which he not only does not understand, but of which he does not seem to have the faintest glimmering—the principle of *Genealogy*. Introduce this one factor, and it will be seen how the whole fabric of elaborate criticism is shaken to its base. The writer is really all at sea. His heaviest batteries are discharged at random. The "shot and shell" which are to "leave no dark corner standing for the ghost of a respectable doubt hereafter to hide in," bury themselves harmlessly in the earth, far away from the true scene of action.

It is easy to see, *à priori*, what an effect genealogy may have upon the bearing of the evidence. If we start from the autographs, and follow in imagination the different lines of descent, it is certain that these different lines would meet with very varied fortunes. On one, multiplication of copies would be rapid, and preservation, comparatively speaking, complete. Others would die out or be lost altogether. It is with MSS. just as it would be with living generations of men. Suppose two families, one patrician and the other plebeian, to start side by side, say, at the Conquest; one might be long ago extinct, while the other had multiplied a hundred or a thousandfold. Yet the blood of the last survivor of the first would be pure, while the others would be *terre filii* to the end. Between these two extreme cases there would be any number of variations and gradations besides. A few scattered descend-

\* The remarks on Conjectural Emendation are confined to rather less than a page and a-half. They conclude thus:—"The place of Conjectural Emendation in the textual criticism of the New Testament is, however, so inconsiderable that we should have hesitated to say even this much about it, did it not throw considerable light on the true nature of all textual criticism," &c.—*Appendix*, p. 72.



ants of the great feudal houses would struggle on down to modern times. But the mass of the population will have no such noble origin. The battle-field and the scaffold will have thinned the ranks of the aristocracy, while the commons have been thriving upon their misfortunes and multiplying under their shadow.

An analogy like this, as applied to the documentary evidence for the text of the New Testament, is not merely imaginary. What the Wars of the Roses were to the feudal nobility, that the Persecution of Diocletian proved to the oldest and purest MSS. of the New Testament. We know that the fury of this persecution was especially directed against the Christian books. It fell with unequal force upon different regions. In some the destruction seems to have been very great. And what the persecution of Diocletian had spared, the Vandal and Mahomedan conquests finally swept away; so that some of the most flourishing and intellectually active of the Christian Churches, like that of Egypt, not only lost their books, but themselves also wellnigh disappeared.

At the same time the establishment of Christianity at Constantinople gave a new centre of gravity to the Church. A particular type of text—the text that was current at Constantinople—began to spread all over the East. And it soon acquired a predominance, which may have owed something to its smoothness and completeness, but which was mainly the result of political, and what we should call accidental, causes.

There is something of conjecture in the sketch of the history of the text which has been thus given. I do not ask that it should be taken for granted. It will be quite enough for my purpose if it, or something like it, be admitted as a possibility. And this the merest glance at the course of ecclesiastical history will show that it must be. We shall then be prepared to find in the great mass of MSS., uncial and cursive, that have come down to us, along with the versions and the writings of the Fathers, the utmost variety of quality and value; and it will be antecedently not only possible, but probable, that the oldest and purest text may have survived in but a small handful of documents. The mere number of the representatives of other families of MSS. would be little or no criterion of their comparative merit. We can readily conceive that one MS., copied at no great interval from the autographs themselves, might lie upon its shelf undisturbed, perhaps hidden away for safety, and in any case, if not unused, yet untranscribed, for ages. Another, at some busy and more prosperous centre, though itself a much later transcript of a copy largely debased and corrupted, may be reproduced a hundred-fold, and each of these hundred copies may become the parent of many others in its turn. Under such circumstances, mere accident would have the greatest weight. No one supposes that the texts of Erasmus and Stephens were peculiarly pure; yet the fact that they happened to be among the first that were committed to print, has given them an enormous circulation. All this time the famous



Codex Alexandrinus, beloved of the Quarterly Reviewer, has been lying in the cases of the British Museum. Yet, would the Reviewer be prepared to say that the millions of copies of the Textus Receptus are of more value and more exactly represent the original than that single copy? And does he not see that this is precisely the same in principle as the method which he has pursued when he insists that the whole body of cursives, later uncials, lectionaries, and evangelistaria shall be thrown into the scale to outweigh the documents that carry with them real evidence of antiquity and purity?

But I must beware of begging the question—as the Reviewer has set me the example of doing on every page that he has written. It has yet to be proved that any one set of documents does contain a text distinctly older and purer than the rest. We will endeavour to give this proof, assuming nothing and asking the reader to assume nothing. We will start with a clean canvas, and only trace upon it such lines as the facts trace of themselves.

We begin, then, by confronting the great confused mass of MS. evidence, with all its intricacies as yet unravelled. Is there any law to be discerned in them? Will they supply any clue for our guidance? Can the investigation of them help us to distinguish between pure and sound lines of transmission and those on which corruption has been active? Are there any clear instances which will enable us to draw inferences as to those which are more obscure?

The age of the MSS. alone affords a certain presumption in their favour; but it is only a presumption. A MS. of the fourth century may have been copied from a pure and good MS. of the second, or it may have been copied from a corrupt exemplar not many years older than itself. Prior to analysis we have no means of knowing which of these two alternatives, or whether either of them, is true. It is necessary, therefore, to analyze a portion of the text in order to obtain some further criterion.

The Reviewer has challenged a minute examination of one or two passages, among which is the account of the healing of the paralytic (Mark ii. 1–12); and it happens that the first three chapters of St. Mark's Gospel were the section which I myself chose for a rough experiment when first I took up the subject of textual criticism. I have since analyzed the five chapters, Matt. v.–ix., on a more elaborate scale, besides testing other portions. It does not much matter where one sinks a shaft into the text, because the results arrived at will be found to be substantially the same. I will proceed to give some of the results of the analysis of these sections, premising that I shall confine myself to cases which are really clear. Doubtful cases will be put on one side. And in order to correct and check any bias which I might be supposed to have myself, I will throughout compare the text of a declared opponent of the MSS.  $\aleph$  and B, who has thrown at those MSS. quite as many hard words as the Quarterly Reviewer himself



—Mr. McClellan.\* Only readings which he stamps as corruptions shall be set down as such, or, if any exception is made to this rule, reasons shall be given. The reader shall be placed in a position to verify each step in the inquiry.

The Reviewer has very rightly called attention to the tendency in the MSS., especially of the Synoptic Gospels, to assimilate the texts of parallel passages to each other, whether the parallel is found in different Gospels, or in the immediate context, or in some later part of the same Gospel. This is one of the commonest sources of corruption. This test of *Assimilation*, then, shall be the first which we will apply. And we will apply it to that group of MSS. which is evidently the Reviewer's favourite, the numerical majority of MSS. headed by Codex A.

LIST OF ERRONEOUS READINGS IN THREE CHAPTERS, ST. MARK I.—III,  
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CAUSES TO WHICH THEY ARE DUE.

*Assimilation.*

No.	Reference.	Rejected Reading.	Whether also rejected by McClellan.†	To what passage assimilated.	Authorities.
1	Mark i. 1	Add ἐμπροσθέν σου	...	Matt. xi. 10 Luke vii. 27	ΑΓΔ,‡ later forms of old Latin, Harclean Syriac, some forms of Memphitic, and other versions. Some Fathers not earlier than Cent. IV.
2	i. 5	ὅτι αὐτοῦ after ἐν τῷ Ἰ. ποταμῷ	...	Matt. iii. 6	ADPTAΠ, one early form Old Latin, Harclean Syriac and Gothic
3	i. 8	After ἐγὼ add μέν	...	Matt. iii. 11 Luke iii. 16	ADPTAΠ, some forms of Old Latin, Harclean Syriac, Ethiopic, and Gothic.
4	i. 8	ἐν ὕδατι	...	Matt. iii. 11	ADPAΠ, Old Latin, Memphitic.
5	i. 10	ἀπό for ἐκ	...	Matt. iii. 16	APTΔΠ.
6	i. 10	ἐπ' for εἰς	...	Matt. iii. 16 Luke iii. 22	ΝΑΛPTAΠ.
7	i. 11	ἐν φῶ for ἐν σοί	...	Matt. iii. 17	ΑΓΠ and others, some forms of Old Latin.
8	i. 13	ἡμέρας τεσσάρων- τα (inverted order)	McClellan§	Matt. iv. 2 Luke iv. 2	ADTAΠ and others, some cursives partially, Syriac versions, and Gothic.

\* "And since the discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus* this characteristic has practically resolved itself into *servile submission to the two most ancient surviving MSS. of the fourth century and of the country of Egypt, the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus*. . . . Instead of the pure text of Evangelists and Apostles of the first century, modern criticism offers to the Church a *corrupt Egyptian text of the fourth century*. The New Testament has been forced into the bondage of Egypt."—M. "The supposed two independent witnesses to the Evangelic verity become resolved into a *single witness to a fabricated text of the third century*."—Q. R. How entirely and demonstrably wrong both writers are in ascribing the text (not the parchment) of NB to the fourth or even the third century, will appear in the sequel. Dr. Hort equally rejects the idea of their Egyptian parentage.

† Where no note is made it may be assumed that this is the case.

‡ The citations are taken from Tischendorf's 8th edition. In this Gospel, Tischendorf cites especially ATΓΔ; a comparison of Tregelles, however, will show that the great body of uncials EFHKMSUV may usually be included.

§ As the readings of Mr. McClellan have to be inferred from his translation, with the assistance of marks, which, however, seem to be not quite always prefixed, there is occasionally some uncertainty as to whether a reading is adopted by him or not.



No.	Reference.	Rejected Reading.	Whether also rejected by McClellan.	To what passage assimilated.	Authorities.
9	Mark i. 13	Omit <i>oi</i> before <i>ἀγγελοι</i>	...	Matt. iv. 11	AM, * cursive 33, and others.
? 10	i. 14	Insert <i>τῆς βασιλείας</i> after <i>τὸ εὐ-αγγ.</i>	So McClellan, but expression is peculiar to first Gospel and apparently borrowed from it	Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, xxiv. 14	ADΓΔΠ and others, some forms of Old Latin, Vulgate, and two Syriac versions, Æthiopic, and Gothic.
11	i. 16	<i>περιπατῶν δὲ</i> for <i>καὶ παράγων</i>	..	Matt. iv. 18	ΑΓΔΠ and others.
12	i. 16	Add <i>ἀμφιβληστρον</i>	...	Matt. iv. 18	ΑΓΔΠ and others, Harelean Syriac, and Gothic.
17	i. 19	Add <i>ἐκεῖθεν</i>	..	Matt. iv. 21	ΝΑCΓΔΠ and others, some forms of Old Latin, Memphitic, Peshito Syriac.
18	i. 24	Insert <i>ἐα</i>	..	Luke iv. 34	Ν (third corrector) A CΓΔΠ and others, Harelean Syriac, Armenian, and Gothic.
19	i. 26	<i>κράξαν</i> for <i>φωνήσαν</i>	...	Verse 23; also to avoid tautology	AC(D)ΓΔΠ and others.
? 20	i. 27	<i>πάντες</i> for <i>ἅπαντες</i>	McClellan (?)	Luke iv. 36	ACDΓΔΠ and others.
? 21	i. 27	<i>πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς</i> for <i>αὐτοὺς</i>	So McClellan	Luke iv. 36 (πρὸς ἀλλήλους)	ACDΓΔΠ and many others.
22	i. 27	<i>τίς ἡ διδαχὴ ἢ κ.</i> for <i>διδαχὴ καὶ νή</i>	..	Luke iv. 36 ( <i>τίς ὁ λόγος</i> )	(A)CΓΔΠ and others, Old Latin.
? 23	i. 31	After <i>τῆς χειρὸς</i> add <i>αὐτῆς</i>	McClellan	Matt. viii. 15 (also common epexegetic addition)	ACΓΔΠ, &c.
? 24	i. 39	<i>ἦν</i> for <i>ἦλθεν</i>	McClellan	Luke iv. 44.	ACDΓΔΠ, &c. Latin and Syriac versions, &c.
25	i. 41	<i>ἦψατο αὐτοῦ</i>	?	Matt. viii. 3	ACΓΔΠ, &c.
26	i. 45	<i>ἐν</i> for <i>ἐπ'</i> [ <i>ἐρήμοις</i> ]	...	Luke v. 13	ACDΓΠ, &c.
27†	ii. 5	<i>σοὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου</i>	...	Luke v. 15	AC (corrector) EH, &c.
28	ii. 7	<i>λαλεῖ βλασφημίας</i> for <i>λαλεῖ βλασφημεί</i>	...	Luke v. 21	ACΓΔΠ, &c.
29	ii. 8	<i>εἶπεν</i> for <i>λέγει</i>	...	Matt. ix. 4 Luke v. 22 (and influence of <i>ἐπ' αὐτοῦ</i> preceding)	ACDΓΔΠ, &c.
30	ii. 11	Insert <i>καὶ</i> before <i>ἄρον</i>	...	verse 9	AΔΠ, &c.
31	ii. 15	<i>ἐγένετο</i> for <i>γίνεται</i>	...	Matt. ix. 10 or preceding aorists.	ACDΓΔΠ, &c.
32	ii. 15	Insert <i>ἐλθόντες</i>	...	Matt. ix. 10	A*C.
33	ii. 16	<i>καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι</i> for [ <i>οἱ γραμμ.</i> ] <i>τῶν φαρισαίων</i>	...	Matt. xxiii. 2 and elsewhere; also "facilior lectio"	ACΓΠ, &c., Latin versions.

\* This instance, together with No. 32, should perhaps be considered cancelled, as A is not strongly enough supported.

† I cannot bring myself to put a ? to this and the next example, though I see that the Quarterly Reviewer quotes them upon the other side.



No.	Reference.	Rejected Reading.	Whether also rejected by McClellan.	To what passage assimilated.	Authorities.
? 34	Mark ii. 22	ρήσσει for ρήξει	...	surrounding presents (but cfr. Luke v. 37)	ΑΓΑΠ and most others.
35	ii. 22	After ὁ οἶνος add ὁ νέος	...	Luke v. 37	AC (corrector) ΓΑΠ and most others.
36	ii. 22	ὁ οἶνος ἐκχείται καὶ οἱ ἀσχοὶ ἀπολούνται	...	Matt. ix. 17 and, as to last words, Luke v. 37	ΒΑCΓΑΠ and most others.
? 37	iii. 1	Insert τὴν before συναγωγὴν	McClellan	Matt. xii. 9 Luke vi. 6	ACDL, &c.
38	iii. 2	παρηγοῦντο	?	Luke vi. 7	AC*DA.
39	iii. 3	τῷ ἐξηραμμένῃ	...	verse 1	ADΠ and others, Peshito Syriac.
40	iii. 7	After ἠκολούθησεν add αὐτῷ	...	Matt. xii. 15 (also common epexegetic addition)	ΑΠΓΑΠ and most others, Syriac versions.
41	iii. 8	ἀκούσαντες for ἀκούοντες	...	ἡλθον following	ACDLΠΠ, Old Latin and Syriac version.
42	iii. 12	φανερὸν αὐτόν	?	Matt. xii. 16	ALΠΠ and others.
? 43	iii. 15	Add θεραπεύειν τὰς νόσους καὶ	McClellan	Matt. x. 1 Luke ix. 1	AC (corrector) DΠΠ, Latin and Syriac versions.
44	iii. 25	δύναται for δυνήσεται	...	verse 24	ADΠ and most others, Syriac versions.
45	iii. 25	σταθῆναι ἢ οἰκ. ἐκείνῃ	?	verse 24	AEFG, &c.
46	iii. 27	διαρπάσῃ	...	preceding clause	AEFG, &c.
47	iii. 32	εἶπον δὲ for καὶ λέγουσιν	...	Matt. xii. 47	ΑΠΠ and others.
48	iii. 34	ἰδοὺ for ἰδε	?	Matt. xii. 48	ADGK and others.

Other common causes of corruption were the tendency to grammatical or literary emendation of the Greek and the tendency to substitute an easier construction or sense for one that was more difficult. I proceed to give a few clear cases of this kind, confining myself strictly to those which are recognized as false readings by McClellan.

*Grammatical or Literary Emendation.*

No.	Reference.	Rejected Reading.	Cause of Corruption.	Authorities.
49	Mark i. 6, and <i>passim</i>	δὲ for καὶ	Avoidance of monotony	ADΠΤΑΠ and many others.
50	i. 37	εὐρόντες for εὗρον καὶ	The same	ACTΑΠ and others.
51	i. 38	ἐξελέλυθα	Corrected tense	ADΠ and others.
52	i. 41	ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς	Subject supplied	ACΓΑΠ and many others.
53*	ii. 4	ἐφ' ᾧ for ὅπου	Substitution of more correct expression	ACEG, &c.
54	iii. 11 McC. (?)	ἐθεώρει for ἐθεώρουν	After neut. plur. τὰ πνεύματα	ΑΠΠ and some others.
55	iii. 28	ἦσας for ὅσα	To agree with βλασφημίαι	ACFKL, &c.
56	iii. 31	οὖν for καὶ	Emendation of style	ΑΠΠ and others.
57	iii. 31	οἱ ἀδελφ. καὶ ἡ μήτ.	Order changed, because of preceding plural verb	ΑΠΠ and others.
58	iii. 33	ἡ for καὶ	Because of previous τῷ	ADEF, &c.
59	iii. 34	κύκλῳ transposed	For greater point	ΑΠΠ and others.

\* The reader may, if he likes, suppose ? prefixed to this in deference to the Quarterly Reviewer, though the change is quite in the spirit of Alexandrian correction, and though



*Facilior Lectio.*

No.	Reference.	Rejected Reading.	Cause of Corruption.	Authorities.
60	Mark i. 2	ἐν τοῖς προφήταις	Critical grounds, to avoid appearance of false attribution to Isaiah	AEF, &c.
61	i. 5	πάντες after ἐβαπτίζοντο	For easier construction	APFH and others.
62	ii. 1	εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν	To avoid <i>nom. pendens</i>	ACEK, &c.
63	ii. 1	καὶ inserted	For the same reason	ACDΤΔ and others.
64	iii. 18	Κανανιτῆν for Κανα- ναῖον	Form misunderstood	AFH and many others.
65	iii. 19	Ἰσκαριώτην for Ἰσκα- ριώθ	Grecized termination	AFH and many others.
66	iii. 27	ἀλλ' omitted	From exegetical difficulty	ADFH and others.

We have thus collected from these three chapters some sixty-six readings, the great majority, I cannot but think, quite unequivocal, in which the group headed by A has deviated from the true text. To eight of these readings I have placed a ? ; not because I have any doubt about them myself, but because a doubt may possibly be entertained by others. For almost all the rest I have the unambiguous support of a determined opponent of the cause which I am maintaining, and an equally strong ally of that against which this argument is directed. I have thus sought anxiously to eliminate the effects of individual bias and to present a case that shall bear hostile scrutiny.

If we may thus assume that something has been ascertained as to the character of the group which follows in the wake of A, the next step is to ascertain in like manner what is the character of the other main groups which will compete with it for recognition as the purest representatives of the original. Two groups only will practically need to be considered, the group headed by D, and that which includes **N B**.

The D group also may be at once dismissed, as its essential character is admitted upon all hands. The erroneous readings contained in it would probably be found to be three or four times as many as those of A ; and to take it as a basis for the reconstruction of the text would be quite out of the question. I must stay, however, for a moment to observe that it does not at all follow from this (as the Quarterly Reviewer seems to suppose) that the readings of D and its Latin colleagues are therefore of little value. Their licentiousness of paraphrase and variation is notorious. It evidently arose from a lax conception of the duties of a transcriber. But if this is the fatal weakness of the D group, it has, at the same time, an element of very considerable strength. The relation of D to the old Latin version and to the Latin Fathers

the word *σπου* is specially characteristic of St. Mark (17 times, to 4 in St. Luke and once in the Acts).



shows that its text must go back well into the second century. And hence, when it is found supporting another text of altogether different character and affinities, and itself also of proved antiquity, the conclusion is that the common stock which belongs to these two lines of descent dates back beyond the point of divergence. In other words, if the text of D itself goes back to the second century, the text which it has in common with another text which branched off from it during that century must be older still.

But we are anticipating. The next step will be to test, as we have tested the A group, the group which contains  $\aleph$  and B. And here, in order to keep up the standard of objectivity which I have hitherto tried to assume, the measure applied shall be altogether more stringent. The readings given shall be no longer those which are in themselves sufficiently clear and about which there is little or no difference of opinion, but they shall include possible errors as well as certainties, and I will do my best to make the list fairly exhaustive. At the same time I will endeavour to show how critical opinion is balanced. The same headings being adopted as before,  $\aleph$  and B together would seem to be possibly wrong in the undermentioned instances.

#### Assimilation.

No.	Reference.	Reading.	Authorities.	Editors for.	Editors against.	To what passage possibly assimilated.
1	Mark ii. 5	<i>καὶ ἰδῶν for ἰδὼν δέ</i>	$\aleph$ BC L, best cursives	Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort	Tregelles, McClellan	Matt. ix. 2; Luke v. 20; but the emended text has a special tendency to alter the monotonous <i>καὶ τοῦ</i> to <i>δέ</i> .
2	ii. 9	<i>ἀφένται for ἀφένται</i>	$\aleph$ B, Latin and Syriac Versions	Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort	McClellan	Matt. ix. 5; but the other reading may be equally assimilated to Luke v. 23.
3	ii. 16	<i>ἐσθίει alone, not adding καὶ πίνει</i>	$\aleph$ BD, Old Latin	Weiss, Westcott and Hort	Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan	Matt. ix. 11; but the addition may be from assimilation to Luke v. 30.
4	ii. 26	<i>τοὺς ἑρεῖς for τοῖς ἑρεῦσιν</i>	$\aleph$ BL	Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort	Tregelles, McClellan	Luke vi. 4; but compare Matt. xii. 4.
5	iii. 12	<i>ποιήσωσιν for ποιῶσιν</i>	$\aleph$ AB*CTΔ and others	Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, McClellan	Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss	Matt. xi. 16.
6	iii. 14	Insert <i>οὗς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν</i>	$\aleph$ BC*Δ, Version of Lower Egypt	Westcott, and Hort, McClellan	Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss	Luke vi. 13.
7	iii. 26	<i>ἐμερίστη for μεμέρισται</i>	$\aleph$ BC*LΔ	Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort	Tregelles, McClellan	Matt. xii. 26; but the change may be a literary emendation.



No.	Reference.	Reading.	Authorities.	Editors for.	Editors against.	To what passage possibly assimilated.
8	iii. 32	καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ σου omitted	ⲚBCGKLΔ II best cursives, Vulgate and Peshito Syriac, Version of Lower Egypt	Tregelles, Westcott and Hort	Tischendorf, Weiss, McClellan	Luke viii. 20 (Matt. xii. 47); but "probably suggested by verse 35" or "possibly derived from an extraneous source."
9	i. 36	κατεδίδωκεν for κατεδίδωκεν	ⲚBMU, and some others Vulgate, and Vers. of Lower Egypt.	Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort	Tregelles, McClellan (?)	Change to agreement with nearest substantive; but change to plural because of plural subjects more probable.
10	ii. 4	προσενέγκαι for προσεγίσαται	ⲚBL, best cursive, Vulgate, Vers. of Lower Egypt.	Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort	Tregelles, McClellan	"From Matt. ix. 2 or Luke v. 18, 19."—Q. R. (?); but alternative more elegant Greek and less characteristic of St. Mark.

Of *Facilior Leetio* I am unable to find any examples.

There are, thus, in all, ten instances in which Ⲛ and B unite in suspicious readings. In eight of these the internal evidence is ambiguous, and there is quite as much to be said upon one side as on the other, while in the remaining two the combination of external evidence is the strongest, and it is just on these that Mr. McClellan, whose principles of textual criticism appear to be identical with those of the Quarterly Reviewer, comes over to the other side! There is thus not one single reading which can be arrayed against Ⲛ B with any real confidence to fifty at least which bear unequivocal testimony against A and its following.

There are, it is true, one or two faulty readings of B alone, or of Ⲛ alone, or of each in combination with some other MSS. Those of B are, I think, none of them of any importance as affecting the character of the MS. They are, for the most part, if I remember rightly, cases of apparent "homœoteleuton."\* Those of Ⲛ, though not

\* In two interesting leading articles in *The Record* (Oct. 31 and Nov. 4) a criticism is directed specially against Codex B. It is urged that the character of this Codex in the New Testament is not to be judged independently of its character in the Old, and that there it shows signs of systematic omission and abbreviation. The well-known omissions in 1 Sam. xvii. xviii., are given as an example. But on referring to the great edition of the Septuagint by Holmes and Parsons I find that the principal passage (1 Sam. xvii. 11—31) appears to have been originally wanting in *all* the extant uncials. The verses are found indeed in the Codex Alexandrinus, but Dr. Kennicott is said to have proved that they must have been absent from the copy from which it was transcribed—a conclusion which I see is endorsed by Mr. Kirkpatrick in his excellent edition of 1 Samuel for the *Camb. Bible for Schools*. At any rate the verses are absent not only from Codex B (H. and P.'s II.) but from Codex X (Coislinianus) and Codex XI. (Basilio-Vaticanus.) They are also absent from the cursives 29, 119, 121, and are marked with an asterisk in Codd. 69, 92. This mark indicates that Origen in his Hexapla supplied their place from one of the other versions, in this



numerous, are worse; and worst of all that which is quoted by the Reviewer, οὐδέποτε οὕτως ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, taken from Matt. ix. 23, for οὐδέποτε οὕτως εἶδομεν. But (1) it is just these readings, especially those in which  $\aleph$  and B stand at the head of different groups, which show that they are independent witnesses and not descended from a near common ancestor; and (2) no one has ever claimed for either any immunity from corruption. On  $\aleph$  in particular, when unsupported by B, but little stress can be laid; it is their combination which is so highly prized, as carrying us back to a text of the highest antiquity. But of this more shall be said presently.

I now turn to the five chapters St. Matthew, v.-ix., of which I have by me a full analysis, to see how far the results hitherto obtained are confirmed. Here, unfortunately, A is wanting altogether, while C and D are also wanting in part. It is, however, not difficult to see to which of the competing groups A would in all probability have belonged; and as I am unable to give the readings of A itself, I have given the readings of that group which would seem to represent A in that part of the first Gospel from which it is missing. Care has been taken to exclude doubtful cases. Here, too, or rather especially here, as the text is presented in an abridged form, and the reader is not supplied with the full means of verification, it has been thought right to observe a strict rule as to the assumption of error. Those instances only are given which are sanctioned by Mr. McClellan. We have here, in the five chapters named, the following erroneous readings, arranged under heads as before.

C is defective, v. 15-vii. 5; L is defective, v. 1-15; D is defective, vi. 20-ix. 2; F and G are also defective in parts.

*Assimilation*:—Matt. v. 30, E G K L &c.; v. 32, D E G &c.; v. 32, E K L &c.; v. 39, D E G K L &c.; v. 42, E G K L &c.; v. 44, D E K L &c.; v. 44, D E K L &c.; v. 44, D E K L &c.; v. 47, E K L &c.; v. 47, E K L &c.; v. 48, D \* E (corrector) K M &c.; vi. 5, E K L &c.; vi. 12,  $\aleph$  (third corrector) (D and E approximately) G K &c.; vi. 18, E G K L &c.; vi. 21, E G K L &c.; vii. 5, E G K L &c.; vii. 9, E G K L &c.; vii. 15, C E G K L &c.; viii. 13,  $\aleph$  \* C E &c.; viii. 15,  $\aleph$  (second corrector) L M \* &c.; viii. 27, C E K L &c.; viii. 29, C (corrector) E K M &c.; viii. 31, C E K L &c.; viii. 32, C (corrector) E K L &c.; ix. 2, C E F K L &c.; ix. 2, E F K L &c.; ix. 5, C E F G &c.; ix. 13, C E G K L &c.; ix.

case, Dr. Field thinks, probably, that of Theodotion. The same mark is affixed to the other passage, xvii. 55-xviii. 5. Mr. Kirkpatrick is emphatically of opinion that xvii. 12-31 at least was "no part of the original Septuagint." Thenius, one of the best commentators on the Books of Samuel maintains that the Septuagint text of these books as represented by the Vatican MS. must be treated as a Hebrew MS. of the highest value and not far removed from the originals (*Kurzgef. exeg. Handbuch*, Ed. 2, p. xxii.) Again the fact that neither in the Old Testament nor in the New does B stand alone, but that in each case it is a member of a group and of altogether different and independent groups (except so far as  $\aleph$  B, are both extant) makes it clear that the peculiarities of the MS. are not due to the scribe, but to the archetype from which he copied, and the further back that archetype is thrown, the less probable is it that a single copy was used for both Testaments. But if the writer tries to work out his theory in detail, I feel sure that he will find it untenable—certainly in the New Testament, and probably also in the Old.



17, C E F G &c.; ix. 22, C E F G, &c.; ix. 23, C E F G &c.; ix. 30, B (first corrector) C D E &c.; ix. 35,  $\aleph$  \* C (corrector) E F &c.

*Grammatical and Literary Emendation*:—Matt. vi. 5, E K L &c.; vi. 16, E K L &c.; vi. 28, E G K L (or possibly assimilation); vi. 32, E G K L &c.; vii. 15, C E G K L &c.; vii. 21, E G K L &c.; vii. 22, B (first corrector) E G K &c.; vii. 24, E G K L &c.; vii. 26, C E K L &c.; viii. 4,  $\aleph$  E K L &c.; viii. 13, C E G K L &c.; ix. 8, C E F K L &c.; ix. 13 C (corrector) E F G &c.

To the above headings we may add some others.

*Explanatory Addition*:—Matt. v. 11, C E K M &c.; v. 22, D E K L &c.; vi. 4, E K L M &c.; vi. 6, E K L &c.; viii. 3, C (corrector) E K L &c.; viii. 7, C E K L &c.; viii. 21, C E G K L &c.; viii. 25, E K L &c.; ix. 4, E F K L &c.; ix. 12, C E F K L &c.; ix. 12, C (corrector) E K L &c.; ix. 18, C (corrector) F G L U.

*Miscellaneous*:—v. 47, E K L &c. (paraphrase); vi. 1, E K L Z &c. (gloss); vi. 13, E G K L &c. (liturgical addition); viii. 34, C E K L &c. (paraphrase).

If the above lists are examined I believe it will be found that the number of readings which fairly represent the A group, has been considerably under-estimated. Those only were taken in which the later uncials had been the support of some leading MS. (C, D, L, or correctors of  $\aleph$  B). There were not a few other cases in which it seemed highly probable that A would have been found on the side of a clearly erroneous reading, but I refrained from entering them, as I was anxious to be upon the safe side.

To set against this formidable array, the only cases in which there would seem to be any strong antecedent presumption against  $\aleph$  B, are Matt. vi. 32, where they support the insertions of  $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  before  $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha\nu$  which might be thought to be a gloss or explanatory addition, and Matt. viii. 9, where they both insert  $\tau\alpha\sigma\acute{\sigma}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  after  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\delta\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha\nu$ , which looks like a reminiscence of Luke vii. 8. Without at present going into a detailed discussion of either of these readings, I will only observe that I have reason to know that their genuineness is strenuously maintained by Dr. Hort, who has in each case succeeded in persuading his fellow Revisers to place them in the margin. The reader may, however, if he likes, suppose that  $\aleph$  B are in error, in which case (according to the hypothesis which we are more and more nearly approaching) we should have examples of extremely early corruption.

But taking the body of readings as a whole, it would hardly seem as if there could be a doubt. We began by setting before ourselves the great disordered mass of variations. In this we find three lines rapidly single themselves out—the line of  $\aleph$  B, of D, and that of A. We have put D on one side, as by universal consent out of the question. And thus the choice really lies between  $\aleph$  B and A. Between these two it seems, with the evidence before us, impossible to hesitate. The problem is to find a group which can be taken approximately as the



basis of a reconstructed text. The A group is clearly not capable of satisfying this condition. So far from being a pure and authentic type of text, it is far gone on the road of corruption. The hypothesis cannot be entertained, that it represents the original text which  $\aleph$  B have systematically depraved. It is against all probability that the scribes would care to alter and diversify parallel passages which the Evangelists had left identical, or that they would make awkward and rough what the Evangelists had left flowing and smooth. On the other hand, the converse process is credible and probable enough. Taking A as a basis, we cannot work backwards to  $\aleph$  B. But taking  $\aleph$  B as a basis, it is comparatively easy to trace the course of deviation and corruption until it took the shape which it has in A.

No doubt there are some other possibilities open. The true basis may be, not  $\aleph$  B, but some other groups containing B or  $\aleph$ . These are precisely the points which Drs. Westcott and Hort have tested with so much care. They decide emphatically in favour of  $\aleph$  B, with other groups arranged in due scale of precedence, those headed by B coming for the most part before those headed by  $\aleph$ ; but these are niceties that need not at present detain us.

Leaping over a number of intermediate steps in the process of investigation, I will endeavour to represent by a rough genealogy what appear to have been the main outlines of the history of the text. There is a large confusing element which is due to the mixture of different strains of text. In copying a MS. belonging to the Western class, the scribe would have at his side a second, the lineage of which was Alexandrian, and he would introduce corrections from this into his copy. Another scribe in like manner might correct an Alexandrian text by a Western; and when once this mixture began, it is easy to see how it would be extended in every variety and degree of combination. It would be natural to expect that the oldest MSS. and authorities would be most free from this phenomenon of mixture. And so, as a matter of fact, we find it. At opposite ends of the line, B and D with its companion MSS. of the Old Latin and the older Latin Fathers, especially Cyprian, represent two distinct strains, each of which is in itself nearly pure. In  $\aleph$  and Origen (who, both in the number and value of his quotations, surpasses all the other Ante-Nicene Fathers) the mixture is not extensive. And in C L Z  $\Xi$  and the Egyptian versions, though the mixture is greater, the fundamental strain is quite sufficiently well marked. The root stock of the Old Syriac version is Western. In the Peshito or Vulgate Syriac it has been largely modified from Greek sources. The Peshito appears to represent a more or less systematic revision; and to this revision the eclectic Byzantine text which forms the foundation of the *Textus Receptus* is nearly allied. As this text has borrowed a large portion of its constituent elements from the two main divergent texts, the Alexandrian and the Western, it follows that each of those texts is divided into two parts, one, that



which has been incorporated into the Received Text, and has so come down to modern times; and the other, that which has not been so incorporated, and which survives only in the older documents. It will be understood that the sketch which follows relates only to the disputed portion of the text; there is of course a great deal which is undisputed and which has been faithfully preserved through all the several ramifications. This sound substratum may be left out of sight.

The Autographs	B	Pure text	Byzantine or Syrian Text; the basis of the Textus Receptus.
		Individual errors	
	Origen	Pure text	
		Alexandrian	
		Western	
		Pure text	
	CAZΞΔ (St. Mk.)	Alexandrian	
		Western	
	Egyptian Versions	Pure text	
		Unincorporated Alexandrian	
Genealogical Outline of the History of the Text	Syrian Versions	Incorporated Alexandrian	
		Western	
	D, Old Latin	Pure text	
		Curetonian	
		(Western text)	
		Peshito (by mixture)	
		Pure text	
		Incorporated Western	
		Unincorporated Western	

The reader may, if he prefers to do so, suppose that the above represents a mere hypothesis, though it is really the result of a long and elaborate induction. I would ask him in that case to test it over a sufficiently wide area, and if he thinks that it does not hold good, himself to propose something better. It is here that the critics of Drs. Westcott and Hort and the Revisers seem to fail most conspicuously.



They throw out hypotheses which perhaps may meet this particular case or that particular case, but they have put forward no theory which even professes to cover the phenomena of the text of the New Testament as a whole. Yet this must be done if they are to meet their opponents on at all equal terms. I challenge the Quarterly Reviewer to put forward any more tenable theory; and if he can succeed in doing so, I promise to give in adhesion to it myself. But I greatly doubt if any theory can be put forward which would stand a searching test—I do not say for a few weeks, but even for a few hours.

Those who have followed the process by which a constructive theory must be formed, will see at once how futile is the objection which is so commonly drawn from the diversity of the leading MSS. Certainly they sometimes agree, and sometimes diverge and unite together in very varying combinations. But it is precisely these varieties which supply an instrument for determining their relations to each other. When the botanist sets himself to classify his plants, or the physiologist his animals, he finds in each species a certain amount of resemblance to others, and a certain amount of difference from them; and it is by the judicious use of these resemblances and differences that he arrives at a scientific classification, such as must precede any conclusion as to the order of their affinities and descent. It is just so with the textual critic. He observes the characteristics which run through any given group or groups of documents; he separates gradually the individual from the general, and so is enabled to trace the intricate relations of connection and dependency, till he at last discovers formulæ which adequately include the facts. If the grouping of MSS. were simpler and more uniform, textual criticism, no doubt, would be a much easier thing, but it would also lose half its interest, and in all probability, when the more intricate variations are better understood, a great deal of its certainty.

Probably, the best way to appreciate the working of these principles will be to apply them in practice. And we can, at the same time, give a brief consideration to the instances which have been chosen for adverse criticism. These are of very various kinds. Some involve the question of principle much more directly than others. There is one series of passages in particular which do this in a very minor degree: viz., the series of passages in Luke xxii. 19, 20, xxiv. 3, 6, 9, 12, 40, 51, 52. I have discussed these omissions at some length elsewhere.\* They rest on the apparently slight authority of D and codices of the Old Latin, occasionally reinforced by N; in other words, they are purely Western. Here Drs. Westcott and Hort come in with their wide experience and careful investigation of the character of groups, and they urge that Western readings as a whole are much more deserving of

\* See the current number of the *Expositor*. I may take this opportunity to correct one point. The evidence (NABL, &c., NABDL) for the omission of the concluding clauses of the two verses 36, 42, is much stronger than in the other cases, and is, indeed, quite decisive on any rational theory of external evidence.



attention when they involve omission, than when they involve addition. The internal evidence on this point it would be well for the reader carefully to weigh. At the same time the cases in question are avowedly exceptional. It would be quite against the ordinary practice as well of Drs. Westcott and Hort themselves as of those who follow their principles, to reject a reading that had the support of  $\aleph$ , A, B, D. Such a reading, if a corruption, must have been introduced early in the second century. Most textual critics would speak with hesitation on a point like this, and they would certainly not choose it as a position to occupy against all attacks. At the same time, the obvious possibility, and, indeed, probability, of interpolation from St. John in verses 12, 36, 40, must be held to justify at least the moderate step of the Revisers in noticing the omission of those verses (and the other omissions similarly supported) in the margin.

Of a like kind, and equally a question of detail rather than of principle, would be the reading in Acts xxvii. 37 "about seventy-six" for "two hundred and seventy-six," as the number of passengers on board the corn ship in which St. Paul was wrecked. This reading is admitted into the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort—on the authority of B, the version of Upper Egypt, and, apparently, Epiphanius—"two hundred" being placed in the margin. The Revisers have noticed both readings, but have preferred the common text. It is, however, quite possible—and Drs. Westcott and Hort would, no doubt, themselves, allow that it was possible—that the reading, "about seventy-six," may be an error on the part of B, which obtained a small early circulation. So far as the principles of textual criticism are concerned, both views would be tenable. Transcriptional probabilities are balanced. For if the Quarterly Reviewer has reason (as no doubt he has) in suggesting that  $\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\omega\ \sigma\omicron\varsigma$  might easily pass into  $\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\omega\ \omega\varsigma\ \omicron\varsigma$  through repetition of the  $\omega$ , it would be just as easy to suppose that the second  $\omega$  might fall out through homœoteleuton. The common-sense argument to which the Reviewer appeals, is surely not valid; it is quite possible to say "about seventy-six," implying that the number might be seventy-five or seventy-seven, but that, in any case, the margin of difference was small. Hardly in the same category would be the reading, Titus Justus or Titus Justus, in Acts xviii. 7; for B and the corrector of D have here the approximate support not only of  $\aleph$  E, but of both Egyptian and both Syriac versions with the Vulgate. This is a very strong group, which can hardly fail to mark an original reading. And the hypothesis of omission by homœoteleuton is again just as obvious, and just as satisfactory as the repetition of letters maintained by the Reviewer.

At the opposite pole to the slenderly supported readings just mentioned, the discussion of which belongs to the refinements of textual criticism, would stand a group such as the following, all of which the Reviewer has had the hardihood to contest.



Reference.	Reading accepted.	Reading rejected.	Cause of Corruption.
Mark ix. 23	τὸ εἰ δύνῃ NB(C*LΔ), vers. of Lower Egypt, Old Latin at least in one form, Armenian and Ethiopic	Add πιστεῦσαι AC (second corrector) DNX, &c. Old Latin (most forms), Vulgate, Gothic, and Syriac versions	Quite obvious gloss or explanatory addition.
ix. 24	εὐθὺς κράξας ὁ πατ. τ. π. ἔλεγεν NABC*LΔ, some versions	Add μετὰ δακρυῶν DNX, &c, some versions	Western paraphrastic addition.
ix. 24	πιστεύω NABC*DL, most versions	Add κύριε C (corrector) NX, &c., most forms of Old Latin and Vulgate	Reverential addition.
xi. 3	εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει πάλιν ἃ δε οὐ ἀποστέλλει πάλιν αὐτόν BC*DLΔ and others, Origen twice	Omit πάλιν AC (first corrector) XΓΠ and others, versions; Origen twice	Assimilation to sense of Matt. xxi. 3.
xi. 8	ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας, κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀργῶν NB(C)LΔ, most forms of Egyptian versions and Origen	ἐκοπτον ἐκ τῶν δένδρων καὶ ἐστρώωντο εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ADNX, &c., several versions	Clear case of assimilation to Matt. xxi. 8.
Luke ix. 55, 56	Omit verse and a half καὶ εἶπεν κ. τ. λ. NABCEGHLSVXΔΞ, &c	Insert this D (in part) KMU, &c.	Interpolation from external source, and ch. xix. 10.*

The Reviewer seems to have tried hard to reduce his own theory to an absurdity; but it would have been far better to throw over external evidence (and internal evidence as it presents itself to ordinary minds) altogether, and stand upon his own *ipse dixit* as to what the Evangelists must have written. It is clearly impossible to convince such a critic of anything that he does not already believe; but if the impartial reader will first test the genealogy given above, and then apply it to the cases in question, he will see how in some, the oldest and best documents, on *all* the lines of transmission, support the reading of Westcott and Hort, and the Revisers; and on others, all the lines, with the single exception of the Western text headed by D and the old Latin, against the corruptness of which the Reviewer himself has repeatedly inveighed.

With a strange inconsistency, it is just this text which has awakened such storms of wrath, and called down upon itself such a profusion of condemnatory epithets, of which the Reviewer would seem, from the examples he has chosen, to have constituted himself the special defender. Dr. Scrivener spoke in strong terms of a certain portion of the text current in the second century, and the Reviewer applies similar language to the whole of the text indiscriminately, while he adopts with equal impartiality readings which have, and which have not, the same depraved origin. The fact that a Western reading was taken up into the later Byzantine text is usually sufficient to make him throw over it the *egis* of his protection. The following are instances in point, of which it

\* I should certainly have added to this list, Matt. xi. 23 *μή. . . ὑψώθη* but for the strange defection of Weiss [it is quite as easy to suppose that M has been dropped, as that it has been doubled from the final M of *Καθαρναούμ*], and John xiv. 4, where however McClellan secedes, in the face of the external evidence, probably from a mistaken estimate of the bearing of the context upon the reading.



is only necessary to premise that the attribution of "Western" is not by any means the mere "magisterial announcement" that the Reviewer seems to suppose, but the result of a long induction embracing, in the case of Drs. Westcott and Hort, the text of the whole New Testament.

Reference.	Reading.	Authorities.	Probable cause of Corruption of Variant Reading.
Matt. xviii. 11	Omit the verse	NBL, best cursive, two forms of Latin, Egyptian and other versions, Origen, Eusebius and other Fathers	Interpolation from Luke xix. 20.
Mark vi. 20	"Was much perplexed" ( <i>ἡπόρει</i> for <i>ἐπείκει</i> )	NBL, Version of Lower Egypt	Tame correction of word not understood. Too little connection of sense for <i>ἡπόρει</i> to have been borrowed from Luke ix. 7. "Internal evidence pleads powerfully in its favour."—Scrivener.
Luke v. 39	"The old is good"	NBL, Version of Lower Egypt and Peshito	To heighten comparison.
Luke vi. 1	Omit "second - first" ( <i>δευτεροπρώτω</i> )	NBL, best cursives, some forms of Old Latin, Peshito, Version of Lower Egypt	Chronological note in margin transferred to text.
Luke vi. 48	"Because it was well built"	NBL, best cursives, Versions of Lower Egypt and margin of Harclean Syriac	Assimilation to Matt. viii. 25.
Luke xi. 2-4	Abridged form of Lord's Prayer	NBL, some cursives, Vulgate (Marcion), Origen (expressly)	Assimilation to Matt. vi. 9-13. No evidence to show that abridgment originated with Marcion. It is found in a text altogether alien from his.
Luke xxiii. 38	Omit clause relating to triple language of inscription on the Cross.	N (third corrector) BC*L, Egyptian Version and Old Syriac	Interpolation from John xix. 20.

There was, perhaps, more antecedent reason in the internal evidence for the critic's refusal to admit the changes introduced in the Angelic Hymn (Luke ii. 14, N\* A B\* D, Latin Versions), and in the account of the darkness at the Crucifixion (Luke xxiii. 45, N B C\* L; copies known to Origen); and the omission of the Agony and Bloody Sweat (Luke xxii. 43, 44, N first corrector, A B R T and copies known to Hilary and Jerome); and our Lord's Prayer for the forgiveness of His murderers (Luke xxiii. 34 N,) first corrector B D\*, forms of Old Latin, Egyptian Versions). In regard to the first of these, I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of one of the most original and profound of living scholars, Canon T. S. Evans, Professor of Greek in my own University, that the reading *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας* yields a good sense.\* The other readings wear a different aspect when they are looked at alone,

\* "If the reading *εὐδοκίας* be adopted, the clause may be translated 'among men of his counsel for good' or 'of his gracious purpose.' This rendering seems to be in harmony with the preceding context, and with the teaching of Scripture in general, especially if the 'men of his counsel for good' be regarded as identical with the Church of the redeemed, chosen out of the world." For the objective use of *εὐ* in composition see the note in the "Speaker's Commentary," on 1 Cor. x. 16.



and when they are judged in connection with the chain of readings supported by the same authorities. In no case need the rejection of the supposed interpolations be regarded as final. For all that would be maintained is that they were brought into the text at a date that must have been early in the second century, from an oral or possibly written tradition, which in these instances carried with it its own guarantee.

On each of these last points, and on several others that are mentioned in this article, the Quarterly Reviewer has flooded his pages with testimonies from the Fathers, which are held up triumphantly by the advocates of the same views. There are, however, two considerations which greatly tend to shake the importance of this evidence. It may be divided into an Ante-Nicene section and a Post-Nicene section. As to the first of these, the vast majority of the references are taken from representatives of that very text, in regard to which the Reviewer quotes with approval Dr. Scrivener's saying, "that Irenæus and the African Fathers, and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian Church, used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, Erasmus, or Stephens." The apparent weight of the evidence is also enhanced by the fact that the witnesses are, as a rule, quoted only on one side. Thus, when the same evidence comes to be examined by an equally minute and careful, and far more critical observer, it is found to shrink to very much smaller dimensions. For instance, in regard to the text of the Angelic Hymn, Dr. Hort shows that "the only assured Ante-Nicene patristic testimony for either variant is the passage from Origen's Homily translated by Jerome, the reading *in hominibus bonæ voluntatis* of the actual quotation being confirmed by what follows." Yet, in the *Quarterly Review*, Origen is quoted (and not unfairly according to the common text of his works) as three times over giving support to the opposite reading. It will have been observed above how constantly Origen attests what we believe to have been the true text; and the relation of this writer alone to the common text of B<sup>x</sup> is enough to disprove the utterly random assertion of Mr. McClellan and the Reviewer that those documents represent "a fabricated text of the third century." Judged by the corroborative evidence of Fathers and Versions, their text can be repeatedly traced up to the very furthest point to which the literary evidence will carry us. And though there is another type of text equally old, that type of text, when considered as a whole, is seen to be quite certainly corrupt.

This being the position of things as to the Ante-Nicene witnesses, it is of little use to pile up, as the Reviewer does, evidence taken from the Post-Nicene period down to John of Damascus. If the theory above propounded can be made good, that soon after the establishment of the Empire at Constantinople, the Constantinopolitan text began to dominate over the rest, and was used by the succeeding Fathers more and more exclusively, then, when once this fact is admitted, it adds no more weight to the evidence to quote writers like Theodoret or Ger-



manus than it would to throw into the scale Erasmus or Beza. I quite allow that it might have done so if it could be shown by internal evidence that Theodoret and Germanus made use of an older text; but just the opposite is the case. Some writers, like Epiphanius and Cyril of Alexandria, did use a text which, though mixed, contained an older and purer element; and an experienced critic is able to discriminate this. But merely to pitchfork together a quantity of one-sided quotations does not advance serious inquiry.

I have left to the last, readings which the Revisers and Drs. Westcott and Hort have adopted after  $\aleph$ B alone of uncial MSS. The chief of those noticed in the *Quarterly Review*, are I believe, three.

Matt. xvii. 21	Omission of the verse— "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting"	$\aleph^*B$ , best cursives, two important forms of Old Latin, most MSS. of Egyptian Ver- sions, Old Syriac, and later Syriac Lec- tionary, MSS. of Ethiopic and (apparently) Eusebian Canons.
Matt. xiv. 30	"He saw the wind;" omitting "boisterous"	$\aleph B$ , best cursive, Version of Lower Egypt.
Mark xvi. 9-20	Omission of twelve verses	$\aleph B$ , MSS. known to Eusebius, and a good deal of inferential evidence most accurately stated by Dr. Hort—"Appendix," pp. 28- 51.

As to the first of these, it will be observed that  $\aleph B$  receive strong support from the Versions, the evidence seeming to show that the verse was also wanting from the earliest form of Western text, though it was introduced before the end of the second century. As to the second, the Reviewer makes merry, as is his wont, over the idea that wind could be seen. But it is a common use in language to apply to the cause that which belongs in strictness only to the effects (compare Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind," *passim*); and the addition of an epithet like *ἰσπρόν* is just the sort of literary emendation that we might expect. It is not surprising that reference should be made to Dean Burgon's book, as having "demonstrated" the genuineness of the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel, or that the followers of the Dean in other quarters should still assume that he has proved his case. But though it may have been true that Dr. Hort's brief review in the *Academy* was not a sufficient answer, this can hardly be said of the close and searching discussion in the Appendix to the present volume. Nor must the cogency of the argument be estimated merely by the number of pages which it occupies. All has been said that needed to be said, or that there was room to say, upon a single passage isolated from the rest. The Dean of Chichester did excellent service in sifting and defining the evidence, and he brought together a large amount of curious and interesting information on matters which, whatever they might be in themselves, had a quite subordinate bearing on the real determination of the text; but the main point and centre of the problem he hardly so much as touched. His method was too radically defective. Like so many others who have approached the subject of textual criticism, he made the mistake of supposing that the most difficult readings can be



attacked at once without any preparation beyond a knowledge of the external phenomena of MSS. and wide reading in patristic literature. But this alone is a most imperfect instrument. The investigator needs to work upwards slowly and gradually, beginning with the easy readings, and so obtaining a clue to those that are more obscure. It is not only that in textual criticism, as elsewhere, the principle holds good that "he that is faithful in the least will be faithful also in much," but the survey of a number of clear and unambiguous readings is the only way in which it is possible to ascertain, out of the many lines of divergent testimony, which has preserved the oldest and purest type of text. This is what I would invite the reader to do for his own satisfaction, and this is what Drs. Westcott and Hort have evidently done with such splendid thoroughness and with such unrivalled sagacity.

As I have done myself the honour (that is the only term I can use) to come forward in defence of their principles, it is perhaps right that I should explain the degree of my own indebtedness to them. Soon after I published my first book on St. John's Gospel, in the year 1872, I paid a visit to Cambridge, in the course of which I met Dr. Westcott. He then pointed out to me my ignorance in matters of textual criticism, and when I asked his advice, he replied, "Analyze a few chapters for yourself and see." This I proceeded, after a time, to do, in the manner of which some indication has been given above. But whether or how far the analysis was conducted in the way that was intended, I donot know, and I think that perhaps it was not, or, at least, not altogether. But truth has the great advantage that it can be approached from different sides; and this test of truth the principles in question seem to satisfy. I am not prepared to claim (for myself at least) more than certain rough results, which a deeper knowledge may perhaps somewhat modify. But the main outlines seem to be, if not fixed, yet so nearly fixed, that stronger arguments, and arguments going more to the root of the question than those that have been hitherto urged, would be required to alter them.

W. SANDAY.

END OF VOL. XL.



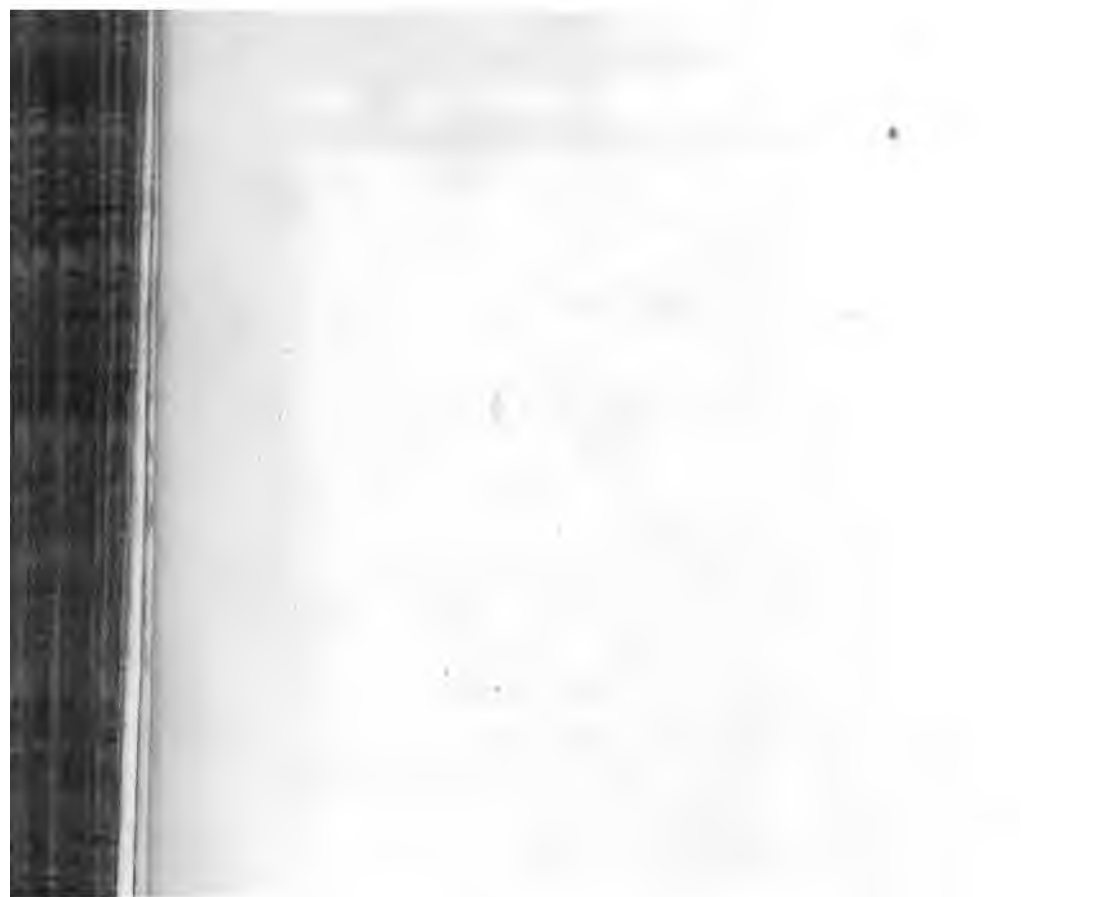
**ANNEX**







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